Foreign Language Education in Multilingual Classrooms

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Introduction

Multilingualism and foreign language education: A synthesis of linguistic and educational findings

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We begin this contribution by briefly explaining the rationale and structure of this volume, but our principal aim here lies in providing a synopsis and synthesis of linguistic and educational approaches to multilingualism and foreign language education in such societal settings. For this purpose, we first of all offer crucial background information on current processes of globalization and the newly emerging multilingual societies, as these appear in a variety of forms. Multilingual societies, in turn, witness diverse settings and modes of language acquisition and learning in which especially the phenomenon of cross-linguistic influence becomes a factor that needs to be taken into consideration and deserves to be explored. We therefore offer a brief state-of-the-art report on language learning on multilingual substrate, before addressing multilingualism as an educational phenomenon including its role and relevance in the foreign language classroom. This furnishes several perspectives, notably that of the learner, the institution, the educational goals, and the requisite methodologies. Individual – and in a different sense also societal – multilingualism is widely assumed to increase metalinguistic awareness, which, in turn, has been argued to facilitate language learning, even though the precise boundary conditions allowing for such facilitative effects are still little understood, nor what facilitation exactly can be taken to mean. We in principle sympathize with the idea of multilingual facilitation effects on foreign language education, not least because language remains an important means to construct and enact individual and social identities and power relations. We also have to acknowledge, though, that the variety of linguistic, psychological and sociological influences on multilingual language acquisition and education is very difficult to control for and hard to factor in. In this sense, our volume needs to be regarded as a first step towards a better understanding of foreign language education in multilingual classrooms, but it is clear that this complicated subject matter urgently requires additional work.

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1.   Introduction

Foreign language classrooms are increasingly populated by students with diverse language backgrounds. Side by side with the monolingual learner, we find students for whom the language of their environment is a second language and whose first language may be Turkish, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Spanish, Italian, Greek – to name just a few common languages in the European context. In these classrooms, foreign languages come to be learnt as a second and third (or fourth) language within the confines of the same classroom.

This new volume explores both the linguistic and educational aspects of the acquisition of a second or third language, perhaps even a fourth or further (additional) language, in multilingual foreign language classrooms. The volume pursues several objectives. An initial section on multilingual education introduces crucial background information regarding the strategies taken in different parts of the world to cope with the challenges posed by multilingual societies. We believe that foreign language teaching has to be seen in this wider policy context, and potential consequences for the foreign language classroom need to be considered.

The second section aims to provide an overview of the current state-of-the-art in the field of second and third language acquisition, including an exploration of the concepts of bi- and multilingualism and the difficult notion of an 'additional language'. Since language teaching in multilingual classrooms straddles the line of second and third language acquisition, we need a good understanding of the similarities and differences of these modes of acquisition. For example, several scholars in the field of L3-acquisition claim that it is mainly the second language that influences the acquisition of a third language, and not the first language. At the same time, we also find the opinion that mainly the first language has an influence, be it positive or negative, on whatever other language is acquired during a person's lifespan. Finally, there are also scholars who argue that all previously acquired languages influence third or additional language acquisition in one way or another.

The third section concerns itself with current projects studying foreign language education in multilingual classrooms. The aim here is to identify the challenges but also the opportunities offered by these learning situations and formulate ideas for making language teaching in these situations more productive. An important question is if and how interactions between the languages in which a person lives and learns can be used for the support of further language learning. Another

important question is how the learners' linguistic and cultural identity as well as their (lay) theories of language and language learning influence the acquisition of a third or fourth language.

Our volume also aims to investigate which classroom settings, materials, or teaching strategies meet the particular needs of multilingual learners best. Current research (e.g. Cenoz 2003, 2009, 2011; Herdina & Jessner 2002) suggests that children who live in two languages possess special reflective competences, and they seem to profit especially from teaching strategies that promote cognitive activation of their languages. Explicit comparison of languages, e.g. metaphors, or the relation of sound and script, seem to dock well on cognitive and linguistic dispositions of bi- or multilingual learners. The studies also raise the issue of foreign language classrooms being part of educational institutions, which means that they respond and contribute to reigning ideologies and power relations. Therefore, the volume tries to bring together a linguistic and an educational perspective. There can be no doubt, that throughout the volume, we try to interpret multilingualism as a resource that should be made use of as much as possible, rather than viewing multilingual classrooms as a threat to successful language teaching. There can be no doubt, either, that the current institutional reality is different and that turning foreign language classrooms into multilingual spaces poses many challenges. In this introduction and throughout the entire volume, we are going to explore these challenges and discuss ways to meet them.

2.   Multilingualism and globalization

Due to massive pressure from globalization processes and international migration, Western societies are currently rediscovering multilingualism, i.e. the coexistence of several languages in the individual and in society. Even though Western nation states typically remain monolingual officially and assign one official language to their politically defined territories, their populations have become highly multilingual, thus recreating a situation that was not uncommon before the creation of nation states in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (with evidently smaller numbers of and less diverse languages). Multilingualism has become especially prominent in urban areas, as everybody can witness who uses public transport during the peak hours or visits inner-city playgrounds. Major European cities such as Stockholm, London, Barcelona, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and Hamburg nowadays see levels of ethnic and linguistic diversity that exceedingly go beyond those found in typical multi-ethnic and multilingual territories in Asia (e.g. Singapore) or Africa (e.g. South Africa). Although the numbers of individuals vary considerably from city to city, it is not uncommon these days to encounter citizens from all or nearly

all countries that are recognized by the United Nations in such urban territories. Once we factor in that many of the countries of origin represent rather artificial political constructs uniting largely independent ethnic groups and their languages (e.g. India, Nigeria, South Africa, Russia, etc.), the linguistic diversity currently accumulating in Western urban areas becomes understandable.

A few figures may help to illustrate these ongoing changes. By means of illustration, let us take a closer look at the situation in London, as extensive information is available for this city through the 2011 census. Its key findings regarding language can be summarized as follows:

– 22.1% of Londoners list a language other than English as their main language, a total of 1.73 million people;
– 41.6% of non-English speakers in England/Wales live in London;
– Polish is the main language of 147,800 of the capital's residents;
– Bengali is the most spoken Asian language in London while Somali is the most spoken African language;
– In Newham 41.4% of residents report a language other than English as their main language;
– In Havering just 4.6% list a language other than English;
– 9 of the top 10 most linguistically diverse local authorities in England/Wales are in London. (see London Census 2011, CIS2013-01)

Considering these figures as well as information on the variety of languages spoken (see below), there can be no doubt that London is a modern Babel. Moreover, it is clear that the 2011 census figures depict the results of a steady increase in the level of multilingualism, starting from a largely monolingual situation after the Second World War.

We can compare the current situation in London with that in Singapore, including the historical changes in the latter city-state that is often portrayed as the prototype of a multilingual society. Evidently, Singapore offers a completely different conception of a multilingual society. Consider Figure 1. Singapore is home to three ethnic groups, namely Malays, Indians, and the Chinese. Moreover, the population is largely bilingual speaking their so-called 'mother tongues' (Malay, Tamil, Mandarin) in combination with English, which has the status of an official language (besides the mother tongues) and is the de facto default language in the public domain (education, administration, business, politics, culture) and increasingly also in the Singaporean homes.

Figure 1 documents a strong increase in the use of English and Mandarin, while there is practically no change in the use of Malay and Tamil. The crucial curve in Figure 1 is what is labelled 'Chinese Vernaculars' there. This depicts the development of the indigenous languages ('dialects' in the official parlance) of the
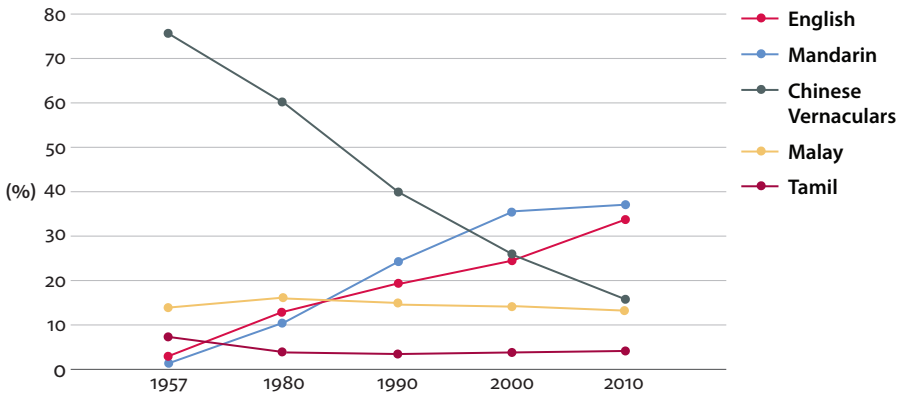
Figure 1. Home language use in Singapore. Data from Wong (2010), Siemund et al. (2014), Leimgruber et al. (2018)

Chinese population who are immigrants to Singapore and the Malay peninsula. They include Cantonese, Hokkien, Teochew, Hakka, Hainanese, as well as others. In the same way as English and Mandarin gained in distribution, the Chinese dialects lost – largely as a consequence of government policy and its Speak Mandarin Campaign. The net result of these developments is a decrease in multilingualism, which stands in sharp opposition to the findings reported from London. Moreover, multilingualism in Singapore means the coexistence of English, Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin, while other languages perhaps contribute one or two percent of home language use (spoken by various groups of expatriates).

In London, in sharp contrast, the list of attested languages reads like an atlas of world languages and documents languages from all parts of the world (see again London Census 2011, CIS2013-01), including European languages (Polish, French, Portuguese, Spanish, etc.), languages of the Middle East (Arabic, Turkish, etc.), South-Asian languages (Bengali, Gujarati, Urdu, etc.), East-Asian languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Thai, Malay, etc.), African languages (Somali, Swahili, Yoruba, Igbo, etc.), and Pacific languages (Tagalog). It is plausible to assume that many speakers of Spanish and Portuguese come from South America. The Caribbean is represented through Caribbean Creole, an English-based creole language.

To be sure, London may be an extreme case, but similar developments can be found in all major European cities. In the German city of Hamburg, for example, which ranges among the medium-sized cities, about 50% of the current student population, school students, that is, were born into migrant families. The major migrant languages are Turkish, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian, but there are also increasing numbers of speakers from Asia and Africa. The interesting observation

is that levels of multilingualism are still on the increase in Europe, while they are actually coming down in other parts of the world (Singapore, Hong Kong, China in general, India, Malaysia, etc.), largely due to official language policies. A frequently pursued goal is bilingualism involving a national language in combination with English. It stands to reason that – at least in the long run – the currently observable multilingualism in Europe will develop in the same direction.

3.   Learning languages on multilingual substrate

The unbiased form of learning a language as a baby or child can never be repeated, as all subsequent language learning processes will invariably be influenced by the cognitive imprint left by the structure of the first language. Although it is true that especially young children easily learn several languages simultaneously and can later keep them apart without much effort, increasing age and higher maturation of the brain mean that known languages influence and interact with languages to be newly learnt and acquired.

In language acquisition research, such influence from previously acquired languages on the language being learnt is known as transfer, and it can be positive (facilitating) or negative (inhibiting, interfering), as is well known. Transfer has been extensively studied with monolingually raised speakers who learn a second language after the acquisition of the first language can be considered more or less complete. Some researchers prefer the more encompassing term 'cross-linguistic influence' that subsumes transfer, interference, avoidance, borrowing, and attrition (Cenoz et al. 2001: 1).

More recently, the study of cross-linguistic influence shifted to what is now widely known as third language acquisition (see Hammarberg; Hopp et al.; Lorenz; Siemund et al. in this volume). Interpreted literally, and in clear opposition to traditional first and second language acquisition, third language acquisition refers to the learning of a chronologically third language after the acquisition of the first language is complete, and a second language has been learned for several years. The typical subject for investigating third language acquisition is a university student from a largely monolingual country (say, Sweden), who learnt a second language at school (say, English), and started studying German at university. This learning situation offers new possibilities for studying cross-linguistic influence, as now, in principle, the student's L1 Swedish and their L2 English can influence the acquisition of their L3 German.

This classic third language learning situation is increasingly difficult to find, as forceful processes of globalization and international migration have changed the distribution and use of languages, especially in younger generations, which

also results in universities being more and more multilingual (see Mueller in this volume). We see mainly two outcomes of these processes that are of relevance here. First, as English drives globalization and has acquired the status of a hyper-central language or the hub of the world language system (de Swaan 2002; Mair 2013: 259), the onset of the acquisition of English has generally been lowered. Moreover, nobody in this world can avoid having contact with it or being exposed to it. This means that an increasing number of students even at elementary or pre-school level is or becomes bilingual. Second, international migration, more often than not caused by the highly profitable but inhumane combination of economic exploitation and armed conflict (Burgis 2016), drives a young and highly mobile labor force to places where they can find jobs, security, and good prospects for settling down in the long run. The major targets of this international migration are Western Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, as well as some prosperous Asian cities, such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Dubai. While the outcome in North America, and parts of Asia and Oceania is bilingualism of English and the migrants' heritage languages, migrants in Western Europe – especially their first-generation offspring – are frequently trilingual, speaking the relevant national languages of the receiving countries, their heritage languages, and English.

To be sure, even though the status of English has been changing from a foreign language to a second language or lingua franca in Western Europe, it remains a school subject in the relevant countries and is being taught largely in the same way as a foreign language. The student population, though, has changed due to the processes outlined above. Students of English with a migrant background typically speak their heritage language as well as a national language. They are bilinguals, some showing additive, others subtractive bilingualism. For them, English also is a third language, but it should be clear that 'third' in this context means something fundamentally different from the learning situation introduced further above.

Such differences in the status of the languages (i.e. L1, L2, 2L1, etc.) need to be considered in the assessment and interpretation of cross-linguistic influence, especially all theorizing related to it (see Hufeisen in this volume). Nevertheless, regarding all matters of cross-linguistic influence in third language acquisition, a number of logically conceivable positions arise that shall be briefly introduced and discussed in what follows. The perhaps intuitively most plausible theoretical position tries to reduce transfer in the third language to influence from the first language, known as 'absolute L1 transfer' (Westergaard et al. 2016: 3). In the context of bilingual heritage speakers, we can equate first language with heritage language or language of ethnic belonging, though the comparison is problematic for the reasons outlined above. According to this model, a Russian-German bilingual student learning English in the German school system should primarily manifest transfer from Russian.

The logical alternative to first language influence is transfer from the second language, which we here equate with national language or language of the environment in the context of bilingual heritage speakers. This position is widely known as the 'L2 status factor model' (Falk & Bardel 2010), though it emerged from studying third language acquisition with monolingual first language speakers who had learned a classical second language before moving on to learning a third language (see above). Under this model and bearing the terminological problems in mind, our Russian-German bilingual speaker introduced above should use German as the main source for transfer in the acquisition of English.

First or second language transfer, or heritage language transfer versus transfer from the language of the environment, represent extreme positions. All other models of cross-linguistic influence stipulate transfer from all previously acquired languages depending on additional factors (see Hopp et al.; Lorenz; Siemund et al. in this volume). For example, the so-called 'cumulative enhancement model' (Flynn et al. 2004) solely assumes positive transfer or facilitation so that previously acquired languages always translate into a benefit for the learners. Our Russian-German learner of English would be assumed to transfer their word order knowledge from Russian to English, whereas the acquisition of English phonology would be facilitated by their knowledge of German. According to the 'typological primacy model' (Rothman 2011), which represents another prominent theoretical position, cross-linguistic influence depends on language distance with close typological proximity between languages promoting such influence and typological distance inhibiting it. This position makes German the primary source of cross-linguistic influence in our Russian-German learner of English. Additional factors determining cross-linguistic influence include recency of use, proficiency, and length of exposure, but these so far have not been developed into theories of third language acquisition.

All the models of cross-linguistic influence enjoy a certain plausibility in the sense that they are based on language learning scenarios and data that support them. What should not be forgotten, though, is that transfer is always about structural similarities and differences. As Terence Odlin puts it:

> Transfer is the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired.   (Odlin 1989: 27)

In other words, facilitation requires similarities between languages, while interference is the result of structural differences and misinterpretations on the part of the learner. The other factors discussed so far essentially mediate the force of transfer stemming from similarities and differences. In the most recent model of third language acquisition – the 'linguistic proximity model' proposed by Westergaard

et al. (2016) – such structural similarities and differences are again recognized as the most important factor. As these authors put it:

> Linguistic Proximity Model: Ln acquisition involves incremental property-by-property learning and allows for both facilitative and non-facilitative influence from one or both previously acquired languages. Crosslinguistic influence occurs when a particular linguistic property in the Ln input reveals abstract structural similarity with linguistic properties of the previously learned languages.
>
> (Westergaard et al. 2016: 5)

In classical second language research, there is widespread belief that cross-linguistic influence plays out differently in different linguistic subsystems (Odlin 2003: 439). For example, phonetics and phonology seem to be more vulnerable to cross-linguistic influence than morphology and syntax. Intuitively, this is plausible, as specific phonemes occur with substantially higher frequencies than certain morphological markers or syntactic constructions. Moreover, phonemes cannot be avoided by learners, whereas complicated syntactic structures can be circumnavigated. This basic insight is also open to investigation in third language acquisition or the acquisition of a (foreign) language by bilingual or multilingual learners. In the context of learning English in multilingual classrooms, for example, one could surmise that cross-linguistic influence in the subsystems of phonetics and phonology occurs primarily from the students' first language or their respective heritage language. In contrast, cross-linguistic influence in morphology and syntax can plausibly be assumed to originate in their second language or the relevant national languages. The interplay between source language of cross-linguistic influence and linguistic subsystems has so far received little attention and offers a very promising area for future research.

While so far we have concerned ourselves with third language acquisition from a process point of view, there is also some evidence on teaching outcomes, i.e. the performance of the learners. There is no doubt that De Angelis' overall conclusion is still valid: "In the most recent literature, the dominant belief among scholars is that bilingualism is an advantage rather than a disadvantage for individuals" (2007: 113). Large-scale studies suggest that individual multilingual learners perform better than their monolingual peers, and – an intriguing finding – the presence of multilingual learners in FL classrooms leads to a higher performance of all learners as compared to monolingual classrooms (Hesse & Göbel 2009: 271; Hesse et al. 2008: 216–217).

As to possible explanations of these outcomes, there is evidence that multilinguals possess knowledge and competences that help them to acquire further languages. First and foremost, they seem to possess metalinguistic abilities (Bialystok 2005; Cenoz 2009; Sanz 2000), which are considered a "key component

of multilingual competence" (Bono 2011: 30). This seems to be complemented by an enhanced strategic repertoire, comprising a greater flexibility in strategy switching and strategy modification, as well as a more intensive use of implicit strategies (Cenoz 2009: 147). This apparently leads to a greater awareness of successful strategies (Hufeisen 2003: 105). Also, multilinguals seem to be risk-takers who possess a higher than average motivation, complemented by a higher degree of learner autonomy (Todeva & Cenoz 2009: 6), which leads to enhanced participation in the FL classroom (Groot-Wilken & Paulick 2009: 194).

Having said this, however, the literature also suggests that FL acquisition on multilingual substrate is a very heterogeneous phenomenon. This means that research has identified prerequisites for the successful acquisition of additional languages. First, the large-scale findings mentioned above are only valid if socio-economic factors are controlled for, which means that students' socio-economic background seems to impact strongly on the acquisition of additional languages (Keßler & Paulick 2010: 274), as it in fact does on academic performance in any other domain. Second, there is research that suggests that the acknowledgement and support of multilingualism in minority languages is necessary, if subsequent FL acquisition is supposed to profit from a multilingual substrate (e.g. Cenoz 2009; Jaspaert & Lemmens 1990; Thomas 1988). Finally, the literature also suggests that this support of underlying multilingualism needs to go beyond spoken language. It seems to foster additional language acquisition only, if "bilinguals have literacy skills in their first two languages". (Todeva & Cenoz 2009: 5; see also Cenoz & Valencia 1994; Sanz 2000; Keßler & Paulick 2010: 273).

4.   Multilingualism as an educational phenomenon

In the light of the findings briefly summarised above, there can be little doubt that FL classrooms should take into account and perhaps even foster existing multilingualism. Unfortunately, though, the literature suggests that by and large they do not. The question why this is so leads to the educational perspective on multilingualism in FL classrooms, which we are going to unfold in the following sections. All models referred to so far view the acquisition of a third language as a cognitive process that is hardly if at all influenced by any other than cognitive factors. This, however, cannot be the whole story. Taking an educational stance means to complicate the linguistic perspective in two ways. First, it implies that third language acquisition needs to be looked at from the vantage point of the language learner. Second, it calls for taking seriously that multilingual classrooms are located in educational institutions, which in turn necessitates this contextual structure to be considered as well.

4.1   The learners' perspective

From the bird's eye view of large-scale-studies, the complexity of language acquisition may easily get out of sight. Language learning is a highly individual endeavour, though (Riemer 1997). From a psycholinguistic point of view, which considers language acquisition a mental activity of receiving and processing input, negotiating meaning in interactions with interlocutors and generating output that aims at reaching communicative goals, countless features influencing these processes can be identified (e.g. Wolff 2010). The following are of particular relevance with respect to third language acquisition.

In the context of the transfer theories discussed above, it is not only the objective linguistic distance of languages, but also and maybe particularly the subjective psychotypology, which impacts on transfer phenomena in a complex and sometimes even counterintuitive way (de Angelis 2007: 22–33). Another source of individuality of language acquisition is the students' learning styles (Oxford & Anderson 1995). While their postulated culture-specificity – e.g. the influence of individualistic or collectivistic socialisation – has not yet been fully substantiated, it remains true that if teachers focus on a certain style, the "foreign language classroom becomes a place of inequity, where some students receive what they need and others do not" (ibid.: 201). Another phenomenon which strongly influences students' educational success and which is highly culture-specific is stereotype threat, which was first described by Steele and Aronson (1995) in the context of post-segregational college education in the U.S. They found that minority students significantly underperformed if their ethnicity was made salient and explained this by the individuals' need to sustain their group affiliation by satisfying what is stereotypically expected of their cultural group. This effect has been repeatedly replicated in different academic domains and with respect to various cultural features, such as ethnicity or gender.

Stereotype threat highlights the important role that emotional features play as moderators of language acquisition processes. The most prominent feature in this respect is motivation. Together with related factors, such as self-efficacy, motivation can be seen as the driving force of language learning. Different theories have established different sources, such as attitude (Gardner & Lambert 1972), self-determination (Deci & Ryan 1985) or ideal- and ought-to-self (Dörnyei 2009). Regardless which theory is used to account for emotional effects, in the context of third language acquisition, the phenomenon of a perceived absence of motivation needs attention. Norton (2013; in this volume) has repeatedly described the prototypical situation of minority learners who, despite all the above named advantageous features they should possess, do not participate actively in their respective

foreign language classrooms and are therefore considered unmotivated or even cognitively deficient.

More often than not, though, it is rather unlikely that a lack of motivation or cognitive ability is the problem that needs to be addressed. The literature that looks at FL learners from a socio-cultural point of view draws our attention to the question of identity as a crucial element of FL education (see e.g. Bonnet et al. in this volume). There are various models that put the construction of identity at the core of what it means to acquire a foreign language (e.g. Kramsch 2000, 2009; Darvin & Norton 2015; Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000). While they all come from different angles and look at different age groups, they agree that the learners' investment into a FL classroom is "tied to [the learners'] perceptions of their relationship to the social world" (Barkhuizen 2004: 565). With respect to the situation of multilinguals in the FL classroom, the following three problems can be identified. Heritage language speakers are often marginalized by perhaps unintentional but effective othering when they are addressed not as individuals but as members of cultural groups they may not even consider themselves part of; their identity position is implicitly or sometimes even explicitly devalued by the factual exclusion of their heritage languages in the foreign language classroom; their academic self-concept with respect to the foreign language is challenged when their multilingualism is implicitly or explicitly considered a problem (because of assumed interferences) rather than an asset (because of all the positive attributes pointed out above). This is also true for many students who speak an African or Asian variety of English as L2, who find their variety devalued as non-standard and unwanted in the EFL classroom.

From this, one can conclude that while psychological features like low anxiety, positive attitudes, and metalinguistic awareness, to name just a few, are necessary conditions of learners' investment in FL classrooms, they are not sufficient. Only if othering is avoided, if the learners' heritage languages and/or varieties of English are taken into account, if their linguistic abilities are considered an asset rather than a problem – in short: only if their multilingual identity is acknowledged, can a positive psychological frame translate into actual investment, because "involvement leads to ownership which leads to motivation and commitment" (Johnson & Johnson 2003: 139).

4.2 The institutional perspective

If there seems to be agreement on the benefits that multilingualism yields for both individuals and entire classrooms (see above), the question remains why it is hardly if at all made use of. This directs our attention to features of educational systems, or in Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment to the question of ideology (see

Norton in this volume). Education is the key element for civilizations to continue: "With the renewal of physical existence goes, in the case of human beings, the recreation of beliefs, ideals, hopes, happiness, misery, and practices. […] Education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life." (Dewey 2008, first 1916: 8) Because education ensures the continuation of a given way of life, it is prone to reproduce existing power relations and social injustice (e.g. Bourdieu 1979; Foucault 1975).

One instrumental factor in this system is language. As a medium of instruction, the choice of language strongly influences the distribution of opportunities in an educational system. And in terms of the hidden agenda of what status it attributes to which language, it reproduces existing linguistic and cultural hegemonies. All contributions in the first part of our volume and particularly those that deal with postcolonial settings (see Chimbutane; Sun & Rong in this volume), describe how the marginalization of heritage languages leads to systematic educational inequity. Over and again, the postcolonial situation is as follows: A national policy of monolingualism and the prioritization of English as a foreign language and medium of instruction creates unequal chances for minority language speakers (see King et al. in this volume), particularly if they come from unfortunate socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore, there is a "monolingual habitus" (e.g. Gogolin 1997) in place, which marginalizes heritage language speakers and discredits their linguistic and cultural capital. There is also a bilingual, or rather: double monolingual habitus in place which stresses target language use in the FL classroom, occasionally complemented by using the national majority language in certain situations.

Fortunately, though, educational systems do not only have the conservative function stressed above, but they are also supposed to be sources of social innovation, and agents of social change (Fend 2006: 49), by which a given society adapts to new circumstances. The success to make this happen depends on the nature of the knowledge involved. In the case of multilingualism, the innovative ideas discussed in this field of research and practice have all been conceived as conscious ideas derived from careful examination of existing practices and empirical research. In other words: these ideas represent explicit knowledge. The ideologies they try to replace, however, are deeply rooted in existing social practices. Therefore, they are incorporated as teachers' and students' habitus, or: implicit knowledge. Teacher research (e.g. Borg 2003; Bonnet & Breidbach 2017) tells us that this tacit knowledge, or: teachers' professional identities, is very persistent and determines how explicit knowledge is used in the classroom. Therefore, teacher education in the field of L3-acquisition needs to follow a path that complements theoretical considerations and casuistic habitus reflexion with relevant experience in the context of best practice classrooms.

4.3   The goal perspective: FL education is more than FL learning

The successful acquisition of the respective target language (e.g. English as a foreign language or English as a lingua franca) is the most prominent desired outcome of any foreign language classroom. It is by no means the only one, though. National and international policy documents alike do not only stress the importance of target language acquisition, but also the importance of any FL classroom making a significant contribution to students' multilingualism. Looking at these international documents and their reception in the scientific community as well as the pedagogical professions (see Byram; Hu; Melo-Pfeifer in this volume), both goals are given different weight. A case in point is the way the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) has been adopted in different countries. While the CEFR made a global impact that was much stronger that its authors could ever have hoped for, it was received rather one-sidedly (Byram & Parmenter 2012). Whereas its testing scales and its approach to language competence produced a global echo, its multilingual agenda and its dedication to learner-oriented teaching and learning have been rather sidelined. Many national curricula have integrated and adopted the competence model in the bodies of their curricula, but the strive for multi- and plurilingualism has been placed in general preambles.

Going beyond language acquisition as goals of FL teaching and learning, there are three other aspects to name. First, as any other subject, modern foreign languages have to make a contribution to the acquisition of generic competences, such as social skills or media literacy. While this is true for other classrooms as well, two further goals are specific to FL classrooms: They are increasingly seen as places of cultural learning as much as of language acquisition. This has led to looking at language and cultural competence in an integrated way, no longer referring to communicative competence and intercultural learning as separate abilities, but integrating them as an intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1997). Moreover, there are many voices that consider aesthetic education, particularly dealing with literature, a core goal of FL education.

Both competences are closely interconnected with the situation of students for whom English in the FL classroom is a tertiary language. This is almost self-evident with respect to intercultural learning. There are many approaches that try to bring about intercultural learning in the FL classroom. They traditionally presuppose monolingual and monocultural learners for whom the FL classroom is the first opportunity to get in touch with linguistic and cultural diversity, which needs to be facilitated by transporting elements of the target language and culture into the FL classroom. With FL classrooms mirroring the multi-ethnicity of the wider society, this approach is rather questionable. Diversity is no longer an external factor but a

feature of the FL classroom itself. Therefore, cultural diversity does not need to be created, but it needs to be dealt with and addressed.

This is at least partly true for aesthetic learning as well. Formerly, two capacities of literature were dealt with in separation. On the one hand, literature was hailed for its potential to facilitate identity work. On the other hand, the function of literature was stressed to create experiences of foreignness by accessing foreign cultures. This is particularly true for the approach of perspective taking. Classrooms being culturally and linguistically diverse, however, means that these two capacities of literature fuse. The cultural delineation no longer runs between fictional character and recipient, but the world of fiction, the classroom and wider society are all places of hybrid identities struggling to find their places. Therefore, recent approaches to aesthetic education have stressed approaches to literature that are based on theories that deal with hybridity (Bhabha 1994), transculturality (Welsch 2010) or defamiliarization (Decke-Cornill 2007) in cultural studies or the humanities. In a nutshell, the idea of intercultural education and the function of fiction in the FL classroom need to be redefined, when narratives of migration, discrimination or hybridity are available not only through books but through personal experience.

4.4 The methodological perspective: Ways to introduce multi- and plurilingualism in the FL classroom

Having argued that multilingualism should be acknowledged in the FL classroom, it is time to discuss, how this can be facilitated. The following suggestions are by no means exhaustive, but they indicate paths to follow.

When several languages are present, the idea of language comparison seems the most obvious way of incorporating multilingualism into the FL classroom. Following the communicative turn, though, the idea of the natural approach (Krashen & Terrell 1988) created an ideal of target language usage. While FL classrooms still devote considerable amounts of time to explicit grammar and vocabulary work, they have become (doubly) monolingual spaces, in which only the target language and – if at all – the majority language are tolerated. This is reflected in current textbooks that hardly refer to languages other than the target language. If they do, it is almost always the majority language. There have been several attempts to put into practice the linguistic, intercultural, and awareness potential of multilingualism in FL classrooms, such as intercomprehension (Doyé 2005) or "evail aux langues" (cf. Candelier 2007), and the recent discussion of translanguaging can be seen as working towards the same goal. The contributions of Melo-Pfeifer (in this volume) and Hu (in this volume) are rather sceptical, though, whether plurilingualism – despite recent policy initiatives (Candelier et al. 2011) – will gain much

ground. The idea of monolingualism, of target language communication, and of heritage languages not making any considerable contribution to any students' target language acquisition seem rooted too deeply in the majority of teachers' heads. There are ways, though, very worthwhile ways.

A good example of how the inclusion of heritage languages into the FL classroom can be achieved without losing sight of the goal of target language acquisition is the use of dual-language or even multilingual books, printed or electronic. In the context of a multilingual country, such as Canada, these books have been found to make considerable contributions to raising awareness and motivation, as well as facilitating identity work (e.g. Naqvi et al. 2012). Bündgens-Kostner and Elsner (in this volume) move on to multilingual electronic books' impact on language acquisition and show how multilingual students use the option of language switching to support negotiation of meaning and subsequent word acquisition. Even in this experimental setting, though, students are unsure of whether they are actually allowed to switch languages – a strong indicator of the power of the target-language-only-ideal.

While comparative approaches focus on explicit language work including comparisons on different linguistic levels, there are also approaches that do not necessarily challenge the ideal of target language use. One of these approaches is linguistic landscaping, which can be done in the classroom, within an entire school, or even extend into the surrounding community. As a sociolinguistic approach (e.g. Gorter 2006), linguistic landscaping has undergone considerable development from establishing quantitative distributions of languages in multilingual areas to qualitatively understanding their actual usage, a move from geographical surface to social deep structure. This research focusses on establishing power relations between and usage patterns of languages. When done in schools, for example with respect to displayed signage (e.g. Dressler 2015), this research establishes which languages are present, who has the power to influence their display, what contribution they make to the multilingualism of the school, and how they are used by students and teachers. Over the last decades, linguistic landscaping has also been explored as a pedagogical tool. From an extensive review of the existing literature, Muth (in this volume) draws the conclusion that this approach has significant potential to "develop literacy skills, improve pragmatic competence, increase the possibility of incidental language learning, help in the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, and enhance sensitivity to connotational aspects of language."

While all approaches mentioned so far deal with issues of identity rather implicitly, using literature in the FL classroom does so explicitly. Fiction of migration and postcolonial literature can be used as a point of departure to create a fictional canvas against which heritage and majority-language students alike can reflect on their own cultural identities. This can be done either using pseudo-realistic literature

(e.g. Bredella 2010) or using texts that have a strong potential to defamiliarize habitual practices (Bracker 2015). Changing from a receptive to a productive mode, identity oriented creative writing offers opportunities for multilingual students to turn their own experience into fiction thus expressing and reflecting their identity positions. This in turn enables all students to become aware of these positions and to acknowledge them or deal with them critically. In her contribution, Norton (in this volume) introduces several electronic tools that facilitate digital storytelling as a fresh way of creative writing in the FL classroom.

The discussion should have shown that FL education in multilingual classrooms can only be understood comprehensively if a linguistic and an educational perspective are combined. While the linguistic perspective is indispensable for understanding the cognitive processes involved, the educational perspective provides an understanding of individual and structural aspects, which is necessary for understanding and designing FL classrooms. In order to show what this implies and how the two perspectives interact, we will discuss the concept of awareness as a case in point.

5.   Language awareness and metalinguistic awareness

There is widespread agreement on the fact that language learning, especially tutored and systematic language learning, leads to heightened language awareness, where the latter concept is assumed to consist of three components, as defined by García (2008: 385–386):

– Knowledge of language (proficiency). (The language user) Includes ability to use language appropriately in many situations; awareness of social and pragmatic norms.
– Knowledge about language (subject-matter knowledge). (The language analyst) Includes forms and functions of systems – grammar, phonology, vocabulary.
– Pedagogical practice. (The language teacher) Includes creating language learning opportunities; classroom interaction.

Two of these components involve the language learner, while the third component pertains to the language teacher. They are intuitively plausible in that language teaching and learning should and evidently does enable the learner to use a new language appropriately. In addition, systematic language teaching builds up grammatical knowledge in the learner, both of a general and language-specific type. Consequently, the learner acquires knowledge and competencies concerning language use and its structural properties, hence gains heightened language awareness. As for the language teacher, language awareness is one of the prerequisites of

competent language didactics, i.e. how to develop systematic linguistic knowledge and language proficiency in the learner. This presupposes, but also fosters, high levels of didactic awareness.

There is also widespread agreement on various beneficial effects of learner-based language awareness – in a generic sense of the word – for all efforts of language learning. Put in a nutshell, there is the popular assumption that language learning becomes easier the more languages one already knows. Again, this seems intuitively plausible, since languages frequently share certain structural characteristics, grammatical concepts can be transferred from language to language, and language learning in itself can be regarded as a competency that experienced language learners can be assumed to develop. Such beneficial effects of previously acquired languages on the learning of subsequent languages have been most explicitly formulated in work on metalinguistic awareness, which can be interpreted as an explication of the second point of language awareness in the listing above ('knowledge about language'). According to the definition offered by Ulrike Jessner, metalinguistic awareness "refers to the ability to focus attention on language as an object in itself or to think abstractly about language and, consequently, to play with or manipulate language" (Jessner 2006: 42).

Metalinguistic awareness is believed to develop through language acquisition and learning. Sanz (2012), hinting at the ensuing advantages of multilinguals, states that:[1] "Metalinguistic awareness or explicit, conscious knowledge of form/meaning relationships in a language, usually manifested as the ability to verbalize thoughts about language, is one of the best-documented differences between bilinguals and monolinguals." In a similar vein, Jessner (2008) assumes fundamental differences between monolingual and multilingual speakers. As she puts it, "the multilingual learner also develops certain skills and abilities that the monolingual speaker lacks […] language specific and non-language specific skills" (Jessner 2008: 275).

The concomitant beneficial effects of metalinguistic awareness have been succinctly condensed in the 'M-factor', which leads to an overall increase in multilingual proficiency. Herdina and Jessner view multilingual proficiency as an additive concept that involves knowledge of several language systems (LS), cross-linguistic influence (CLIN), and in the following formula:

$$LS_1 + LS_2 + LS_3 + LSn + CLIN + M = MP \qquad \text{(Herdina \& Jessner 2002: 130)}$$

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1.   What usually tends to be forgotten in the discussion of multilingual metalinguistic awareness is that monolinguals in Western societies, too, receive extensive metalinguistic tuition regarding their native language. This may also facilitate the acquisition of further languages, but little is known about its positive effects.

Since cross-linguistic influence may play out as interference, and not solely in terms of facilitation, there is some negative impact wired into this formula, the extent of which is a matter of great debate (see Hopp et al.; Lorenz; Siemund et al. in this volume). This needs to be made precise. What is also in need of greater precision is metalinguistic awareness itself, which Jessner attempts in the following formulation: "the ability to focus on linguistic form and meaning […] to categorize words into parts of speech; [to] switch focus between form, function, and meaning; and [to] explain why a word has a particular function" (Jessner 2008: 277).

Other publications (Sanz 2012; Wrembel 2013: 126) distinguish different types of metalinguistic awareness, especially word awareness, syntactic awareness, and (meta-)phonological awareness. Moreover, awareness can be located at different levels of consciousness, thus playing out as the noticing or mentioning of linguistic features, their understanding in the sense of a conscious analysis, and metacognition, i.e. self-reflection on the structure and use of linguistic features. In communicative interaction including language learning classroom discourse, metalinguistic awareness can be recognized by instances of self-repair, other-repair, translation, the labelling of languages, corrections, criticisms concerning language use, initiating language games, the separation of word and meaning (form versus function), as well as the noticing and correction of errors. Gombert (1992) draws a fundamental distinction between epilinguistic and metalinguistic awareness, with epilinguistic awareness referring to unconscious, spontaneous, and contextualized manifestations of language reflection (e.g. self-repair in speech). Metalinguistic awareness proper, in contrast, is decontextualized, conscious, and intentional, as, for instance, language analysis in the classroom or conscious reflection on language properties.

Whereas the linguistic perspective on language awareness is mainly concerned with language knowledge and language processing of the individual, the educational perspective came from a sociological angle when it was established in the first place. The publication of the Bullock Report in Britain in 1975 marks a paradigm shift in multilingual policy in Europe, coining the concept of heritage language as "resource" or "asset". While it strongly suggested to give a curricular place to minority languages, "the Bullock committee did not give guidelines as to how they felt this principle should be translated into pedagogical practice" (Bhatt & Martin-Jones 1992: 287). A decade later, this vacuum was filled by the idea of language awareness. In his seminal work, Hawkins (1984) devised the idea of complementing or preluding single-target-language FL teaching by running language awareness classrooms that would include European foreign languages in much the same way as heritage languages thus acknowledging heritage languages and minority students' multilingual identity as well as directing the students' attention to similarities between languages by way of language comparisons (see Hopp et al. this volume).
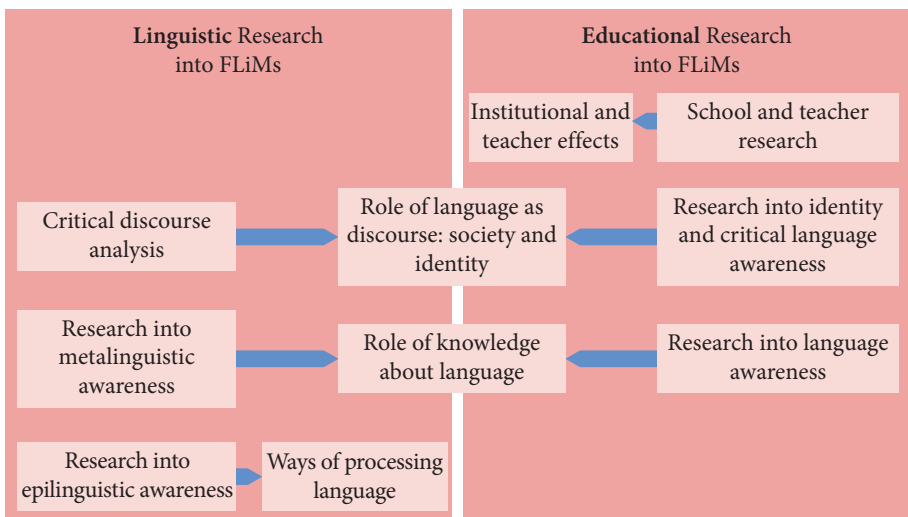
Despite its visionary rationale, this approach backfired in one important respect: "Schools where language-awareness programmes have been introduced could argue that they already have a multilingual component in their curriculum and that this obviates the need to make separate arrangements for the teaching of minority community languages." (Bhatt & Martin-Jones 1992: 298). This gave rise to criticism, which lead to the idea of stressing the critical element of language awareness (Fairclough 1999). From this point of view, knowledge about language as a linguistic resource has to be complemented by the knowledge about the social and political role of languages. The educational goal of language awareness activities then is to make students understand how language is used to establish social and economic power relations, how it is used to justify or criticise these in the political arena and how languages themselves are considered to possess different value. From this point of view, language awareness is not an instrument to replace heritage or community language education, but rather to see why one cannot replace it.

Finally, the awareness discussion can be found in the context of learner autonomy (e.g. Benson 2011) and constructivist approaches to language acquisition. In this context, the concept of language awareness is also understood as an awareness of principles of language acquisition in general and of one's own learning preferences. From this point of view, language awareness could not be accomplished, if learners study grammar in a form-focused way. They much rather need to reflect on their own language learning preferences and styles to become subjects rather than objects of their language learning process.

All these elements fed into Garrett and James's (1992; see also James & Garrett 1992) seminal taxonomy, which distinguishes five dimensions of language awareness in the foreign language classroom:

–   the affective dimension is about raising the students' emotional involvement by making them discover in what respect language in general, the target language in particular as well as heritage/community languages are relevant to them;
–   the social dimension is about fostering acceptance between speakers of different first languages by raising their understanding of their respective languages in all linguistic aspects as well as learning about the relations between the languages they speak;
–   the power dimension makes students understand how language relates to economic, and political power relations and how it is used for manipulative purposes, e.g. in advertising;
–   the cognitive dimension aims at an understanding of structural aspects of language and language learning, but not for structure's sake but in order to foster improved use;
–   the performance dimension covers all aspects by which language awareness may be linked to enhanced language performance.

In her comprehensive treatment of language awareness, Svalberg (2007) deals with all of these aspects, although she uses different categories and establishes important cross-relations. While a generally positive role of awareness in language acquisition is still contested, there is evidence that it enhances students' noticing, that it helps with complex linguistic phenomena, which are difficult to master for FL students (i.e. learner complexity) and that its effects depend on students' learning styles. Despite this ongoing scientific debate, "the value of explicit learning […] is implicit in LA teaching methodology" (ibid.: 290). Therefore, an isolated focus on form does not seem to satisfy the criteria of fruitful language awareness activities but students need to be active investigators, using the target language to analyse language as a linguistic system and as a discursive tool to wield power, as well as their own preferences and strategies of language learning. Finally, Svalberg discusses multilingual approaches that try to foster language acquisition, an understanding of language structure and use, as well as intercultural understanding, and thus try to implement all five of the above named dimensions.

Linguistic Research into FLiMs

Educational Research into FLiMs

Institutional and teacher effects	School and teacher research
Critical discourse analysis → Role of language as discourse: society and identity ← Research into identity and critical language awareness	
Research into metalinguistic awareness → Role of knowledge about language ← Research into language awareness	
Research into epilinguistic awareness → Ways of processing language	

Figure 2. The current field of research into "Foreign Language Education in Multilingual Classrooms" (FLiMs): Two areas are researched by both linguistics and education, two areas are predominantly dealt with by one of the two disciplines.

This is also the place where linguistics and education meet and therefore, this is the point to put the educational approach in a nutshell. From an educational point of view, one may conclude that language awareness is discussed in two ways. On the one hand, there is the psychological perspective, focussing on the student as a language learner, whose learning process needs to be optimized. On the other hand, there is the critical and very much sociologically informed perspective, focussing

on the student as future citizen and asking what contribution their EFL classroom experience can make towards social participation in a democratic society.

To conclude with, the phenomenon of multilingualism in FL classrooms brings together two discourses that have occasionally met, but that have not yet been explored with respect to their delineations and common ground. The common ground covers the question what knowledge about language and language acquisition multilinguals possess and to what extent this influences the subsequent acquisition of further languages. From a linguistic point of view, this is complemented by a body of research that deals with implicit aspects of metalinguistic awareness, i.e. to what extent multilingualism impacts on language processing and acquisition. From the educational point of view, the common ground is complemented by a body of research that deals with the function of language as a means to construct identity and establish social power relations within educational institutions and beyond, thus constituting a critical language pedagogy.

6.   Perspectives: Where to go from here?

There is linguistic evidence that, if detrimental secondary effects such as an unfortunate socio-economic background are controlled for, multilingualism is an asset rather than a disadvantage for further language acquisition and for cognitive development in general. There is educational evidence that multilingual classrooms can only reach their goals of language and citizenship education, if multilingual identities are acknowledged and the social functions of language and multilingualism are addressed. Therefore, multilingualism and the cultural hybridity it often goes along with should not only be considered a fruitful substrate of the foreign language classroom, but also its intended outcome as well as one of its salient topics. This, however, raises the question, whether thinking in traditional ways of one language per FL classroom is still the right way, or whether it makes sense "to consider multilingualism as a principle of language education, as a transversal project" (Cenoz 2009: 168), which echoes Jessner's crosslinguistic approach for FL teaching and learning in general. There are several contributions in this volume (see Hu; Melo-Pfeifer in this volume) that take this idea very seriously and suggest to replace monolingual FL classrooms by multilingual classrooms not only in terms of adjusting to the needs of L3-learners but also by teaching different foreign languages in an integrated way. Bringing together linguistic and educational discourse on multilingualism in foreign language classrooms, the phenomenon seems to have (at least) the following dimensions:

First, policy issues need to be addressed: The contributions in part one of this volume show how monolingualism and the dominant role of English as a foreign

or second language serves nationalist agendas as well as globalization, which some researchers refer to as the new colonialism of multinational corporations. Therefore, a multilingual classroom always needs to reflect on these issues, and research as well as education administrations need to address and redress the currently prevailing ideologies as they undermine the multilingual cause. Byram (in this volume) looks at language teaching in the European context. Here, European institutions, such as the European Council, guide language teaching policies and methodologies. He argues that the challenges of migration and globalization within Europe should be met with an inclusive all-European solution. Whereas guidelines for language teaching, also for the multilingual context, within the European Union exist, there is no national guideline set for the United States. King et al. (in this volume) describe different contexts of heritage language learning and how the absence of national policy leads to different approaches to language teaching which often clash with the ideology of promoting English only. Chimbutane (in this volume) and Sun and Rong (in this volume) focus on post-colonial regions where the language of the former colonial power may still be viewed as the language most needed for individual economic success. Chimbutane (in this volume) argues that in the sub-Saharan context, multilingualism should be acknowledged as an asset and it should be possible to use national, local and inherited European languages in formal and informal contexts. Steps should be taken, also in education, to value African languages. Sun and Rong (in this volume) discuss the role of English in five countries in Asia, two of which are post-colonial countries. In all of them English plays an important role, promoted by language policies, while often neglecting migrant and heritage languages, which often goes hand in hand with the prevailing ideology.

Second, there is the issue of theoretical perspectives: When the phenomenon in question is getting more and more complex, terminological clarification is crucial. Therefore, there are several contributions in this volume that tackle the problem of abundant and partly even contradictory terminology (see Hammarberg in this volume). Also, different kinds of multi- and plurilingualism are introduced (see Hufeisen in this volume) and the question of what policy consequences can be drawn from this is further discussed by Hu (in this volume) and Melo-Pfeifer (in this volume). It will be crucial to follow this line of thought in order to keep terminology simple without simplifying the phenomenon.

As to the question of teaching methodology, there seems to be no shortage of approaches. They include typical language awareness activities, taking into account recent advances in linguistics, such as linguistic landscaping (see Muth in this volume), and include technology-based approaches, such as digital storytelling (see Norton in this volume).

Third, more research is required on the three aspects of students' knowledge that is relevant to multilingual education. From a linguistic point of view, the procedural

capacities of multilinguals (see Hopp et al; Lorenz; Mueller; Siemund et al. in this volume), especially their epilinguistic awareness, which is in fact constituted by unconscious processes, need to be explored further. From an educational point of view, the tacit and critically reflexive knowledge involved in identity formation needs to be further researched (see Bonnet et al. in this volume). And from both points of view, the role of explicit knowledge in (institutional) foreign language acquisition needs attention, because explicit language learning and communication need to be balanced in a way that fosters FL acquisition of both multi- and monolingual students. Section three of this volume tries to address these issues to different extents, while also taking electronic dual-language books as media of instruction into account (see Bündgens-Kostner & Elsner in this volume).

As of today, there are pressing issues that need to be addressed. First and foremost, the phenomenon of multilingualism raises the question anew of how to balance acquisition and learning in the foreign language classroom. Much of the research we have covered could suggest an intensification of explicit language work, e.g. language comparisons in order to give students with enhanced metalinguistic awareness opportunities to shine and for the others to adopt their abilities by imitation. Then again, there is a lot of research that suggests the opposite: As multilinguals have acquired their competences rather than learned them, we might want to make our FL classrooms more communicative, though multilingual, spaces, in order for all students to acquire rather than to learn metalinguistic awareness. Looking at some of the distinctions we established above, there might even be a need for both modes of dealing with language, but for different purposes: Perhaps, procedural aspects of linguistic knowledge, such as epilinguistic awareness might require communication and language use, whereas explicit aspects of this knowledge, such as *critical language awareness*, requires conscious reflection and analysis. This reminds us of the fact that there are many ways to be multilingual, which means that FL classrooms need to be adaptive in different ways. In their contribution, Bonnet et al. (in this volume) point out that some multilinguals have a rather expansive mind-set and need communicative and acquisition oriented classrooms, whereas others may be rather defensive and need the security of ritualised form-focussed activities.

Finally, we have to bear in mind that FL classrooms are part of institutions which, beyond their qualifying and enculturating function, also have an allocative function. Multilingualism or plurilingualism in FL classrooms would not be the first approach which the rigid institutional frame of schools has reduced to a grading machine in which students do nothing more than they need: their "student job" (Breidenstein 2006). Teachers play a crucial role in deciding whether multilingualism in the FL classroom will be just another fad or whether it will change FL teaching and learning in a sustainable way. Therefore, while we have focussed on

multilingual learners in the foreign language classroom here, the role of teachers is a pressing issue to cover next.

Acknowledgements

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Policy perspectives

Concepts of multilingual education

Language education in and for a multilingual Europe

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As Europe becomes ever more heterogeneous in population and languages, education systems have to change and the teaching of languages has to evolve in terms of policies and methodologies. The specific nature of the European situation includes the presence of European organisations – notably the European Union and the Council of Europe – which impact on policy and methodology at state level, leading to a degree of similarity and harmonisation. The analysis here focuses first on policies and to what extent they take account of changes in societies, and second on changes in the aims and purposes of teaching, and the consequent changes in didactics. Some language policy-making is static and takes little note of change but there is some which takes account of the fluidity of contemporary societies and in particular the ways in which they respond to migration and the languages of migrants. Future directions might give language teaching a role in citizenship education as education systems strive to help create inclusive multilingual societies.

Keywords: language policy, multilingualism, plurilingualism, migration, teaching methods

1.   Introduction

Language education like much else in Europe is affected by many levels of policy and practice, from the individual classroom to the school, from the regional and national to the European and global. Europe is and always has been a multilingual space. Language education is both a cause and effect of multilingualism in Europe and in Europeans. This means that a thorough survey of language education in a multilingual Europe would have to deal with each kind of teaching at each level with respect to policy, pedagogy, teaching and learning practices, the relationship of these to the local and European context, and yet other factors. This is beyond the scope of this chapter and a survey of practices, in particular, would need a large

scale project. The purpose of the chapter is therefore to produce no more than a, sometimes idiosyncratic, discussion of some of the many factors in play, with a focus on policy, illustrated with examples from different locations.

A preliminary question is the term 'multilingualism' itself, and this also provides an opportunity to ensure that readers are aware of two different European organisations which have differing views of Europe. The European Union consists, at the time of writing, of 28 'member countries' (European Union) but this is a subset of the 47 'member states' of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 2017). The general public often assumes that the European Union is synonymous with Europe because it is constantly in the news, whereas the Council of Europe is perhaps best known through the European Court of Human Rights. To language teaching professionals however, the Council of Europe is better known through the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)* (Council of Europe 2001). On the other hand the European Union has its own activities in multilingualism, including an explicit policy that citizens should be able to "communicate in 2 languages other than their mother tongue" (European Commission), and this is supported by the European Civil Society Platform for Multilingualism.

There are also differences in terminology. European Union documents refer to 'multilingualism' as the capacity of citizens to speak more than their mother tongue and, less frequently, they also use the term to refer to the presence of many languages in Europe. The *CEFR* and the Council of Europe make a different distinction, between 'multilingualism' and 'plurilingualism' (cf. also Hu; Melo-Pfeifer in this volume). 'Multilingualism' is used to refer to both the capacities of the individual – "the knowledge of a number of languages" (Council of Europe 2001: 4) – and to the presence of languages in a geographical or social space: "the co-existence of different languages in a given society" (ibid.: 4). Multilingualism is also a matter of 'offering' or teaching a diversity of languages in an education system. The further distinction of plurilingualism from multilingualism goes beyond the terms of the European Union and refers only to the capacities of the individual. Plurilingualism is a matter of how individuals "keep" their languages which is "not in strictly separated mental compartments", but rather as a "communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (ibid.: 4). How people "keep" their languages has influence on how they use them, which means that they do not need to keep their languages separate in use any more than they keep them in separate mental compartments. For example, they can:

> switch from one language or dialect to another, exploiting the ability of each to express themselves in one language and to understand the other; or a person may call upon the knowledge of a number of languages to make sense of a text, written

> or even spoken, in a previously 'unknown' language, recognising words from a
> common international store in a new guise.   (ibid.: 4)[1]

In this explanation of the use of plurilingualism, the term is used to refer to language in society as well as in the individual. The implicit distinction is between a social space where languages are kept separate when used and one where switching and other strategies are used to enable communication. In any given communication space – whether in speaking or writing – we may observe either multilingualism with languages being keep strictly separate, or plurilingual usage or 'performance' à la Chomsky of plurilingual communicative competence.[2]

This means that this chapter should attend to both multilingualism and plurilingualism in Europe, and will try to do so. It will become evident however that in matters of policy-making, the distinction is not taken into account and, usually implicitly, reference is made to multilingualism in the sense of the separation of languages, without further refinement. This is for example the case in the European Union's vision of languages as fundamental to 'unity in diversity' where the emphasis on 'co-existence' of separate languages is explicit:

> The European Union's aspiration to be united in diversity underpins the whole
> European project. The harmonious co-existence of many languages in Europe em-
> bodies this. Languages can build bridges between people, giving us access to other
> countries and cultures, and enabling us to understand each other better.
>
>   (European Commission)

Only a substantial empirical study could establish whether linguistic performance in Europe is both multilingual and plurilingual and whether Europeans have multilingual competence or plurilingual competence.[3] From this point on I will use the term 'multilingualism' unless it is important to make a distinction from plurilingualism.

In the following pages, I shall combine two approaches: an historical and an ideological analysis. An historical analysis suggests that changes take place chronologically and indeed this helps our understanding. An ideological analysis reveals however that contradictory views exist simultaneously; one view is not simply replaced by another. Paradigm shift, as we shall see, can give a chronological account of the old and the new, the 'classical' and the 'modern', but interpretations of language realities as either 'fluid' or 'static' are more difficult to reconcile in this way.

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1.   In more recent times, the phenomenon described here has been referred to as 'translanguaging' (e.g. MacSwan 2017; see also the contributions of Hu; Melo-Pfeifer in this volume).

2.   The new *Companion Volume to the CEFR* has a further discussion and links to translanguaging.

3.   A frequent criticism of the *CEFR* has been that it does not adequately take into account the plurilingualism of individuals in discussing teaching or assessment, although the new companion volume is attempting to address this issue by creating new scales.

2. Language policy in Europe – changes over time

That Europe as a geographical space is today multilingual is self-evident, and one could in principle enumerate the languages used on European territory, however defined.[4] The space is also psychological in that Europeans are aware of multilingualism around and within them. The space is, thirdly, political, cultural and educational and in these three spheres of activity the objective presence of multilingualism and the subjective experience of plurilingualism force those responsible for policy to analyse and plan accordingly. Policy may, at one extreme, attempt to suppress and at the other, attempt to encourage multilingualism, and both positions have been taken at different times in different geographical spaces in Europe with education systems being the most often used means of doing so.

An historical account of multilingualism and policy seems therefore to be the natural place to begin. An unavoidable historical reference is the thousand years of Roman domination of Europe. The presence of many languages in the Roman empire is well documented (Mullen & James 2012) but the one foreign language which interested Romans was Greek, because of its status as the language of culture, Cicero being perhaps the best known bilingual of Roman times. Roman families who could afford bilingual education for their children had them taught in Greek by a native speaker, although some form of bilingualism was also widespread in the population (Adams 2003: 14). On the other hand, the imposition of Latin as the language of the empire led to its use as a *lingua franca* which continued to flourish among educated people – and made them bilingual – for as long as the classical heritage was influential in European education (Bolgar 1954). For the thousand years which followed the Roman empire, the lasting presence of Latin meant that a largely monolingual practice could be followed in elite education often provided by the Christian church, with students' vernacular languages left at the door.

Only when education became a matter for states, with an expectation that education would be for all, did multilingualism become an issue in education policy. As many European states formed and consolidated during the 19th century, the role of education as a creator of a loyal population and the pretence that a state is the political embodiment of a single nation, meant that the teaching and learning of a 'national' language became a crucial tool of unification. It has been often shown (e.g. Anderson 1991; Gellner 1987; Hobsbawm 1992) that a national language – usually linked to a national (folk) literature – is crucial though not a *sine qua non*

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4. Estimates differ depending on definitions but Ethnologue gives a total of 287 languages of which 77 are "institutional", 74 are "developing", 31 are "vigorous", 55 are "in trouble" and 50 are "dying" (Ethnologue 2017).

in the evolution of nationalism and nation states.[5] Multilingualism whether as the presence of other 'languages' or 'dialects' was in this perspective problematic, and, as Gellner (1987: 17) points out, as children entered school they were expected to "forget" their other languages or dialects and focus on the standard language. In reaction to this, the languages of national or ethnic minorities could become a symbol of resistance to impositions by the majority nation.[6]

The conflagration of the First World War produced by nation-state politics led to the first attempt, through the League of Nations, to create a global counter-force to nationalism. Schools were seen as crucial in this process, in particular the teaching of history, and there were indications in the 1920s that an internationalist approach to education, and history teaching in particular, might take root. By the 1930s however the plant had withered and nationalist fervour fanned the fire of the Second World War (Elliott 1977). It is noteworthy that teaching other people's *languages* and perspectives was not part of the internationalist education of the League of Nations; the emphasis remained on teaching other people's perspectives on *history*.

The establishment of the United Nations and UNESCO after World War II was a second attempt to counter-act nationalism globally but again with no reference initially to teaching foreign languages; even today it is a low priority.[7] In contrast the establishment of a European body, the Council of Europe, at about the same time, with similar purposes albeit with a more limited scope, was from the beginning concerned with education and this time not only with other people's views

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5.   Hobsbawm linked language education to the question of social mobility: "The crucial moment in the creation of language as a potential asset is not its admission as a medium of primary education (though this automatically creates a large body of primary teachers and language indoctrinators) but its admission as a medium of secondary education, […] for it is this which […] linked social mobility to the vernacular, and in turn to linguistic nationalism" (1992: 118).

6.   A notorious practice in the suppression of the local language is the 'Welsh not' or 'Welsh stick', a stick given to whomever was heard speaking Welsh; the holder at the end of a week being punished. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/j35VCjYcS0CC3RGzvkLb-Q> To what extent this was a policy of government has however been challenged <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/welsh-not-a-myth-stir-2017604>. I heard similar practices were carried out in German schools in Nordschleswig – children being obliged to run around the playground if caught speaking Danish – although this too was not necessarily a formal policy of the education authorities, and it is not clear how much it was used.

7.   'Language teaching' which refers to foreign language teaching has only a brief mention in a UNESCO position paper *Education in a Multilingual World* (2003). The organisation is more concerned with 'mother tongue' education, and "the mother tongue dilemma" (UNESCO). This has long been the case and the declaration on the importance of 'vernacular' languages as media of instruction from 1953 is often cited in textbooks on bilingual education.

of history but also with understanding other people's languages and cultures or 'civilisations'. The purposes, as stated in the Cultural Convention of 1954 included:

> to develop mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe and reciprocal appreciation of their cultural diversity, to safeguard European culture, to promote national contributions to Europe's common cultural heritage respecting the same fundamental values and to encourage in particular the *study of the languages, history and civilisation* of the Parties to the Convention (i.e. member states – MB).
>
> (Council of Europe 1954 – emphasis added)

The official languages of the Council of Europe, determined by the founding states – Belgium, Denmark, France, the Irish Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom – were to be English and French.[8] The later founding of an economic body for (western) Europe – proceeding through various forms and designations until it became the European Union – followed a different path, and the languages of all member states became official, currently 24.

Despite differences in official languages, both the CE from the 1960s and the EU in the course of time shared a policy of encouraging multilingualism through education. To have done anything less, and to have promoted a *lingua franca* as in the last period of European unification under the Romans, would have smacked of neo-imperialism whether conscious or not. Multilingualism has to be encouraged as part of and indeed the embodiment of a 'unity in diversity' as we saw above, and as an organisation focused on economic development as the EU is, languages are also seen as important in employability and competitiveness:

> Foreign language skills play an increasingly important role in making young people *more employable and equipping them for working abroad*. They are also a factor in competitiveness; poor language skills cause many companies to lose contracts and hamper workers who might want to seek employment in countries other than their own.   (European Commission – emphasis added)

In short, and with some simplification, one can see that multilingualism as an educational policy is a recent phenomenon. The dominance of Latin in élite education gave way to the use of national education to instil national languages in diverse populations, and this has from the second half of the 20th century given way to education for multilingualism (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2017).

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8.   I am grateful to Ms Philia Thalgott of the Council of Europe for information on this and the speculation that it was the dominance of these two languages among the founding states that influenced the choice. The article in question (Chapter 3, Article 12 of the Statute of the Council of Europe – cf. Council of Europe 1949) does however state that "The rules of procedure of the Committee of Ministers and of the Consultative Assembly shall determine in what circumstances and under what conditions other languages may be used".

3.   Two approaches to policy making – the 'fluid' and the 'static'

The history of languages and language education shows that the political, the cultural and the educational are intertwined, education usually being seen as the means of realising political purposes, influenced by differing visions of cultural and economic entities, be they the 'nation-state' or a Europe of 'unity in diversity'. When policy makers attempt to respond to this situation, two realities are perceived, neither of which exists in pure form. On the one hand, it is assumed that the European situation is static, that the languages present are now settled whatever their historic movements might have been. In this perspective, language education in the past has included a nationalist approach to strengthening national languages and suppressing others, but this is now tempered by a recognition and celebration of the many other 'indigenous' languages.

The second approach is to assume that the language situation is fluid, that within the European 'space' – both territorial and psychological – languages develop and move as Europeans become more mobile *within* Europe, which is one kind of mobility, and the European space is entered by new 'non-indigenous' languages, as a consequence of migration *into* Europe, a second kind of mobility.

Some language education policies are located in the first position and, being well-established, tend to ignore the second. Examples include: the Council of Europe's 'European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages' (Council of Europe 1992) which pays no attention to new minority languages, and the European Union's white paper of 1995 where it is assumed that there are "Community languages" – an odd phrase which refers to the languages of the European Union – and by implication such languages are the only ones of interest. This is accompanied by a proposal that there should be a policy of language teaching from an early age and a suggestion of a methodology which has since become 'Content and Language Integrated Learning':

> In order to make for proficiency in three Community languages, it is desirable for foreign language learning to start at pre-school level. It seems essential for such teaching to be placed on a systematic footing in primary education, with the learning of a second Community foreign language starting in secondary school. It could even be argued that secondary school pupils *should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned,* as is the case in the European schools.
> (European Commission 1995: 47 – emphasis added)

Policies which recognise the fluidity of languages and language learning in a situation of mobility are a more recent phenomenon, still seeking a firm base, as we shall see below in the discussion of language education policy for (im)migration. However, historic and contemporary ideologies exist simultaneously despite being

in theory mutually exclusive, and the static perspective is still dominant. It is concerned with the teaching of languages which are the 'national' languages of Europe, and with ensuring that Europeans learn each other's languages, variously referred to as 'foreign' and 'modern', e.g. 'modern foreign languages' (Britain), *langues vivantes* (living languages, French) *Fremdsprachen* (foreign, also 'strange', German) 'чужди езици' (foreign, Bulgarian) *lenguas extranjeras* (foreign, Spanish). The question of what the precise purposes and approaches of teaching should be – why and how Europeans should learn each other's languages – is still the dominant question, and as we shall see next, this too can be formulated by reference to historic changes.

4.   'Modern' and 'classical' (foreign) language teaching aims

Purposes and methods are decided informally and formally, more and less consciously, throughout education systems. This process applies as much to language teaching as to other parts of curricula. For example, teachers in their 'foreign' language classrooms make decisions about whether they expect their learners to imitate native speakers in terms of language competences and, at a different place in the continuum of policy making, the definition of the highest level of competence in the *CEFR* entails a description of what this might mean in competence terms, with the caveat that this is not exactly 'native'; questions arise about the difference between 'native' and 'native-like'. Teacher trainers decide in similar ways whether the candidates they admit to the profession should be 'native' or 'native-like', and those who write and correct examinations decide what 'model' and correct language they should expect. Historically, such questions were not asked because the native speaker was 'obviously' the model, but in recent decades this has been challenged (e.g. Chevalier 2012; Holliday 2005).

Such examples show that some decisions are made in inter-connected ways, throughout an education system, and are often influenced by European-level recommendations. In this case the processes are explicit and conscious. By contrast, one of the fundamental issues is often more diffuse in the practices of teaching and assessing, and made explicit only in documents produced at national level, namely the rationales for including languages in the education of young people, education which is 'general' and usually compulsory.

Rationales may be 'instrumental' or 'educational' and may be combined in different ways. Rationales are often invoked at the beginning of policy documents and then apparently forgotten as those who write them turn to matters of implementation. As implementation becomes a matter of teaching methods/*didactique* and assessment, the instrumental rationale has come to dominate the practical decision and policy making, particularly over the last five decades. This is taken

up, in one of his final statements about language teaching, by John Trim, whose ideas and leadership at the Council of Europe were a major influence on language teaching in Europe for the five decades from the 1960s. He presents a dichotomy of 'modern' and 'classical' paradigms of language teaching and learning, with the attendant historic connotations, and includes aims and rationales.

Trim distinguishes modern and classical aims as follows: "to become a member of a language community" and "to gain access to higher culture", respectively. The objectives in each case are: "to develop communicative ability" and "to provide a strict mental discipline" (2012: 16). He points out that the differences which follow and which he lists in detail, are "profound and far-reaching" and, although he does not explicitly refer to Kuhn's (1970) notion of paradigm shift, his choice of the term 'paradigm' in his description of change in Europe is surely deliberate.

Although Trim's presentation of 'modern' and 'classical' paradigms as a dichotomy might suggest that modernisation means abandonment of the classical and adoption of the modern, paradigm shift can also be understood as an integration of the two, and this explains how apparently mutually exclusive ideologies exist simultaneously. In his account of developing opinions and the final position taken in the Council of Europe, there are indications that this happened. In his summary of the 'aims' of the Council of Europe work, Trim says *inter alia* that language teaching and learning should "build up mutual understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity in a multilingual and multicultural Europe" (2012: 23). This, I suggest, is an integration of the aims of classical languages education to be 'humanistic, serious, deep, scholarly' with those of the modern to be "practical, realistic, balanced, dynamic" (2012: 18). The humanistic can be practical. However, despite this combination of classical and modern aims, they can be stymied by the 'objectives' formulated to implement them. If the objective "to develop communicative ability" replaces the objective "to develop a strict mental discipline", then there is a risk that the classical contribution of language education to learners' general education – to their *Bildung* (Bohlin 2013) – is lost.

Trim also suggests in his account of the Council of Europe's aims that understanding and respect for diversity is accompanied by the aim to develop "a common European intercultural identity by unforced mutual influence" (2012: 23). I suspect that the term "intercultural identity" is anachronous and is a projection into the thinking of the 1970s of the terminology of the 1990s, and used in the *CEFR* (Council of Europe 2001). It is however this term which encapsulates the combination of some aspects of the modern and some of the classical paradigms.[9]

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9. The term used in the 1970s and 1980s was 'socio-cultural' to refer to one dimension of language competence a 'modern' language teaching methodology should develop (van Ek 1986). The lack of detail in describing and providing descriptors for intercultural competence in the *CEFR*

Examples of how 'classical' aims can be formulated in a modern way can be found in policies created at governmental level. In Norway, for example, there is a focus on use of language but use in a variety of contexts, with consequences for self-understanding:

> Foreign languages are both an *educational subject and a humanistic subject.* This area of study shall give opportunity for experiences, joy and personal development, at the same time as it opens greater possibilities in the world of work and for study in many language regions. Competences in language and culture shall give the individual the possibility to understand, to 'live into' and value other cultures' social life and life at work, their modes and conditions of living, their way of thinking, their history, art and literature. The area of study (languages) can also contribute to developing interest and tolerance, *develop insight in one's own conditions of life and own identity*, and contribute to a joy in reading, creativity, experience and personal development.   (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training n.d., my (literal) translation here and below with emphasis added)

The emphasis on education – *dannelse* or, in German, *Bildung* – and humanistic aims is particularly strong but the usefulness of language competence is not forgotten. It is a usefulness not only in international trade and support for the economy, as is often stated, since language competences are the means to "communicate well in meetings between cultures both in one's own country and in regions where the target language is spoken". Importantly, a link is also made with democratic activity:

> Communicative skills and cultural insight can further increase cooperation, understanding and respect among people with different cultural backgrounds. In this way language and cultural competence is part of the general educational perspective and contributes to the strengthening of democratic engagement and citizenship.
>   (ibid.)

This is an echo of Council of Europe work and policy-making, as is the reference to 'meetings between cultures', for at the Council of Europe and in the European Union, the year 2008 was declared a year of 'intercultural dialogue' as a response to the diversity created by the two kinds of mobility mentioned earlier, and the Council of Europe produced a White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living Together as Equals in Dignity" which however had little to say about language education (Byram & Méndez García 2013).

In an attempt to remedy this omission, the Council of Europe created a working group which combined experts on foreign language and intercultural communication, experts on citizenship education and experts on history education.

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has meant the potential has not yet been fully recognised, although the new companion volume includes creating descriptors for 'pluricultural competence'.

The resulting *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters* is intended to promote intercultural dialogue by helping users to analyse their experience of encounters. The tool is based on a model of intercultural communicative competence combined with competences in citizenship. A further development is the creation of a *Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture,* following the *CEFR*, which provides a model of competences needed for intercultural dialogue in democratic societies. The model includes competences in other languages combined with competences derived from existing models of intercultural communication and democratic citizenship (Council of Europe n.d. (1)). The Framework allows curriculum designers and teachers of all subjects at all levels of education to plan how their work can contribute to the acquisition of these competences. Language teachers and curriculum designers have a crucial role to play,[10] as do those who deal with the role of language in learning to which we shall return below. The *Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture* is thus one implementation of policy to meet the diversity in Europe which has been enhanced by increasing migration within and especially into Europe, to which we turn next.

5. Language education policy and migration – analysing ideologies

In a vision which I have referred to above as 'fluid', and which abjures the historic notion that the language situation in Europe is 'static' and that policies should reinforce the *status quo*, there is a need to clarify which languages are present in a multilingual space. There are the 'languages of Europe' i.e. those which are perceived to be indigenous, and the 'languages in Europe', whatever their origins and whatever the time of their appearance in Europe. In the latter perspective, languages are better described as 'old' or 'new', rather than 'indigenous' and '(im)migrant'.

An historical analysis might question how long it takes for a language to move from one category to the other and what are the conditions under which a 'minority' language becomes a 'national language'. An ideological analysis reveals that this is not a simple issue of time. In England for example, there has been a fluctuating debate about which languages should be taught in the part of the curriculum devoted to 'foreign' languages (Anderson 2008). Should they be the 'European languages' as implied by the EU's recommendations, or should they include other languages present in Europe? The debate is complex, not least because the function and significance of languages other than English, acquired in the home and local community,

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10. There is already theoretical and practical work on the relation between language teaching and citizenship education which developed independently and prior to the framework (Byram 2008; Byram et al. 2017).

is different from how 'foreign' languages are seen by learners and society at large. Languages of the first type are referred to as 'community languages' or 'heritage languages' and their presence in Britain is considered to be the consequence of migration, which usually then becomes immigration. Currently, in the English national policy, at primary school level, "any modern or ancient foreign language" may be taught whereas at secondary level "any modern foreign language may be taught" (Department for Education 2013). The inclusion of 'ancient' languages in primary but not secondary is an intriguing fact which cannot be analysed further here, but the phrase 'any language' opens possibilities for policy decisions and choice of languages to be made at local level; it is not possible to say to what extent this is realised. At European level, the picture is not encouraging, as suggested by a survey in 2016:

> The EU has […] promoted the learning of foreign languages. However, learning minority and immigrant languages has been less emphasised in national policies, even though their value as an important means of communication and integral part of personal, cultural and social identity has been recognised by researchers, the Council of Europe and the EU. Few European countries presently provide opportunities for bilingual learning in host societies and few students can choose to study their home language as a subject in school.   (van Driel et al. 2016: 36)

The children of migration have not hitherto been well served by the European Union, but the language needs of refugees have led to a change in policy for adults. The online courses originally designed to help people to be more mobile within Europe under the Erasmus + scheme were made available to refugees via national agencies (Erasmus + n.d.).

Migration into, and out of, Europe is however not a new phenomenon; from the *Völkerwanderungen* onwards there are historical and historiographical records. Migration is usually closely linked with economic forces, and effects on language and education policy-making are often traceable to economic relations among migrants and autochthones. In the second half of the 20th century when migrants were encouraged and welcomed into western European countries, because their services were needed in expanding economies with falling or at best static populations, language education policy was part of economic policy. In the first decades of the 21st century, where migration into Europe is no longer perceived as necessary, it is called a 'crisis' and a matter of social policy, but in both cases there is a need for a language education policy even though it might have different purposes.

In both situations, migration is initially perceived as temporary, and reverse migration is expected. In the first case, it was assumed that workers would return

whence they came when the economic need was over.[11] In the second case, it is assumed that the return will take place when the country of origin offers (again) satisfactory conditions for living, be it the end of a war or an end to poverty. If the first case can be used to predict the outcomes of the second, then the 'return' will be limited, as the children of migration realise that their 'home' country is not the place whence their parents came. Whether the place where they live, and in many cases were born, can become their 'home' is not self-evident however, and poses a policy problem which includes language education policy. A 'nation-state' which pretends that there are static and immutable 'national languages' which must be prioritised in language education, to the exclusion of other languages, is stating categorically that the children of migration must assimilate linguistically. At the same time, it turns a blind eye to current trends and historical records, which show that national languages are not immutable. Recent history in former Yugoslavia is a case where 'national languages' have transmuted and/or been invented to represent and reinforce new identities and new 'nation-states', with Montenegrin for example as the new language of Montenegro.

The ways in which policy-makers at national level within states treat languages does not depend on the languages *per se* since any single language or variety of a language can be treated not in terms of its characteristics or even its origins, but in terms of its function in a society and for its members, 'new' or 'old'. A taxonomy of policies dealing with languages of migration and the language learning of the children of migration needs to include the following characterisations:

–   **Developmental**: language learning for those who already know the language, where 'know' means any level of competence, in spoken or written mode.
    In this case, the function of the language and the aims of the policy can include:
    –   *instrumental*: policy makers expect that learners will be naturally bilingual and use a language in either or both modes in the country where they live and/or in another country to which they have ties (Example: Panjabi in Britain; Arabic in France; and other 'new' languages in other European countries)
    –   *identity-maintaining*: policy makers intend that improving competence in a language will reinforce or create identification with a social (ethnic) group which has links with another country (Examples: 'heritage' languages

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11.   In the early phases of education for the children of migrant workers, language education included teaching the 'heritage language' so that the possibility of return to the education system of the 'homeland' would be possible. This was the case in Germany with respect to Turkish migrant workers children for example (Leisau n.d.) and also in some schools in Belgium (Byram & Leman 1990).

modelled on the treatment of indigenous regional or minority languages,[12] e.g. Arabic in France, where it is argued that Arabic should be maintained in state education and not abandoned to private associations (Cheikh 2010; Lahoud & Karoui 2016)

– **Foreign**: language for learners for whom the language is foreign/exogenous i.e. external both to themselves and perceived to be so for the country in which they live, where aims include:

  – *instrumental*: policy makers expect the language to be acquired as one of the competences needed by individuals and their societies engaging with other countries for economic and related purposes ('globalisation')

  – *identity-creating*: policy makers, sometimes but perhaps rarely, hope that this language learning will create an identification/understanding with people of other countries to complement their national identity and provide the basis for understanding otherness

  – *educational*: policy makers emphasise the reflective criticality spurred by engagement with other countries and peoples and the acquisition of intercultural competence. (Example: Traditional foreign language teaching offered to children of migration as to all other children)

– **Maintenance**: language for learners where the expectation of policy makers is that there will be a return to the country of origin and where the aims are:

  – *instrumental*: learners will be able to use the language in their daily life on their 'return'

  – *identity-maintaining or creating*: policy makers expect that learners will identify with the language and the people and country of their real or imagined origin

  – *educational*: is rarely an aim for this category of policy although not excluded in principle. (Example: This could mean Syrian and other languages of refugees in Germany on the model offered to migrant workers in the 1970s [Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2010])

The focus on language learning and migration at national level in policy-making can thus be traced to the 1960s and 1970s[13] and was paralleled by developments at European level.

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12. This implies a need for a charter for new languages similar to the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional and Minority Languages.

13. In Britain there was, in addition to the presence of languages other than English, the issue of how to respond to non-standard varieties of English. Since many migrant workers came from former British colonies, especially the West Indies, they and their children spoke varieties of

At the Council of Europe, after the adoption of a Resolution of the Council of Ministers in 1968 'On the Teaching of Languages to Migrant Workers', work on languages for migrant workers and other adult learners began in the 1970s with an attempt to develop a unit-credit system of language teaching. This was associated with the concept of a 'Threshold Level' i.e. a minimum competence in a language to meet the needs of everyday living and working, not least for migrant workers. This was largely a matter of teaching the languages of 'reception countries', such as Germany or France, in state education institutions.

At this point, it is important to note that policies of the Council of Europe are framed as 'Recommendations' to member states and are not binding. The European Union does not, either, impose policies on member states since matters of education are regulated by states themselves, under the principle of 'subsidiarity'. The Council of Europe's recommendations are however very detailed and, in explanatory notes and appendices, provide a solid basis for actions which member states may decide to take. For example, in a recommendation from 2008, there is discussion of the role of textbooks, certification and teacher education as well as repetition of earlier discussions of the processes of language learning and teaching at different ages and in different education institutions. This is a recognition that policies are made and re-made as different levels of implementation take place, including what teachers do in their classrooms. At the time of writing migration is high on the public agenda due to a relatively sudden growth in the number of refugees and asylum-seekers from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. The Council of Europe has responded with a programme 'Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants' (LIAM) (Council of Europe n.d. (2)) which draws on many existing Council of Europe materials in a 'toolkit' to assist member states in policy-making and volunteers in teaching the host languages adult migrants need. For the children of migration – and others with some kind of linguistic disadvantage – the Council of Europe had already focused on the 'language of schooling' to complement the earlier focus on foreign languages.

The 'language of schooling' refers to education in the standard language(s) of the state, Bulgarian in Bulgaria, French and Flemish in Belgium and so on. It takes different forms in different countries but everywhere aims to ensure learners use the 'standard' or 'national' language, the language of identification with the nation-state. It is often linked to the teaching of the literature which is defined as 'national', with an emphasis on iconic authors. In more recent times it has taken up the instrumental rationale of the importance of communication skills with a view to learners becoming effective users of their L1 in present and later lives.

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English which were perceived as problematic for children who needed to acquire standard English to be successful in education (Rampton Report 1981).

For some learners the acquisition of the standard language is not simply a matter of honing existing skills but of engaging with a language variety which is new to them, which they have not acquired before entering schooling. Such learners include those from disadvantaged backgrounds, from regions with a different language variety in daily life, and from migration. These learners are at risk because a lack of mastery of the standard language in which the rest of their education takes place, can lead to educational failure, as has been recognised in research and addressed in teaching for several decades (e.g. Lawton 1968; for an introduction and overview see: Thürmann et al. 2010).

With its recommendation "on the importance of competences in the language(s) of schooling for equity and quality in education and for educational success", the Council of Europe has placed language education at the heart of social justice and inclusion. At the same time, the presentation of the language(s) of schooling on a platform which includes documents on teaching 'foreign languages – modern and classical' and 'regional, minority and migration languages' presents language education in and for a multilingual Europe for the first time in a holistic way, and for the first time treats the 'new' (minority) languages of Europe on a par with the 'old' ones. The presence of the 'new' languages and the historical link of migration with economic changes are in the contemporary world, at least in part, a function of globalisation, but globalisation affects not only migrants and we need to look at this phenomenon in its wider context.

6.   Language education policy, globalisation and internationalisation

The question of the aims of language teaching as instrumental and/or educational has taken on a new significance as education systems are drawn into the process of globalisation and the creation of a global economic system. People have become 'human capital', an 'investment' which is made through education. As a consequence, 'human development' – better captured in the German term *Bildung* or Danish and Norwegian *dannelse*, as we saw above – may be in danger.

The relationship between education systems and *Bildung* can be traced to the early 19th century, and the idea that language education is part of *Bildung* is evident in the writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt[14] and part of the 'classical' paradigm

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14. A key idea is expressed in a metaphor of the spider's web which is echoed in Clifford Geertz's well-known definition of 'culture' (Geertz 1975) or 'world view' as Humboldt says: "By the same act whereby (man) spins language out of himself, he spins himself into it, and every language draws about the people that possess it a circle whence it is possible to exit only over at once into the circle of another one. To learn a foreign language should therefore be to acquire a new standpoint

discussed earlier. In contrast to the focus on the *Bildung* of the individual, the idea that education systems should create the human capital required in a society puts emphasis on the relationship of the individual to fellow members of a social group, and this linking of education systems to human capital, the 'commodification' of education, is a phenomenon of the second half of the 20th century (Becker 2006; Woodhall 1997). Commodification has not left language education untouched. 'Global markets' cannot overlook the fact that the marketplace is a multilingual space. The acquisition of languages is a substantial element of the cultural capital and this capital is legitimised by educational institutions as a contribution the individual makes to the total capital 'owned' by a society. International commerce, albeit often transacted in English as a *lingua franca*, is a location where participants nonetheless draw upon their multilingualism and their plurilingual competences.

Although a term used mainly by academics, 'human capital' is also discussed, with other words, throughout societies and their media; it is the stuff of elections and of demonstrations and part of how people think about education. Those who make decisions about young people's education – from parents to teachers to ministers – look for the most efficient means to acquire appropriate cultural capital for the global marketplace, including multilingual capital. Whether they think of their actions as 'policy' or not, parents look for opportunities to send their children to 'bilingual nurseries', and schools increasingly offer those languages – for example Chinese in English, French and German schools[15] – which are perceived as the languages of globalisation. The support of cultural institutes for languages – the

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in the world-view hitherto possessed, and in fact to a certain extent is so, since every language contains the whole conceptual fabric and mode of presentation of a portion of mankind. But because we always carry over, more or less, our own world-view, and even our own language-view, this outcome is not purely and completely experienced" (Humboldt 1836[1988]: 60).

15. *In France*: there are 665 secondary and 50 primary schools offering Chinese (L'AFPC). "Le chinois, langue la plus parlée au monde, l'est de plus en plus dans les établissements scolaires en France, où le nombre d'élèves *en quête d'une ouverture culturelle ou d'un passeport pour l'emploi*, a explosé en dix ans. Actuellement, plus de 33.000 élèves apprennent le chinois dans 593 collèges et lycées. C'est 13% de plus qu'il y a un an et 400% de plus qu'il y a dix ans, selon une note de Joël Bel Lassen, inspecteur général de chinois au ministère de l'Education nationale. Avec l'ajout de la Corse, le mandarin sera enseigné dans toutes les académies de métropole à la rentrée 2013" (L'Obs avec AFP 2013).

In Germany: there were at the latest count (2015) 76 schools offering Chinese as a subject and many others offering it as an extra-curricular activity (Fachverband Chinesisch e.V. (FaCh) n.d.) whereas in 2010 there had been 64 (Lübke 2015).

In England: Research of schools in England show that there has been a significant increase in the teaching of Chinese in schools; in 2005 only 7–8% of state secondary schools were offering Chinese. Now that number has gone up to 13%, alongside 46% of independent schools. It is the strongest of the lesser-taught languages across the sectors (BACS n.d.).

British Council for English, the Confucius Institutes for Chinese, the Cervantes Institute for Spanish, etc. – can be seen as facilitative or as a seizing of opportunities for (neo)colonial commercial gains, or indeed both (e.g. Gil 2017).

However, as well as being *homines economici*, the denizens of multilingual societies also have a citizenship which differs from their ancestors in 'monolingual' societies. They need multilingual and plurilingual competences not only for work but also to be active citizens in multilingual societies. As we saw earlier, with the example from Norwegian curricular documents and the projects of the Council of Europe and others, there are signs of educational response in policy and practice. Plurilingual and intercultural education – to use the Council of Europe's phrase – is a *sine qua non* for active citizenship in a multilingual society.

Citizenship is however no longer a matter of belonging simply to one society or state. The European Union offers its denizens international citizenship, and language teaching for 'globalisation' is associated – in the public mind and in policy statements – with 'internationalisation' and the reduction of national boundaries. The term 'internationalisation' can also be connoted with the 'internationalism'[16] which language teaching implicitly pursues, but because of the threat to nation-states and nationalism which internationalism poses, language education policies at national level seldom refer to it. They adopt internationalisation without internationalism.

In general, educational institutions, especially higher education,[17] have responded to the new context by making 'internationalisation' a key term, and this is not just a European development (cf. Alemu 2014; Mok 2007). Such policy often lays a responsibility on language learning as a prime instrument for internationalisation. The most frequent result is the use of English as a medium of instruction. Wächter and Maiworm (2008), quoted in Doiz et al. (2011), report that over 400 European HEIs provided more than 2,400 programmes taught entirely in English

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16. This is itself a complex topic but for educational purposes the following definition is a useful starting point: "What I mean by internationalism is a readiness to act on the assumption that mankind as a whole is the proper society to have in mind for matters that cannot with safety or with such good effect be left exclusively within the domain of smaller social groups such as nations. I think it will be agreed that this is not an extravagant definition" (Elvin 1960: 16).

17. Internationalisation in schools is less developed and less theorised. Phrases such as 'international education' and 'international mindedness' are more common than 'internationalisation' and tend to be confined to association with the International Baccalaureate (Castro et al. 2015). Cambridge and Thompson (2004) argue that internationalisation in schools can be conceptually distinguished from globalisation – with a distinction between 'progressive' and 'pragmatic' which parallels the one used here between *Bildung* and human capital – and as Yemini says, "the debate over the definition of the international dimension in education had evolved separately in research on schools and on higher education systems" (2012: 154) with the former still unresolved.

in 2007, a 340 per cent from 2002. The distribution is however not even, and the Nordic countries and the Netherlands feature particularly strongly, to such an extent that in Sweden the use of English has had to be regulated at the governmental level and there is a fear that Swedish might be marginalised as an academic language (Kuteeva & Airey 2014).

In other cases, universities emphasise their multilingual policy and teach in two or more languages. The University of Luxembourg is a particular example where the Mission Statement says: "Its multilingualism is an important characteristic of the University, enriching both teaching and research through the unique plurality of perspectives that it embeds in the culture of the institution". Such a claim is interesting for its emphasis on the advantages of multilingualism, associated with 'intercultural collaboration' (University of Luxembourg 2016). Close analysis reveals however a very complex situation where not only languages but also such matters as cultures of teaching and learning need to be taken into account, with teachers and learners coming from multiple origins with multiple social representations of teaching, learning and research (Hu 2016). Van Leeuwen (2004: 583) argues that universities such as Luxembourg – others include Fribourg, Bolzano, Frankfurt an der Oder and Helsinki – "are the places where the ideal of the European Community, to create a European elite with at least three professional languages begins to become visible" but at the moment such universities exist only because of their special locations or histories in border regions.

Whether through English as a *lingua franca* or through a multilingual concept, it is assumed that teaching and learning in a language other than one's dominant one – whether the phrase 'mother tongue' is used or not – will be a positive experience. It will lead to improved language competence and 'plurality' in one's educational experience and outcomes. The introduction of 'Content and Language Integrated Learning' (CLIL) in schools appears to justify the use of another language for teaching and learning in universities, without sufficient recognition of the specific teaching methods – and teacher training – needed to make CLIL a success. Furthermore, research in multilingual schools has for decades warned against the difficulties learners may have in studying in a language they do not master – captured in Cummins' (1979) notions of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) or Hornberger's (2002) continua of biliteracy – and there is some research which has focused on this in universities too (cf. Van der Walt 2013). Acquiring the crucial 'threshold concepts' (Meyer et al. 2010) in a second or third language may be even more complex than it has been shown to be in monolingual environments.

In short, the language(s) of teaching and learning, brought into universities through a wish for internationalisation and globalisation, are not simply a matter of using a 'foreign language competence' whether acquired as economic capital or

Bildung. A closer analysis quickly shows that language learning must be seen as part of a broader concern for language education. Language education policy is not only a matter of 'foreign' languages.

7.   Next steps – multilingualism and citizenship

The influence of the Council of Europe's work on languages and multilingualism is undeniable, the crucial period of work being the 1990s. It is noteworthy that much of the work of that period took place within a framework project entitled 'Language Learning for European Citizenship', reported in Trim (1997). It is also noteworthy that despite this general title, the almost exclusive focus of the languages project was on language matters – on describing competences, providing the means of analysing needs, and so on – all of which came to fruition in the *CEFR*. The potential link with theory and practice of citizenship education – some of the most important work on this in fact taking place within the Council of Europe (Council of Europe n.d. (3)) – was not made but recent work has shown that language education can bring a fresh, internationalist perspective to education for citizenship and democratic competence (Byram et al. 2017).

Events of terrorism in Europe have led to an analysis of social policies and an urgency to find an educational response to the lack of cohesion and inclusion in some European societies. The need to counter-act growing nationalism with an internationalist, European response through education is crucial and multilingualism/plurilingualism in Europe is a *sine qua non* of Europe's continuing democratic development and its hoped-for peaceful future. Language education in all its forms has a significant role to play.

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Multilingualism and education in sub-Saharan Africa

Policies, practices and implications

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The management of multilingualism has been a challenging issue around the world, in particular in post-colonial contexts whereby former colonial languages are usually associated with upward socioeconomic mobility while local languages are often linked with informal domains, thus assumed as low-status languages. This situation poses challenges to language-in-education planning, policy and practice. Among other things, education planners, teachers and parents are required to make choices between the attested relevance of first language based education and education in a second or foreign language, widely perceived as the best way to equip the students with the linguistic resources and skills that will allow them to compete in national and global markets. Despite some discursive and policy shift in sub-Saharan Africa, from a multilingualism-as-problem to multilingualism-as-resource orientation, monolingualism in education is still the norm. This chapter describes typical language constellations and assumptions in sub-Saharan Africa, discusses their implications in language-in-education policies and practices and how these policies and practices influence personal attitudes and social relations. The chapter is based on a critical examination of past and current language planning and policy processes in sub-Saharan Africa, as presented and discussed in different documents. The analytical perspective adopted in this study takes account of the fact that discursive orientations to multilingualism and actual practices are crucially shaped by historical and sociopolitical processes at local, national, regional and global levels. The main message of the chapter is that multilingualism should be viewed as a resource in education and in the wider society rather than a threat to successful education and social integration or cohesion.

Keywords: multilingualism, multilingualism-as-resource, sub-Saharan Africa, first language, second language, education

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1.   Introduction

Based on analyses of different contexts, studies have revealed that language planning and policy is not an ideologically neutral endeavor; it "is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources" (Tollefson 1991: 16). The ideological nature of language planning and policy is particularly evident in post-colonial contexts whereby inherited colonial languages are usually associated with national unity and upward socioeconomic mobility while local languages are often viewed as divisive and deprived of socioeconomic capital, since their use has been confined to informal domains (Bamgbose 1991, 1999, 2011; Bokamba 2011).

This situation poses challenges to language-in-education planning, policy and practice. Among other things, education planners, teachers and parents are required to make choices between the attested relevance of first language (L1) based education and education in a second (L2) or foreign language (FL), widely perceived as the best way to equip the students with the linguistic resources and skills that will allow them to compete in national and global markets. The choice of inherited colonial languages as the media of instruction in post-colonial contexts has been interpreted as a strategy adopted by political elites to perpetuate their dominance by ensuring that large numbers of people are unable to acquire the language(s) or the linguistic competence that they would need to succeed in school and efficiently participate in social and political life (Fasold 1997; Tollefson 1991). To explain this strong tendency to maintain inherited colonial languages as official languages in post-colonial contexts, analysts have proposed concepts/theories such as "elite closure" (Myers-Scotton 1993) and "ukolonia" (Bokamba 2011; cf. below).

Despite some discursive and policy shift in sub-Saharan Africa, from a multilingualism-as-problem to multilingualism-as-resource orientation, monolingualism in education is still the norm. Indeed, as will become apparent throughout this chapter, a number of countries have been creating constitutional and policy spaces for the use of African languages in high domains, in particular in the educational field, though such spaces are hardly filled up. In general, there is a mismatch between policy and actual implementation, which results in the maintenance of the colonial legacy (e.g. Bamgbose 1999, 2011; Kamwangamalu 2009; Stroud 2001; Trudell & Piper 2014).

This chapter describes typical language constellations and assumptions in sub-Saharan Africa, discusses their implications in language-in-education policies and practices and how these policies and practices influence personal attitudes and social relations. The chapter is based on a critical examination of past and current language planning and policy processes in sub-Saharan Africa, as presented and discussed in different documents. The chapter also revisits some relevant issues

discussed in Chimbutane (2011, 2012) in view of new developments in language planning and policy processes in sub-Saharan Africa. The analytical perspective adopted in this study takes account of the fact that discursive orientations to multilingualism and actual practices are crucially shaped by historical and sociopolitical processes at local, national, regional and global levels. The main message of the chapter is that multilingualism should be viewed as a resource in education and in the wider society rather than a threat to successful education and social integration or cohesion.

2.   Historical and sociopolitical context

Studies have shown that in order to fully appreciate the current language situation in post-colonial Africa (and also in other post-colonial contexts), one needs to critically review the language policies and practices that prevailed during colonial rule (Alidou 2004; Alidou & Jung 2001; Campbell-Makini 2000). This is because most current language policy decisions, practices and commonly held views about inherited colonial and African languages still reflect the colonial legacy (Bamgbose 1991). While taking a diachronic point of view and recognizing the power of socio-historical forces in shaping current language policy processes and practices, it is equally important to consider synchronic national, regional and global sociopolitical factors in the explanation of the language situation in sub-Saharan Africa. Both perspectives will be taken in subsequent parts of the chapter.

2.1   Language policies in the colonial era

In the analysis of colonial language policies in Africa, Ansre (1978) uses the terms "pro-users" and "anti-users" to refer to two major groups of colonial powers, based on whether they tolerated/promoted or proscribed the use of African languages in official domains, including in education. In the case of formal education, the pro-users, such as Britain and Germany, tolerated or even promoted the use of African languages as media of learning and teaching, particularly at the elementary level. The anti-users, like France and Portugal, imposed the use of colonial languages as media of learning and teaching, at the same time that they proscribed the use of African languages.

As discussed in Chimbutane (2011, 2012), the language policies adopted in education and elsewhere reflected the general colonial philosophies entertained by each colonial power. For example, the British pro-user policy was consistent with its "policy of indirect rule" (Alidou 2004: 199, and references therein): British colonial territories were indirectly administrated via local chiefs. Describing this

policy, Obondo (2008) notes that the British assumed that "a colony's needs could well be served by training a rather small cadre of 'natives' in English and allowing these to mediate between the colonial power and the local population" (p. 152). In contrast, the anti-user policies of France and Portugal were consonant with their overt and *de jure* assimilationist philosophies. For France and Portugal, one of their core missions in Africa was to 'civilize' the natives by spreading their languages and cultural values. Within this ideological setup, the use of African languages was, in both cases, viewed as an obstacle to the objectives of cultural assimilation in the colonial languages, namely French and Portuguese. Therefore, these European languages were defined as the sole languages of formal education. In contrast, the use of African languages was restricted to informal domains and, exceptionally, to evangelical purposes.

Overall, the different policies outlined above led to common underlying consequences: the construction of the view of European languages as languages of modernity and socioeconomic advancement and African languages as inferior forms of speech, only useful in informal domains. However, the ideological philosophies associated with the pro-user and anti-user divide may also help to explain some nuanced differences in terms of language development and language attitudes in the countries concerned. In the countries where the use of African languages was tolerated and even promoted, they underwent relative development, here defined as the availability of standardized orthographic systems, glossaries, dictionaries, grammars, fictional literature materials, etc. in such languages (e.g. Kiswahili in East Africa). Also, in such cases, people have tended to be more positive regarding the use of African languages in formal arenas. This has been the case in former British and German colonies. In the countries where African languages were officially banned, they have not developed. They remained restricted to informal domains, and were primarily used orally. In such cases, people have tended to be less tolerant about the use of these languages in official functions. This has been commonly the case in former French and Portuguese colonies.

The prevailing dominance of inherited colonial languages in high domains in sub-Saharan Africa and the current signs of resistance to the introduction of mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE) programmes and to the use of multilingual resources in classrooms need to be explained within this broader socio-historical context.

2.2   Language policies in the post-colonial era

The language policies adopted in the colonial era continue to influence and define the policies currently pursued in the overwhelming majority of sub-Saharan countries. In fact, despite more than 50 years of independence of most countries,

inherited colonial languages continue to be *the* official languages and, technically, the sole languages of learning and teaching (LoLT) in formal education, whereas African languages remain relegated to informal domains and only used (where they are used at all) at elementary level of primary education.

In a highly multilingual sub-Saharan Africa, the majority of African leaders opted for retaining the inherited colonial languages as official languages for government and education. As part of the ideology underpinning the project of nation-state building, these were perceived as the neutral languages of national integration, modernization and access to global development (Alidou 2004; Bamgbose 1999, 2011; Obondo 2008). In contrast, African languages were viewed as obstacles to cultural integration and national unity. There were a few exceptions of Marxist and/or Pan-Africanist oriented governments whose leaders promoted African languages to the status of official languages, as were the cases of Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia, Mohamed Siad Barre in Somalia and Ahmed Sékou Touré in Guinea Conakry (see Alidou & Jung 2001; Bamgbose 2011; Bokamba 1991, 2011; Kamwangamalu 2009). For these leaders, African languages should be used to foster national political goals and identity.

As a consequence of the overwhelming pro-European language policies in sub-Saharan Africa, with rare exceptions, the language-in-education policies that reigned in the colonial era were also maintained after independence: where African languages had been excluded, they remained excluded, and where they had been allowed in the lower primary school, they continued to be used but limited to this level. The exceptions to this general trend included: (i) the abandonment of the use of African languages and adoption of the English-only monolingual model of education at all levels, a backwards move, as happened in Ghana, Kenya and Zambia; and (ii) the extension of the use of African languages in education, as in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania.

The policies that tended to maintain or even reinforce the colonial *status quo* were based on the perceived pragmatism and functionality of the societal use of a former colonial language, whereas those which tended to give prominence to African languages were linked to the pursuit of nationalistic goals. Despite the differences in terms of goals, these two trends share the tendency to marginalize other languages in society, as in both cases such other languages are not only excluded from the official domain of the school but also from other high-status domains. Indeed, even the case of Tanzania, which has been championed as a successful example of development and promotion of indigenous languages to high functions, it turns out that the promotion of Kiswahili, which is the first language of a tiny minority (mostly Zanzibari in origin), came at the price of exclusion of other local languages and their speakers (Batibo 2005; Petzell 2012; Trudell & Piper 2014). The same outcome applies to the privileging of Amharic in Ethiopia, Chichewa in

Malawi and Setswana in Botswana (Alidou et al. 2006; Batibo 2005; Heugh 2008; Nyati-Ramahobo 2000). As happens in contexts where a former colonial language is the sole LoLT, many children are forced to develop initial literacy and numeracy skills in a language different from the one that they speak at home or in their local communities, which leads to academic failure (e.g. Batibo 2005 in relation to Botswana).

2.3   Language policies in the current global era

While it is true that the language policy scenario described in the previous section continues to be the most dominant in sub-Saharan Africa, there have been some attempts to change the monolingual colonial legacy.

At continental level there have been initiatives to elevate the status of African languages. Such initiatives include the Language Plan of Action for Africa, agreed in July 1986 in Addis Ababa, and the work of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN). The Language Plan of Action for Africa is a document which states the aims, objectives and principles of the language policy in Africa, including the promotion of African languages as media of instruction at all levels of education (Alidou & Jung 2001; Heugh 2008; Küper 2003). Within this same framework, one of the tasks of ACALAN is to steer the revalorization of African languages in the continent so that they can be increasingly used in official high-status functions, including in tertiary education (Alexander 2003; Obondo 2008). The approach conveyed through ACALAN draws not only on international findings on the advantages of using familiar languages for education and development but also on a reclaimed, pre-colonial African legacy, from a historical period when some African languages, including Ge'ez and Amharic, were already used as media of instruction at various levels, including at university level (Campbell-Makini 2000; Hailemariam 2002; Heugh 2008). This continental movement has had some impact at the national level. Indeed, through legislative and policy measures, a number of African states have created space for the use of African languages in high domains together with inherited European languages. However, progress has been slow in terms of implementation of such pro-African language laws and policies (Bamgbose 1999, 2011; Kamwangamalu 2009; Prah 1995). In addition to internal forces, the implementation of pro-African language legislation and policies has also been constrained by the ideology of globalization.

This shift in terms of language policy translates the changing view about the relationship between multilingualism and national unity – multilingualism is increasingly viewed not as a problem but rather as a resource that nations should capitalize upon (Ruíz 1984). The underlying philosophy is that unity in difference is feasible

(Young 1993) and that African development can only be attained if, in addition to inherited European languages, African languages are also used for high functions (Alexander 1999; Bamgbose 2011; Djité 2008; Prah 1995; Rubagumya 2003).

The new trend of multilingual language policies in sub-Saharan Africa can be regarded as a practical consequence of this continental and transcontinental ideological shift. Compared to the independence phase, there are more African states that have recognized African languages as official languages either singly, or jointly with an inherited European language – Botswana, Burundi, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Lesotho, Madagascar, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa and Tanzania. The South African and Eritrean language policies have been used as illustrative examples of constitutionally declared multilingual policies (see Hailemariam 2002; Obondo 2008). In terms of education, there are more countries experimenting, introducing or expanding the use of African languages in education, as illustrated by the cases of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger (Alidou 2004; Alidou et al. 2006; Alidou & Jung 2001), Cape Verde and Mozambique (Benson 2000; Chimbutane 2011). The fact that these former French and Portuguese colonies, where there were *de jure* policies of assimilation, are piloting or introducing MTBBE can be regarded as strong evidence of a change of attitudes towards African languages and associated cultural values.

Despite this multilingual ethos in sub-Saharan Africa, in many cases there is a mismatch between discourse/policy and actual practice. The observation of this situation has led Bamgbose to state that:

> Mere designation of a language as an official language or its entrenchment in the Constitution does not by itself ensure empowerment, unless concrete steps are taken to implement the provisions of the relevant laws or regulations.
>
> (Bamgbose 2011:11)

In addition to implementational constraints associated to internal forces, the multilingual ethos is further hindered by global forces, in particular the renewed advancement of English into the domains of local, national and regional languages. One major consequence of this advancement is the backward movement attested in some countries that, until recently, had accorded a privileged space to some national languages. Some of these countries are now switching back towards English, especially for educational purposes. The setback in the swahilization process of Tanzania from the 1980's (Campbell-Makini 2000; Mazrui 2000; Rubagumya 2003) and the language-in-education policy reversals attested in Ghana (Trudell & Piper 2014 and references therein), Kenya (Mazrui 2000), Rwanda (Pearson 2014) and Zambia (Heugh 2008; Obondo 2008), for example, illustrate the states' legitimation of the hegemony of English. In all these cases, the renewed advancement of English is associated with the phenomenon of globalization: English is perceived as the

language of science, technology, business and international communication. That is, the language that allows individuals and states to compete in the global market.

3.   Bi- and multilingual education in post-colonial Africa

Since the independence phase, but most notably from the 1990s, there have been efforts to change the monolingual colonial legacy in Africa, through the enhancement of the status of African languages and extension of their use to wider and high domains. These efforts are more evident in the education field, where there have been attempts to introduce or extend the use of African languages as LoLT beyond elementary level (grades 1–3). As indicated so far, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Guinea Conakry, Mali, Niger and Mozambique are examples of countries that experimented, introduced or are trying to introduce the use of African languages in education, in combination with inherited colonial languages, whereas, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania illustrate cases of countries that extended the use of African languages beyond elementary level. However, as mentioned so far, there are also countries such as Kenya, Zambia and Rwanda that, at some point after independence, moved away from using African languages in early primary grades, while prescribing the sole use of an inherited colonial language (English) as the LoLT throughout school.

   Among the reasons that have been pushing African countries to experiment with education programmes that involve the use of African languages as media of learning and teaching is the growing consensus about the inefficiency of monolingual education systems based on inherited European languages, which are second and even foreign languages for most of the school children in sub-Saharan Africa. The chief argument advanced has been that the high rates of academic failure recorded in the continent and the consequent exacerbation of social inequalities are to a large extent due to the fact that a language unfamiliar to the child (English, French or Portuguese) has been used since the first day of schooling (Alidou 2004; Alidou et al. 2006; Bamgbose 1999; Bokamba 1991; Heugh 2008; Küper 2003). Thus the use of a language familiar to the child as a LoLT is assumed to have positive effects on her psychological and cognitive development, hence the attested better academic results achieved in such an education environment (Alidou 2004; Alidou et al. 2006; Alidou & Jung 2001; Bamgbose 2000; Benson 2000; Fafunwa 1990; Heugh 2008; Heugh et al. 2007; Obanya 1999).

   Although, in general, pro-African language policies in education have been poorly implemented, there are a few cases of success in sub-Saharan Africa. These cases of success include situations where African languages are used in experimental bilingual education projects (e.g. the Nigerian Six-Year Primary Project and

the Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon), and also beyond that (e.g. the extended use of Amharic in Ethiopia).

The Nigerian Six-Year Primary Project in Yoruba (1970–1978), also known as the Ile-Ife Project, is the most successful experimental project in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. In this project, students were taught in Yoruba for the full six years of primary education while learning English as a subject, whereas a control group was first taught in Yoruba for three years and then switched into English as medium of instruction. The evaluation of this project revealed that students in the experiment outperformed the controls not only in Yoruba but also in all other subjects, namely, English, mathematics, social studies, and science (Bamgbose 2000; Fanfunwa 1990). This project has been used as evidence of the superiority of an extended use of students' first languages as media of learning and teaching coupled with a proper teaching/learning of a second language.

Another successful initiative is the Operational Research Project for Language Education in Cameroon (PROPELCA) (Tadadjeu & Chiatoh 2005). According to Tadadjeu and Chiatoh (2005), this project was started in 1981 aiming to integrate the complementary promotion/teaching of mother tongues and the two official languages of the country, English and French. After a successful experimental phase, by 2005 the concept was introduced across the country. Tadadjeu and Chiatoh (2005) point to community ownership and identification with the programme as the key ingredients to account for the success achieved.

Ethiopia provides another example of the educational advantage of an extended use of first languages as media of learning and teaching. In a study on medium of instruction in Ethiopia, Heugh found that:

> […] students with eight years of MTE [Mother Tongue Education] have higher scores across the curriculum, especially in mathematics and science, than students with six, four or zero years of MTE. Students who perform best in English are those with six years of MTE followed by English medium, but overall, students with eight years of MTE achieve best across the entire curriculum.
>
> (Heugh 2009: 173; see also Heugh *et al.* 2007)

Despite the attested success of a number of the bilingual education experimental projects in sub-Saharan Africa, a common trend is that, for various reasons, they are not expanded to wider contexts – they die at the experimental phase. Lack of funds, ideologically-based misconceptions about education in African languages and lack of political will emerge as the key reasons why such successful initiatives have not been replicated and/or expanded. The lack of follow-up to successful African (and international) experiences has led some authors to conclude that language policy decisions in Africa are not guided by research findings but mainly by political pragmatism (Alidou & Jung 2001; Küper 2003).

With the exception of a few well implemented bilingual education projects and programmes, as illustrated above, the majority of such initiatives have been poorly planned and/or implemented, leading to unimpressive results (Alidou 2004; Alidou et al. 2006; Bamgbose 1999; Benson 2000; Bokamba 1991, 2011; Heugh 2008; Küper 2003; Pearson 2014; Trudell & Piper 2014). In fact, results from studies of different contexts indicate that common features of pro-African language policies in sub-Saharan Africa include (1) the use of these languages only at elementary level, (2) the implementation of bilingual programmes mainly in rural areas, (3) the failure to go beyond the experimental phase of bilingual education provision, and (4) policy fluctuations.

In general, African languages are used as LoLT in the first two or three years of primary education and mainly in rural settings. The preference for early-exit transitional models of bilingual education is linked to the perception that late transition adversely affects the learning of the sought-after inherited European languages. Education planners and politicians do not seem to listen to evidence-based recommendations which suggest that, contrary to public opinion, early transition does not facilitate the development of the required competence in the L2 or FL for meaningful access to the curriculum (Alidou et al. 2006; Heugh 2008; Küper 2003). In addition, MTBBE programmes are usually regarded as only suitable to rural areas allegedly due to their linguistic homogeneity, that is, implementation of such initiatives in urban areas is often avoided allegedly due to their linguistic heterogeneity, which makes the implementation of MTBBE more challenging. Within this framework, one can conclude that the aim of using African languages in early primary grades is chiefly to facilitate the learning of a second or foreign language. In other words, these programmes are not geared towards the development of bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism (Baker 2006) as well as enabling academic achievement in both languages of instruction (Freeman 2006 [2004]).

Poor planning and/or implementation has led to constant fluctuations in language policies in sub-Saharan Africa. When education systems fail to produce the desired results, language-in-education policies are often regarded as the weakest links, in particular when they are pro-African languages. This has been one of the main reasons of policy reversals, as has happened, for example, in Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda and Zambia.

Countries such as Guinea Conakry, Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mozambique can be used as examples of less successful cases of bilingual education provision. Guinea Conakry experimented the use of Guinean languages and French as LoLT. In this project, Guinean languages were used as media of instruction in the first four years of primary school and taught as subjects from the third year. According to Obondo (2008: 154), despite some promise, "the project foundered through lack

of funds to provide books and teachers and through growing parent and student resistance to the use of indigenous languages".

Alidou (2004) and Alidou et al. (2006) also report on experimental bilingual schools initiated in the mid-1970s and early 1980s in Niger (*écoles expérimentales*), Burkina Faso (*les écoles satellites*) and Mali (*les écoles de la pedagogie convergent*). Like the Guinean project, the objective of these schools was to promote the use of children's mother tongues as media of learning and teaching in the first three years, with a switch into French at grade 4. Alidou (2004) notes that despite careful planning efforts, these projects posed the same problems identified in many other experimental bilingual programmes in Africa: the scarcity of trained practitioners, paucity of materials in local languages, and corpus planning challenges, such as the codification of African languages.

After a pilot phase (1993–1997), since 2003 sixteen African languages have been used as media of learning and teaching in the first three years of schooling in Mozambique, a role that is taken up by Portuguese at grade 4. Studies have revealed, among other things, that the programme is having some positive impact on students' learning in early grades (CAPRA 2013; Ngunga et al. 2010) and on citizens' attitudes towards the socioeconomic value of African languages (Chimbutane 2011, 2013). However, constraints such as lack of teaching and learning materials in African languages, poorly trained teachers, and government reluctance to expand the programme to more schools and regions are hindering the implementation of the initiative.

As illustrated by the cases above, flaws in planning and/or implementation substantiate Shohamy's question of whether these language policies:

> are in fact meant to be implemented, or if they only serve bureaucrats as ideological statements and evidence of action and intentions without serious concern or their actual feasibility or meaningful implementation.
>
> (Shohamy 2010: 182, quoted in Trudell & Piper 2014: 8)

In fact, in some cases one may think that certain governments only pretend to allow pro-African language policies to please donors or international organizations that promote MTBBE, while in reality they do not believe that that is the way to improve the quality of education in their polities. Therefore, negligence in implementation may be a deliberate move aiming at making a society believe that, due to poor educational results, investment in MTBBE is not a worthwhile effort hence calling for policy reversal. The observation of this sort of manoeuver has led scholars to suggest that one of the major causes of failure to implement pro-African language policies in sub-Saharan Africa is lack of political will (Bamgbose 2011; Kamwangamalu 2009).

In line with this, one of the serious consequences of poor implementation of MTBBE programmes is the increased disbelief in meaningful education conducted through African languages. Poorly planned and under-resourced bilingual education programmes do not offer a proper environment for students' learning achievement and proficiency in a second or foreign language. This is one of the reasons why many parents and teachers decide to opt out of bilingual programmes in sub-Saharan Africa. This suggests that, in many cases, parents prefer to send their children to schools using an inherited European language as a medium of learning and teaching not because of long-standing negative attitudes attached to African languages (see, for example, Banda 2000; Campbell-Makini 2000, in relation to South Africa and Tanzania, respectively), but because they understand that those schools are better resourced and more likely to harness the necessary capital for future upward socioeconomic mobility (see, for example, Bunyi 2008; Rubagumya 2003, in relation to Kenya and Tanzania, respectively).

4.   Discussion

After more than 50 years of independence for most of the countries, the management of multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa, in particular in the field of education, remains a very sensitive and unresolved issue. Given this situation, African leaders tend to avoid taking deliberate actions about language policy matters. As a consequence, in general, the language policies that prevailed during the colonial rule are maintained until today – inherited European languages "have maintained their dominance not only in terms of their high status but also in terms of the prestigious domains in which they are used" (Bamgbose 2011: 1). This is also true for the case of countries that have constitutional provisions and/or explicit language policies that create space for the use of African languages in high domains, in combination with inherited European languages. As shown in this chapter, in most of those cases such laws and/or policies have been "easily ignored, easily reversed and poorly implemented" (Trudell & Piper 2014 and references therein).

Myers-Scotton (1993) uses the notion of "elite closure" to explain why the majority of African ruling elite has been reluctant to change the *status quo*. Myers-Scotton defines elite closure as:

> […] a type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain powers and privileges via linguistic choices. … elite closure is accomplished when the elite successfully employs official language policies and their own non-formalized language usage patterns to limit access of non-elite groups to political position and socio-economic advancement.   (Myers-Scotton 1993: 149)

Regarding this notion as having no explanatory power for the prevailing African language policies and actual practices, Bokamba (2011) advances the theory of "ukolonia", defined as:

> […] a psychological syndrome that obfuscates the rational thinking of a patient in a postcolonial society and causes him/her to evaluate himself/herself in terms of values and standards established by the former colonial masters' culture(s). In other words, it is an internalized colonial mentality way of self-valuation.
>
> (Bokamba 2011: 161)

That is, under this theory, African leaders maintaining the *status quo* have been doing so because "they have the *ukolonia* syndrome that has obfuscated their rational reasoning as leaders of liberated and sovereign states" (Bokamba 2011: 161).

While both notions/theories may help explain partly why the colonial legacy has been maintained in sub-Saharan Africa, both seem to fail to capture the interplay between individual, national and international forces impacting on policy making and implementation. The fact that some leaders had taken brave steps towards localization but were later forced to moderate or give up their innovative ideals can be instructive here.

As a matter of fact, analysts have also pointed to former colonial masters and associated Western aid institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as equally responsible for the maintenance of the hegemony of European languages in Africa. The perception by critics has been that, for political and economic reasons, former colonial powers and some Western financial institutions have been using all the means at their disposal, including economic "blackmail", to impede the expansion of African languages into the domains "traditionally" reserved to former colonial languages (e.g. Alidou 2004; Mazrui 2000). Alidou (2004) shows how France has used its power as the main supporter of African development programmes at the World Bank to lobby this institution for not supporting education in African languages in its former colonies. According to Alidou, this is apparently because the use of African languages in education is adversarial to the cultural and political agenda (a neo-colonial agenda) that France has set for its former colonies and also because it could hinder the chances of the French publishing companies competing in a linguistic market eventually dominated by local languages, instead of French. Mazrui (2000) uses the case of Tanzania to illustrate how the World Bank and the IMF have been impeding African countries from implementing their stated language-in-education policies. According to Mazrui (2000), when everything indicated that Tanzania would finally extend the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction to all levels of education, including the university level by 1992, the move "was brought to an abrupt end after the country

capitulated to the IMF and its draconian conditionalities, which forced it to reduce its subsidies in education and other social spheres" (p. 51).

Therefore, although some African politicians have a stake in the perpetuation of the dominance of European languages, it is also important to bear in mind that external forces may also influence, if not determine, language policy decisions. Note that the influence may also be in favor of African languages, as was the case in Rwanda, when in 2011, after three and a half years into the English-only policy, the government was forced by international organizations, including UNICEF, to revert to the prior language-in-education policy that designated Kinyarwanda as the medium of learning and teaching for the first cycle of primary education – grades 1 to 3 (see Pearson 2014).

The dominance of European languages as LoLT in sub-Saharan Africa has, among others, educational, social and linguistic effects. Indeed, studies show that there is a strong correlation between the exclusive use of European languages in education and the high rates of academic failure attested in sub-Saharan Africa (Alidou et al. 2006; Alidou & Jung 2001; Bamgbose 1999; Heugh 2008). This affects in particular the majority of African children who learn European languages for the very first time when they start schooling and do not have or hardly have contact with these languages outside the school compound. A consequence of this situation is the deepening of social inequalities (Alexander 1999; Heugh 2008). Children who fail to acquire competence in European languages and the skills and knowledge passed on through formal education, are deemed to social exclusion, in particular because their languages and community-based knowledge do not count as resources for access to meaningful economic resources and political power. Those who survive education systems based on inherited colonial languages tend to be monolinguals and identify themselves more with Western than with African culture (Alidou & Jung 2001). This situation is regarded as a recipe for language shift and language death (Batibo 2005). In fact, although it is true that the majority of the African population remain loyal to their languages and cultures (Bokamba 1991), there is a growing number of African families that are abandoning African languages in favor of European languages, given their assumed high status and prestige. In addition to the loss of speakers, the hegemony of European languages is hindering the functional development of African languages, leading to their further marginalization (Kamwangamalu 2009).

Attention should also be paid to situations where pro-African language policies are devised and implemented. As noted in this chapter, it is not enough to open constitutional and/or policy spaces for African languages, there is also a need to plan and ensure the actual implementation of the relevant provisions. This is particularly true in contexts where African languages are perceived as low-status languages and devoid of the necessary capital for meaningful access to upward socioeconomic

mobility. In fact, despite the arguments about cognitive, cultural and psychological advantages of MTBBE, parental considerations about the socioeconomic rewards associated with dominant languages and cultures pose a real challenge that needs to be addressed (Hornberger 2006). MTBBE programmes will only be condoned by parents if they lead to the acquisition of the resources equated with upward socioeconomic mobility or, if they can at least lead to the reconstruction of low-status languages as valid forms of cultural capital in mainstream markets; otherwise, parents may overlook the right to mother tongue education ascribed to their children. Therefore, in order to win the hearts of an increasing number of speakers of African languages, especially those of middle class parents, who tend to give greater weight to socioeconomic mobility than to language maintenance, bilingual programmes have to be designed and implemented in such a way that, in addition to the symbolic/heritage language, children achieve high levels of proficiency and academic attainment in the much sought-after language(s) of capital value.

In addition to viewing European languages as languages of national and international socioeconomic mobility, we should also take into account that, in many post-colonial contexts, these are also being "nationalized", an acculturation process whereby a transplanted language acquires a localized linguistic identity (Kachru 1992). One of the consequences of this process is the growing number of African citizens who have inherited European languages as their mother tongues. Although this may sound odd to some Africanists, the reality is that there are more and more African children who express themselves in or better in a European language. It is, at least in part, within this framework that scholars such as Williams suggest that:

> Effective teaching of English as a subject in Africa, rather than its use as a medium of instruction, is the most obvious answer, together with greater use of local languages as media of instruction. (Williams 2014: 141)

That is, Williams seems to suggest that African states should provide education in African languages to all children, irrespective of their sociolinguistic profile and the sociohistorical trajectory of each country. If one of the main reasons for promoting mother tongue-based bilingual education is the fact that children learn better in a language they are most familiar with, then this growing number of children for whom European languages are the languages they speak best should not be overlooked but be part of the equation in language-in-education policy and practice. While they should not be forced to learn in an African language, conditions should be put in place for them to formally learn at least one African language. It will always be counterproductive to prescribe bilingual education based on African languages for all if a considerable and powerful segment of a population prefers education in a European language. As suggested in Chimbutane (2011, 2012), in order to influence change in language ideology in post-colonial contexts, a 'soft' and

situated approach conciliating the technical voice of experts and that of politicians and ordinary citizens (individually or organized in groups) may prove to be more productive than a confrontational and context-free one. The experience has shown that coercive measures often lead to resistance, as happened in Soweto in reaction to Afrikaans language policy (Alidou et al. 2006; Bamgbose 1999; Heugh 2008) and in Algeria in reaction to Arabization campaigns (Benrabbah 2007).

The analysis offered above leads us to suggest that while combating diglossic, Eurocentric language policies, language planners should aim at devising genuine heteroglossic, bi/multilingual policies, that is, strategies that attempt to accommodate the development and functional use of inherited European languages, national languages and local languages in high domains, including education. The promotion of national languages should not be directed against inherited European languages nor should it be at the expense of the promotion of local languages, as happens or happened, for example, in Botswana, Ethiopia, Malawi, Sudan and Tanzania (Batibo 2005). Speakers feel empowered when they can use inherited European languages, national and local languages to function in an effective way in virtually all official and non-official domains. Therefore, functional bi/multilingualism, at both individual and societal levels, should be the goal of heteroglossic language policies. This is the orientation of language planning and policy that considers multilingualism a resource (Ruíz 1984), hence recognizing linguistic and cultural pluralism as assets for nation building. However, although declaring African languages as resources is necessary, it is not sufficient to empower these languages, unless meaningful steps are taken to upgrade them, extend their use in high domains and assign them an economic value, making them appealing in the linguistic market place (Bamgbose 1999, 2011; Kamwangamalu 2009).

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Language policy, language study, and heritage language education in the U.S.

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Language policy and language study in the U.S. have long been defined by three trends: an *absence* of national-level language policy; a highly multilingual history characterized by overwhelming shift towards English; and a tendency for educational policy to shift students rapidly towards English monolingualism, with students later needing to relearn these same, now 'foreign' languages in high school or university, resulting in dismally low proficiency levels. This chapter briefly considers these contradictions, all of which rest on pervasive ideologies of monolingualism and result in the tremendous squandering of linguistic riches. The chapter then offers examples of how language policy and language study play out in three very different heritage language learning contexts in the U.S., each focusing on a different type of language learner, language, and language policy. These include assessment and learning of Spanish among heritage speakers; language revitalization of Indigenous languages, and the teaching and learning in Chinese in community school contexts. We close by considering ongoing challenges to language study in the U.S., including teacher training and curriculum development.

Keywords: Chinese, immigration, indigenous languages, monolingualism, multilingualism, Spanish

1. Introduction

Language policy and language study in the U.S. have long been defined by a striking set of contradictions. The first and perhaps most obvious of these is the *absence* of national-level language policy despite long-standing anxieties and abundant public discourse concerning language. The second tension is the highly multilingual history and demographic present of the country on the one hand, coupled with the overwhelming shift towards and dominance of English on the other. The third contradiction characterizing U.S. language policy concerns how language study is

legislated and programmed across the student lifespan, with early education shifting students rapidly towards English monolingualism, with students later needing to relearn these same, now 'foreign' languages in high school and possibly university, resulting in dismally low proficiency levels.

This chapter briefly considers each of these dilemmas, all of which rest on pervasive ideologies of monolingualism and result in the tremendous squandering of linguistic riches. The chapter then offers examples of how language policy and language study play out in three very different heritage language learning contexts in the U.S., each focusing on a different type of language learner, language, and language policy. These include assessment and learning of Spanish among heritage speakers; language revitalization of Indigenous languages, and the teaching and learning in Chinese in community school contexts. We close by considering ongoing challenges to language study in the U.S., including teacher training and curriculum development.

2.   Tensions and contradictions in U.S. language education policy

Language anxiety has deep roots in the U.S. Indeed, concerns over language diversity and language loyalty date back more than 250 years. Benjamin Franklin, one of the most famous early English-speaking Euro-Americans, is well known for his concerns about German immigration and the perceived (over)use of the German language. He is quoted as warning that:

> few of their [German immigrant] children in the country learn English […] The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages […] Unless the stream of their importation could be turned they will soon so outnumber us, that all the advantages we have will not be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious."
> (Davis 2007: 1)

Notable in this often-cited quote are the ways that English and German are viewed in direct competition (to the exclusion of multilingualism as a viable option), and moreover, how the potential rise of German is linked to governmental instability (Engman & King in press). Strikingly similar language anxieties are present today, well documented both in individual encounters (e.g., linking 'foreign' writing with perceived terrorist threats among aeroplane passengers) and in generating support for English-only initiatives and laws (Liu, Sokhey, Kennedy & Miller 2014; Rampell 2016).

Yet despite widespread, long-standing debate about language form, language function and, in particular, the status of English, the U.S. has never had an official, national language policy. While English serves as the *de facto* language of the

government and society, and 31 states have passed 'Official English' laws, language policy in general, and educational language policy in particular, is not guided by federal legislation. This is the case despite years of lobbying and unsuccessful attempts by organizations such as U.S. English to establish English as the official language of the U.S. For instance, the most recent federal education policy (the 'Every Student Succeeds Act,' also known as ESSA) provides no guidance about the language of instruction or foreign language study, but rather, leaves this to individual states and municipalities to decide what constitutes a "well-rounded education" (although the study of foreign languages is mentioned as an aspect of "well-rounded education" in the current federal definition). In practice, and as evident below, this means that language study is largely determined through a patch-work of local, regional, and state policies and funding programs, many of which leave significant gaps and some of which work at cross-purposes.

The second contradiction defining language learning in the U.S. is the highly multilingual history and demographic present of the country on the one hand, and the overwhelming, rapid pace of shift towards English monolingualism on the other. Prior to the European invasion, there were an estimated 300–500 Indigenous languages spoken by inhabitants of the North American continent (McCarty, Romero & Zepeda 2006), though there are now far fewer: around 150 Indigenous languages are currently spoken in the United States (Krauss 1998; UNESCO n.d.). While many groups are actively engaged in language reclamation efforts (see below), the total numbers of speakers and languages are greatly diminished as the direct result of centuries of colonial genocide, aggression, and forced assimilation (Hermes 2016).

While the history of Indigenous-European human contact is defined by physical trauma and death, the U.S. also has been described – metaphorically – as a "graveyard" for immigrant languages, that is, a place where languages go to die (Rumbaut 2009). This sober metaphor reflects the long-standing capacity of the U.S. to absorb millions of immigrants, and concurrently, to extinguish immigrants' native languages within just a few generations (Nagano 2015; Portes & Rumbaut 2006). In other words, the overwhelming empirical result of language contact in the U.S. has been language death. Indeed, over the last two centuries, the U.S. has incorporated more people – the vast majority speaking languages other than English – than any other nation; yet the rate of shift towards English monolingualism by newcomers is among the most rapid in the world. Several decades ago Lieberson, Dalto and Johnston (1975) quantified the course of mother tongue diversity among 35 nations and report that the shift to monolingualism (in English) to be the most rapid of all those compared. There is little to no evidence that the pace of linguistic assimilation has slowed.

The third and perhaps the greatest contradiction in U.S. language policy is the long-standing and on-going inequity in our approach to foreign language study in

the U.S. across the educational system and student lifespan. On the one hand, in the early years of life, our approaches to education are overwhelmingly English focused and English only, with language (and in particular, multilingualism) viewed as "a social problem to be identified operationally and resolved through treatments like transitional bilingual education" and English as a Second Language submersion (Ruiz 1984; reprinted in 2017: 20). While 9.3% of the U.S. school population are identified as English language learners (that is, an estimated 4.5 million students) (U.S. DOE 2016), only a tiny percentage of these students have access to programs that allow them to develop their native languages. Furthermore, only 18.5% elementary and secondary school students (ages 5–18) are enrolled in the study of any foreign language (ACTFL 2015). We regularly lament the low proficiency levels of Americans, with just one percent of Americans proficient in a language they studied in a U.S. classroom, according to some estimates (Freidman 2015), and with foreign language enrollments in higher education continuing to decline. Indeed, the most recent data suggested a 7% drop in higher education enrollments from 2009 to 2013 (MLA 2013). As many have noted, the U.S. approach to language study systematically squanders the myriad heritage linguistic resources present in our student body and then, often ineffectively and with minimal investment, teaches 'foreign' languages a decade later to those same students.

As education in general and language study in particular, are largely locally controlled in the U.S., the remainder of this chapter takes up specific language study programs of various types. This review is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to provide the reader with a sense of the varied language learning contexts and programmatic types in Spanish, Indigenous languages, and Chinese. All three cases focus on instances of heritage language learning, here meaning language study in which learners have a cultural and/or familial connection to the language (Valdés 2005). Heritage language education dates back more than 300 years, although this pedagogical work often took place outside the purview of mainstream society (Engman & King in press). As noted above, the heritage languages of first and second generation immigrant students are very often ignored and sometimes actively oppressed or explicitly banned in public schools in the early years (Menken & Solorza 2014), only to be (re)taught as foreign languages, often with limited success, in higher grades (Devlin 2015). And while there have been regular reform efforts to address this, little evidence suggests that the needle has moved significantly in terms of numbers of students who take (or have the option to take) higher-level foreign language classes (Skorton & Altschuler 2012). Community or heritage language schools thus have an important role to play in addressing this tension, in particular for less commonly taught languages (Engman & King in press), and are for this reason the focus of the next sections.

3.   The instruction and assessment of Spanish as a heritage language

Spanish is the most commonly taught foreign language in U.S. schools. A national survey in 2008 found that 93% of secondary schools that offered a second language, taught Spanish (Fee, Rhodes & Wiley 2014). This popularity relative to other foreign languages reflects the proximity of the U.S. to many Spanish-speaking countries and the number and size of Spanish-speaking communities. More than 15% of school-aged children in the U.S., that is nearly nine million students, have Spanish as their home language (ibid.). Yet most of Spanish-as-a-foreign-language programs are not designed for heritage speakers. Furthermore, as suggested above, foreign language instruction is often concentrated at the secondary level, leading students to first shift to English in the elementary grades. In addition, according to the 2008 national survey, of those schools that offered a foreign language program, only 7% of elementary schools and 8% of secondary schools offered specific courses for Spanish speakers (ibid.).

In the context of Spanish in the United States, heritage language learners are most commonly defined as individuals who speak a language other than English at home and have at least some receptive knowledge of the language (Valdés 2005). While this definition excludes people who identify as heritage learners based on cultural identity, independently of proficiency (Hornberger & Wang 2008), it nevertheless encompasses a very heterogeneous population in terms of language proficiency, dialectal variety, and language practices (Beaudrie 2012; Fairclough 2012; Valdés 2014). This diversity, and the limited Spanish course offerings in most schools, means that classes designed for Spanish speakers often reflect the hetero-geneous population they serve.

Heritage language learners' multilingualism, diverse and naturalistic language acquisition, varied patterns of development and fluid language practices all chal-lenge traditional foreign language teaching methodologies (Valdés 2014). Indeed, in recent years, an increasing awareness of the specific needs and characteristics of these learners has resulted in the realization that instruction and assessment must be different for heritage language learners than for English-first learners of Spanish as a second language (L2) (Beaudrie 2012; Potowski et al. 2009). A typical heritage language learner tends to have stronger interpersonal and sociolinguistic skills than writing skills and metalinguistic knowledge, given their varied levels of exposure to the language in their homes and communities but limited or absent schooling in Spanish. This results, for example, in students performing better in oral tasks or tasks where they are asked to use their implicit, rather than metalinguistic knowledge (Montrul & Perpiñán 2011).

Following this realization, a small but increasing number of secondary schools have instituted language programs specifically for Spanish speaker populations

(Beaudrie & Fairclough, 2012; Potowski, Jegerski & Morgan-Short 2009), but the challenge of how best to serve the needs of these students remains. For instance, some of these programs still rely on ill-matched curriculum and assessment practices designed for the traditional foreign-language learner. Pedagogical approaches are mostly focused on reading, writing and the teaching of vocabulary (Valdés 2005). These tend to operate under a deficit perspective that seeks to breach a gap between heritage learners and a model "native" speaker or foreign-language learner. Similarly, form-focused pedagogical approaches aim to increase students' metalinguistic awareness, yet many of these programs are centered around familiarity with an elite, "standard" variety of Spanish acquired mostly in classroom contexts and often end up delegitimizing students' linguistic backgrounds and bilingual language practices (Leeman 2005; Valdés 2014).

More progressive, critical approaches to teaching Spanish as a heritage language, in turn, recognize that given the long-standing linguistic discrimination and negative attitudes surrounding U.S. Spanish-speaking communities in general, it is important to address the particular cultural, ideological and linguistic needs of heritage speakers (e.g., Martinez 2003; Leeman 2005; Potowski & Carreira 2004; Salazar 2013). Valdés (as cited in Kagan 2014), for example, promotes introducing pedagogies that foster "consciousness-raising around issues of identity and language, and structuring of class work to provide participation in activities designed to expand linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic competence" (p. 218). Some approaches that have been used in heritage language learning that combine linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences include project-based learning (e.g. Kagan 2014), digital storytelling (e.g. Vinogradova 2014), and community-service learning (e.g. Leeman, Rabin & Román-Mendoza 2011). These pedagogical approaches tend to be student centered, to allow for differentiated learning in heterogeneous courses, and to contribute to incidental learning or relearning of the language. They also allow learners of heritage languages to explore their interests and negotiate their hybrid identities and can increase learner motivation as they get involved in the community and/or work on developing authentic materials.

Many challenges remain. While great strides have been made in exploring relevant pedagogies for learners of Spanish as a heritage language, issues of assessment have been largely neglected (Malone et al. 2014). Publicly available, standardized language proficiency tests focus heavily on grammatical accuracy and academic skills in 'standard' Spanish, but provide few opportunities for the heritage language learner to demonstrate their nuanced sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences. In addition, the content of the test is rarely situated in the curriculum or experiences of students and often fails to represent authentic contexts where their target language is used.

In recent years, scholars have documented the development of language assessments for heritage learners, yet most are placement tests for higher education programs (e.g. Wilson 2012) and/or are limited to distinguishing heritage learners from foreign language learners (e.g. Potowski et al. 2012). Malone et al. (2014) identified five challenges for the creation of assessments for heritage language learners: (1) absence of language proficiency standards for these unique students, (2) lack of consensus on definitions of central concepts, (3) lack of understanding of language variation, (4) absence of elaborated assessments of various linguistic skills of heritage language learners, and (5) scarcity of empirical studies of language proficiency of and use of assessments with learners of heritage languages. These absences and lack of understanding of language variation and language use among heritage language learners means that assessment practices remain, for the most part, deficit-oriented.

The first step in bringing language proficiency assessment in line with current second language acquisition research requires viewing bilingualism as a dynamic construct (García 2009), and re-conceptualizing language proficiency from a multilingual rather than a monolingual lens. This means that multilingual practices of heritage language speakers such as code-switching and language transfer should not be viewed in deficit terms against an idealized "native" model of an unidentified target variety of the language as they are still upheld and reflected in ACTFL's Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL 2012), the most commonly used foreign language proficiency guidelines in U.S. schools. Rather, heritage language students' practices should be viewed and analyzed from a situated perspective that recognizes the fluid nature of language use and considers all language varieties of Spanish and translingual practices characteristic of bilingual and multilingual students as assets and resources that afford speakers multiple communicative possibilities (Canagarajah 2014).

A number of policies in recent years have aimed to validate immigrant students' linguistic skills, while sometimes inadvertently upholding monolingual and standard language ideologies. These processes are exemplified locally in the state of Minnesota, our state of work, which in many ways has been a model in implementing policies designed to serve its growing immigrant population. Schools in Minnesota serve over 75,000 Hispanic/Latino students, 8.8% of the total student population (Minnesota Department of Education 2017) with student linguistic diversity concentrated in urban areas. In the public school district of the city of Minneapolis, for example, 22% of students are categorized as English learners and 18% as Hispanic Americans (Minneapolis Public Schools 2016). Minneapolis is home to large communities of Spanish, Somali and Hmong speakers. This has prompted the state to pass legislation to support native languages, and the school

district to offer heritage language classes for speakers of those languages in a number of schools (Minneapolis Public Schools 2017).

Another related, statewide effort to foster and validate students' home languages are the state's newly minted bilingual and multilingual seals. These seals grant students high school and college credit if they can demonstrate intermediate proficiency in their home language according to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (Seals of Biliteracy 2017). The bilingual seal initiative represents a valuable step in recognizing students' multilingual linguistic skills as assets, yet as noted above, the reliance on proficiency guidelines based on foreign language models and a standard language ideology can further perpetuate a deficit perspective that defeats the broader language policy aim of supporting students' native language.

Heritage language education is a growing field. In the absence of a national language policy, many states and districts have made great strides in implementing local policies that aim to maintain and foster the multilingual skills of their students. Despite these efforts, language policies and language study still exist in contexts of deep contradictions, where most multilingual students face pressure to shift towards English and few encounter opportunities to learn (or re-learn) their language in school. Too often, heritage language learners experience 'foreign' language courses that stigmatize forms of U.S. Spanish and do not meet their needs. Valuing students' home languages and building on their multilingual skills requires the recognition of their unique language competencies and affective needs, and more broadly, a shift away from monolingual ideologies outlined above. In schooling contexts dominated by English, heritage language programs provide the spaces to move forward in this direction.

4.   Indigenous heritage language education

An estimated 500,000 people in the United States speak their Indigenous language in the home (out of a population of approximately 320 million) (US Census Bureau 2016); yet most Indigenous languages in the country have dwindling numbers of speakers and exist in precarious circumstances. Indigenous language reclamation efforts and heritage language teaching exist in hundreds of locations across the U.S. and in myriad forms. Movements to revitalize, reclaim (Leonard 2008), and regenerate (Hohepa 2006) these languages are gaining ground and (re-)acquisition in the form of language reclamation is poised to be the central story of Indigenous languages in the 21st century.[1]

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1.   Portions of this section first appeared in Engman, M. & King, K.A. (in press). Indigenous and immigrant languages in the U.S.: Language contact, change, and survival. In *Cambridge Handbook*

There are a growing number of language reclamation programs in schools, along with a wide variety of opportunities to use language in more informal settings once more (e.g., camps, media, sketch comedy, books, quiz bowls, software, hip-hop music) (e.g., Bird 2015; Maxwell 2011; Price 2014). School efforts include immersion programs, but more commonly, efforts to teach the heritage language as a subject. While the irony of this reliance on schools, a historical tool of assimilation, is not lost on Indigenous communities, efforts to include language maintenance and language acquisition programs in these spaces persist as they are seen as prime sites of learning and socialization (Lo 2009; Meek 2011). The utility of schools as a location where children spend a sizeable portion of their waking hours (McCarty & Nicholas 2014) is undeniable and for this reason, schools have the potential to "become strategic platforms for more broad-based language planning, from orthographic standardization to preparing Indigenous teachers, to elevating the status of oppressed and marginalized languages" (McCarty 2008: 161). Nevertheless, language teachers, activists, and researchers are also well aware of the dangers of looking to school-based Indigenous language acquisition programs as a cure-all.

Indeed, an entire book, *Can schools save Indigenous languages?* (Hornberger 2008) was devoted to an in-depth look at school-based Indigenous language revitalization across four continents. Overall, contributors concur: "schools alone are not enough" to 'save' an Indigenous language from loss (Hornberger 2008: 1). Yet, in the U.S., where schooling is compulsory, school-based language acquisition programs make sense for many Indigenous language communities as starting points for rekindling the flame of language and its attendant social and cultural practices. As McCarty (2008) has argued, schools are often important practical, social and political points of organization and departure in Native communities, and often crucial structures of support for language reclamation. Nascent programs often point to successes in Hawaiian and Māori language reclamation programs that, through locally developed curricula and immersion language environments have been able to strengthen their Indigenous languages and even grow new speakers (Ratima & May 2011; Wilson & Kamanā 2009).

Participants in these programs caution against 'uncritical' adoption of immersion programs for revitalization purposes as there are fundamental differences in the objectives and philosophies of an additive immersion program designed for majority-culture Euro-American families versus a culture-specific, Indigenous-designed model of immersion for language reclamation (Wilson & Kamanā 2009). Longstanding immersion programs recruit and train their own teachers who see their work as a moral imperative, and they extend language

of Language Contact, S.S. Mufwene & A.M. Escobar (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

development well beyond the walls of the school, engaging students in community events, teaching the language to parents and other family members, and occupying positions on the front lines of language activism (McCarty 2003; Yamauchi et al. 2000).

Teaching Indigenous languages requires an attention to language policy (King 2001), as language educators must lobby for policy recognition and funding that acknowledges their language as a right (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006). Language status (e.g., as an official language of a tribe or school system) both reflects and shapes the perception and power of an Indigenous language. Examination of the centuries of displacement of Indigenous languages in the U.S. exposes the cultural, social, and economic processes of annihilation that accompany colonialism here, undermining rather than accommodating language, culture, people, and sovereignty.

All of these processes are evident in the U.S. state of Minnesota, where Ojibwe speakers reside in seven rural reservations, but also in urban centers such as Minneapolis/St. Paul. In part due to the Department of Indian Affairs' relocation policy (1953–1960), many Ojibwe have grown up in urban areas. Of the estimated 84,000 Indigenous people in Minnesota, 42,000 reside in the urban areas of Minneapolis/St. Paul. With only an estimated 500–700 First speakers[2] in the U.S., who represent the most endangered dialect of Ojibwe (Southwestern Ojibwe), there is a strong grassroots push for revitalization and heritage language teaching. Encouraged by language immersion camps, Ojibwe classes, and a growing number of Ojibwe immersion schools, second language learners of Ojibwe are struggling to find effective ways to learn a language that they rarely hear in everyday conversations. With the recent addition of a searchable on-line dictionary (Ojibwe People's Dictionary 2012) and online learning materials such as *Ojibwemodaa*, text-based resources play an important role in this work.

A major aspect of the Ojibwe language reclamation effort has been the development of Ojibwe immersion schools. Following the establishment of Waadookodaading Ojibwe Language Immersion School in 2001 and Niigane Ojibwe Immersion School in 2002 (Hermes 2004, 2007), three additional elementary/preschool immersion programs are in operation, and at least four more preschools are under development. Despite these efforts, to date, relatively few adults

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2. 'First speakers' is used here to differentiate between those who have learned Ojibwe as a first language and those who have learned it as a second language although there are many who fall somewhere in between this dichotomy, including those with passive or receptive skills only, latent speakers, and those who learned as a first language but have had to re-learn it as adults. 'First speakers' is often preferred given the myriad problems with 'native' speaker, still widely used in applied linguistics.

have learned Ojibwe to a high proficiency level as a second language, and as a result, there is an extreme shortage of qualified, fluent teachers.

In the case of Ojibwe and beyond, teaching Indigenous heritage languages demands attention to language corpus and the development of curricula, particularly in immersion and higher-education settings where revernacularization intersects with questions of linguistic "authenticity" (Wong 1999). Efforts to revive Indigenous languages inevitably invoke questions such as: *How do we say 'graph paper' in Ojibwemowin? What kinds of trade-offs (if any) can be expected in Keres-language schools when the learning is done orally? What does academic language look like in Hawaiian?* These questions come from real-life examples of very different, local projects to grow Indigenous language speakers. They highlight some of the funding and resource constraints (Fenimore-Smith 2009; Hinton 2011), the philosophical challenges (McCarty 2003; Wong 1999), and contentious ideological differences around styles of learning (Hermes & King 2014) that often surface when Indigenous languages are inserted into formal educational contexts which, as noted above, have long been defined as English monolingual spaces.

5. Chinese heritage language education

In contrast to the two previous examples, Chinese heritage language education greatly relies on non-governmental community efforts, in particular on community-based weekend schools where Chinese heritage language learners acquire Chinese language and cultural heritage (He & Xiao 2008). There are some 191 community-based Chinese heritage language schools across the U.S. (Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages in America, n.d.). While Mandarin is the language of instruction for most of the schools, classes teaching Cantonese and other Asian languages such as Hindi are also provided (ibid.). The number of students enrolled in community-based Chinese heritage language schools expanded from 82,675 in 1996 to 140,000 in 2005 (Chao 1997; McGinnis 2005), and continues to grow (Liu 2006). These Chinese heritage language schools were established by Chinese immigrants across three waves of Chinese immigration in U.S. history, as described below (Wang 1999). Accordingly, Chinese heritage language schools were established and operated differently over time.

The earliest Chinese schools started in big cities on the West Coast in 1848 to meet the needs of Chinese merchants and their children (Chao 1996). As these children were not allowed to attend the American public schools, they went to the private or church-run Chinese schools, which taught classic Chinese and other subjects as were taught in U.S. public schools. The language of instruction was Chinese (Chan & Tsang 1983). The primary mission of these Chinese schools was to prepare

children academically so that they would be able to continue their education when they returned to China with their parents (Wang 1999).

A century later, the Immigration Act in 1965 abolished racial discrimination and re-opened the door for Chinese immigrants. The legislation on new immigration in 1970 and 1976 favored those with professional skills or seeking family reunion (Hing 1993; Molesky 1988). As a result, well-educated intellectuals from China came to the U.S. and settled into suburbs or around university campuses. With a clear vision of the significance of the ancestral language and cultural heritage in their children's lives, these Chinese parents started Chinese schools in their residential areas. Different from the education mission of the earliest Chinese schools established in the 1800s, the educational attainment of the newly established Chinese schools was to teach children Chinese language and cultural heritage on weekends (Wang 2010).

The influx of the third wave of Chinese immigrants from the 1980s to recent years dramatically changed the demographics of Chinese immigrants in the U.S. (Wang 1999). This third wave of Chinese immigrants consists of two subgroups. One subgroup includes students and professionals coming from Mainland China in response to oppressive government tactics (most notably those at Tian'anmen) (ibid.). The other subgroup includes refugees from Southeast Asia who experienced life-shattering hardships. These immigrants are ethnically Chinese but may speak a Chinese dialect other than Mandarin, such as Cantonese, or even a different language, such as Vietnamese (Wong 1988). As a result, some of the Chinese heritage language schools located in places like Philadelphia offered courses in these languages as well as English as a Second Language. This group of Chinese immigrants from Southeast Asia added to the linguistic diversity in the U.S. and made teachers and researchers consider what languages and dialects should be offered as well as what language is the most relevant to the learners in community-based Chinese heritage language schools.

In the 1990s, the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) and the Chinese School Association in the United States (USAUS) were formed. The common goal of these two organizations is to help the community-based Chinese heritage language schools meet the linguistic and cultural needs of children from Chinese immigrant families and to have their voice heard as ethnic minorities in the mainstream society (Wang 2010). Chinese heritage language schools have become a place for children to socialize with their peers and a place to reverse language shift (Fishman 1991). Additionally, Chinese heritage language schools help to establish the cultural bond between children adopted by non-Chinese families and their country of origin, China (Wang 2010).

The launch of the Heritage Language Initiative by NFLC and the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) in 1998 served as a turning point in the field of Chinese

heritage language education (Freeman 2004). The Heritage Language Initiative responded to the national language needs by emphasizing the need and benefits of building on students' emerging bilingualism (Brecht & Ingold 1998). It aimed to strengthen learners' basic skills in their heritage languages both in the university and in the community. To accomplish these goals, the Heritage Language Initiative puts emphasis on curriculum development and course planning. Influenced by the Heritage Language Initiative, research in Chinese heritage language education in general began to examine practical issues of what to teach and how to teach it in the classroom (Curdt-Christiansen 2006; Wu & Chang 2010).

While community-based Chinese heritage language schools serve as the primary force to strengthen learners' Chinese skills, those schools share some common issues in instruction with Chinese heritage language programs in the university as is documented in the literature. One of those issues that have been examined is Chinese character instruction. There is consensus that Chinese heritage language learners' preference between traditional and simplified characters is closely related to their countries of origin (Batista Buteri 2003; Li 2004). For example, learners with a family background in Mainland China prefer to learn the simplified characters, while learners with a family background based in Hong Kong and Taiwan have a preference for the traditional ones. These two types of Chinese characters were taught within and across community-based Chinese heritage language schools. For instance, community-based Chinese heritage language schools founded by parents from Mainland China teach students simplified Chinese characters, while schools founded by parents from Taiwan teach learners traditional Chinese characters. Some Chinese heritage language schools offer classes in both simplified and traditional Chinese characters. For instance, in one of the Taiwanese-founded community-based Chinese heritage language schools that one of the authors (Mengying Liu) has observed, traditional Chinese characters are taught in classes designed for students who predominantly speak Chinese at home. Most of the learners in these classes have a family background in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Meanwhile, simplified Chinese characters are taught in classes for predominant English speakers. These classes primarily consist of Chinese adoptees who were born in either Mainland China or Taiwan and were adopted by English-speaking parents in the U.S.

The differences between the traditional and simplified Chinese characters pose potential challenges for Chinese heritage language learners in reading and writing if they start with one type of Chinese characters and transfer to a different program/class teaching the other type. Chinese heritage language teachers face challenges as well. For instance, teachers from Taiwan need to learn the simplified Chinese characters themselves in order to teach classes designed for predominant English speakers, as is observed by one of the authors (Mengying Liu).

Another track of research focuses on Chinese heritage language teachers (Liu 2006; Wu et al. 2011). Qualitative studies conducted at community-based Chinese heritage language schools have investigated teachers' professional identity, their beliefs about teaching Chinese in the U.S., and their views on the quality of education provided by community-based Chinese schools. Findings indicate that many teachers have a weak sense of professional identity, because they consider teaching Chinese as a "secondary" or "volunteer" job (Wu et al. 2011). In addition, teachers reported believing that the support from parents, children's motivation in learning Chinese, and the appropriateness of teaching materials all influence the quality of Chinese heritage language education (Liu 2006). In Liu (ibid.), for example, teachers participating in the study talked about challenges that they encountered in their teaching, particularly a lack of appropriate teaching materials. Materials used in instruction in those community-based Chinese heritage language schools were primarily imported from Mainland China and designed for native speakers, not for Chinese heritage language learners who are at different proficiency levels and who often have limited schooling experience in Chinese. How to adjust those materials at hand to fulfill the learning needs of the Chinese heritage language learners is a very challenging issue for the teachers.

Turning again to Minnesota, Chinese heritage language learners maintain and develop Chinese primarily by attending community-based weekend schools. There are at least seven community-based Chinese heritage language schools in Minnesota (Chinese Heritage Language Education and Research n.d.). These community-based weekend schools teach Mandarin Chinese. Either simplified Chinese characters or traditional Chinese characters are taught to fulfill the needs of students from either Mainland China or regions such as Taiwan and Hong Kong. No data indicate that Cantonese is taught in any of those community-based Chinese heritage language schools. In addition to these community efforts, some school districts and charter schools in Minnesota offer programs aiming to help Chinese heritage language learners develop and maintain Chinese (Minnesota Department of Education 2011). Additionally, as Minnesota has played a leading role in developing immersion programs nationally, Chinese immersion programs in public or charter schools is another option for Chinese heritage language learners to raise Chinese proficiency and develop Chinese literacy skills.

In community-based Chinese heritage language schools in Minnesota, it is evident that English is the dominant language for most of the Chinese heritage language learners, especially for those at school age. In one of the classrooms observed by one of the authors (Mengying Liu), for example, among all of the six students in that class, only one student's dominant language is Chinese. This case speaks to the tensions that exist in U.S. language education, where English as the

dominant language of education contributes to the shift to English monolingualism and squanders the valuable linguistic resources of heritage language learners.

Community-based Chinese heritage language schools have a long history in the U.S. The establishments of those schools demonstrated concerted community efforts to help the offspring of Chinese immigrants to maintain the ancestral language and cultural heritage. Although Chinese heritage language schools face unique challenges in curriculum development and instruction (as noted above), these community-based programs offer learners a valuable space to acquire Chinese and develop multilingual competence in the English-dominant society (Lee & Wright 2014).

6. Conclusion

The three heritage language learning contexts described in this chapter, while each very different, all exemplify the many contradictions that define language policy and education in the U.S. The absence of a national language policy leaves efforts to meet the needs of all language learners, and heritage language speakers in particular, largely in the hands of local communities as seen, for example, in community advocacy to institute courses for Spanish speakers in schools, Indigenous language revitalization efforts, and Chinese community schools.

These efforts often face pressures from *de facto* language policies that promote English as the language of instruction such as high-stakes standardized assessments in schools (Menken 2006), but they also face many questions regarding what variety or varieties of the language should be taught (e.g. Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese, simplified or traditional characters) and validated (e.g. varieties of U.S. Spanish), and how questions and concerns around linguistic 'authenticity' should be addressed in contexts of language reclamation and multilingualism.

An important commonality that defines all contexts described in this chapter, and heritage language learning in general, is the great diversity among and within (what is categorized as) each language group. As Carreira (2012) notes, limited course offerings for heritage speakers (if offered at all), and the great diversity in language background and language proficiency means that courses are guaranteed to be heterogeneous. The goal of heritage language education is to help learners maintain the linguistic proficiency and cultural heritage, and to prepare them for the multilingual world. The heterogeneity of the heritage language learner group, lack of teacher education programs and limited guidance on pedagogical approaches pose challenges for teachers and practitioners.

This complexity represents an important obstacle to implement relevant curricula and pedagogical approaches, and is exacerbated by the lack of explicit federal

language policy on this front. The heterogeneity of heritage language learners within and across different linguistic groups raises further questions concerning how a curriculum should be designed to fulfill the needs of learners of different proficiency levels. It is not uncommon to see that in one heritage language classroom, learners' proficiency levels vary due to different quantity and quality of input they receive from their family and language community. Additionally, how much learners feel connected with the heritage culture varies as well depending on, for example, different levels of familial and community ties.

Another challenge of heritage language education is the lack of teacher training. There are not many teacher-training programs designed for teachers working with this group of learners (Li 2005; Potowski & Carreira 2004; Wang 2003). Existing teacher training programs based their curriculum on theories and research findings from second/foreign language acquisition and education, which neglects the unique developmental features of heritage language learners. Additionally, resources such as textbooks and literature for heritage language teachers are very rare. Due to a lack of adequate teacher preparation and limited relevant information regarding teaching heritage language learners, teachers often encounter many challenges in delivering instruction. For example, teachers may not have adequate knowledge to develop a practical curriculum to address the complexity of their students' language needs and implement differentiated instruction at the classroom level, etc. (Li & Duff 2008).

The complex linguistic landscape of heritage language contexts and unique linguistic development of heritage learners brings to the forefront questions of how language assessment should be approached. This remains perhaps the biggest challenge faced by heritage language education given that language assessment continues to be heavily influenced by monolingual ideologies both in theory and in practice.

The diverse contexts and non-linear, naturalistic language development of heritage learners underscores the need to move beyond foreign language learning models and to address the needs of the heritage speaker and learner population to avoid the rapid shift towards English. To do this, it is important to recognize that multilingual individuals do not operate as monolinguals (Cook 1992); indeed, heritage language learning programs need to adopt situated approaches that best meet the needs and build on the skills and competences of each particular group and individual students. These programs also need to adopt consciousness raising pedagogies and formative assessment practices that confront monolingual ideologies described above, allowing students to actively negotiate linguistic identities and re-imagine language proficiency from a multilingual perspective.

This is a tall order given the absence of national-level language policy, the dominance of English monolingual ideologies, the long-standing history of weak

language instruction in the country, and the current political regime. We close with the hope that delineating some of the many (often over-looked) efforts at work at the local level to support multilingualism, as well as the challenges they face, will support resistance and progress towards building a more comprehensive multilingual language education system and policy in the U.S. in the years to come.

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Globalization, national identity, and multiculturalism and multilingualism

Language policy and practice in education in Asian countries

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Language policies and practices play an important role in the increasingly multi-cultural and multilingual and globalized world. Using China, India, Japan, South Korea (Republic of Korea), and Singapore as examples, this paper examines how countries in Asian contexts have recently developed different language-planning orientations in order to build national identities, enhance global competitiveness, and navigate multiculturalism. By discussing the language-planning orientations (Ruíz 1984) that underlie different language policies and practices, we unpack the ideologies beneath the policies and teaching practices of official language(s), regional languages, dominating foreign languages, and the heritage languages of indigenous, immigrant, and migrant minority groups. We compare and contrast the three models for Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity backing the various language-planning orientations and ideologies, argue for the importance of human agency and minority language rights in language planning, and point out the potential dangers of the neoliberal promotion of English as a dominant foreign language.

Keywords: Asia, globalization, language ideology, language policy, multiculturalism

1. Introduction

Globalization and urbanization over the last several decades have resulted in rapidly growing immigrant populations in many Asian countries with vast cultural and linguistic differences. Schools, especially those in large cities, have experienced a transformation in their student populations with the numbers of first- and second-generation immigrant students increasing significantly. As a result,

municipal governments, school administrators, and teachers have developed various language services to help students adjust to their new lives.

Meanwhile, scholars (Henderson 2009) have pointed out that some Asian countries, such as China and India, are also experiencing internal population movements due to large-scale urbanization over a relatively short period of time. In these two countries, labor has moved from under-employment in low-productivity rural areas to fuller employment in higher-productivity urban manufacturing realms. However, the level and pace of urbanization varies greatly across. As a result, schools in urban areas are working with large numbers of students from migrant families whose family languages (dialects) are not the government's official languages or they do not speak standard official languages due to the usage of colloquial words and strong local accents.

Furthermore, rapid economic development and marketization have induced geographic labor movements that have resulted in many indigenous people moving out of their home regions and joining the labor force in large cities. As a result, children have been educated in their governments' official languages, usually without support to maintain or continually develop their own indigenous languages. Globalization and economic rationalism also increasingly compel Asian countries to include foreign language education in their standard curricula, and with few exceptions, English has become the dominant foreign language.

Language planning, defined as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989: 45), is an important force that influences language education. Hornberger (2006) presents an integrative framework for language policy and planning goals that identifies three types of language planning along with policy- and cultivation-planning approaches for each type. The first type, status planning, focuses on the usage of language, often in the form of officialization of certain languages. The second type, acquisition planning, shifts the focus to the users of languages by creating learning opportunities and/or increasing learning incentives. The third type of planning, corpus planning, emphasizes the language itself, e.g. by making efforts of corpus standardization. This paper discusses all three types of language planning, as well as the social, cultural, and political aspects that encourage these policy decisions.

Language is often considered a primary and crucial component of national identity. Creating a common language provides opportunities for speakers of the same country to form an imagined community across geographic boundaries, build shared cultural values, and create improved conditions that remove socio-economic inequities (Simpson 2007). As a result of increasing globalization, nearly all of the Asian countries have faced unprecedented population movements during the past few decades (Rong 2017). Maintaining homogeneity of ethnicity, culture, and

language is no longer easy in any of these countries. However, the perceived importance of a shared nationally unified language is still prevalent (Chang 2017; Gottlieb 2012). The monolingualism mindset, coupled with nationalism, may create a strong exclusionist and assimilationist force (Castles 1995) that deprives the linguistic rights of internal and external migrants, as well as indigenous groups (Gottlieb 2012; Hornberger 1998).

Any debate surrounding language policy is always about more than language (Ricento 2006). As Block (2017) points out, political economic constructs and issues have been increasingly incorporated into the discussion on language learning and education. Foreign language education is increasingly affected by the global interconnectedness of international immigration and disseminations of capital, merchandise and information (Kubota 2017; Wiley & García 2016). In the Asian context, the political economy in a globalized context plays a significant role in the policies and practices that govern foreign language education. English is often described as the global language; therefore, it is expected to mediate transnational flows and is increasingly viewed as a necessity for participation in the globalized political and economic world (Price 2014). As a result, English is gaining power and affecting foreign language education policies in non-English-speaking countries and is arguably the most dominant foreign language taught in schools in Asian countries. Celebrated for its instrumental value in a "free" global market, the spread of English education is largely due to the "local neoliberalization of socioeconomic and political order" (Price 2014: 568), which is characterized as economic rationalism. However, many scholars argue that the neoliberal promotion of English education might neither enhance cross-border communication (Kubota 2017) nor ameliorate structural inequality in education (Price 2014; Shin & Park 2015). Thus, teaching English as the major foreign language in Asia should not be understood merely as a product of the interconnected world; it also manifests the "problems and dilemmas that globalization engenders or exacerbates" (Park & Wee 2012: 1).

This chapter focuses on language planning in five countries: China, India, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. By no means will the five countries represent the language policies and practice of the entire Asian continent, because countries in Asia are heterogeneous in many respects and differ in terms of their levels of economic development and globalization. However, studying these five countries as examples will allow us to understand, how language policies and practices may be formed, developed, implemented and revised. For some countries, one ideology might dominate a certain period, while several ideologies might co-exist during another period. Among the five cases, Japan, China, and Korea are located in the East Asian region; therefore, they share some linguistic and cultural characteristics due to their long history of contact and interaction. India, which is located in South Asia, is linked with other South Asian countries through ancient civilizations and

a colonial past under the British. Singapore, located in Southeast Asia, also comes with a colonial history under the British and conflicts between and among ethnically and culturally diverse populations (Simpson 2007). From a political economy perspective, Korea, Japan, and Singapore are categorized as high-income economies (The World Bank 2017) and are becoming increasingly diverse due to the recent influx of immigration. India and China are two of the five BRICS countries, which represent the major emerging national economies (O'Neill 2001) with relatively smaller proportion of immigrants in population (comparing to the giant size of their populations) but the largest emigrant population in Asia (OECD 2013).

2.   Theoretical framework

Studying the history of language education of the five cases, we will have opportunities to examine a multiplicity of definitions, policy orientations and various practices that help further unpack how language policies and ideologies have profoundly affected language education for learners with diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. In summary, this chapter intends to facilitate a discourse on the following questions: How have population changes escalated transitions and transformations in language education policies? Mainly, how has the language-education-planning orientation responded to these changes? Finally, to what degree are these policies and their implementations effective or not effective based on their purposes and intentions? Why is this the case? In the following part, we will introduce the three main concepts we are going to use for our case studies.

2.1   Language-planning orientations

Different forces and mindsets can lead societies to adopt different language-planning orientations. In his seminal work, Ruíz (1984) describes three orientations of language planning: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Language planners who adopt the "language-as-problem" orientation consider a certain language, often an indigenous or minority language, to be a problem that needs to be fixed. The second orientation, "language-as-right," considers language to be a basic human right. When language planners choose this orientation, linguistic minorities have rights to their own languages, including but not limited to the use of their own languages in communal activities and freedom from discrimination based on the language they speak. The third orientation, "language-as-resource," considers language to be an asset for all. When language planners use this orientation, they assume that language, as a resource, needs to be "managed, developed and conserved"; therefore, they tend to value the language

expertise of minority communities (ibid.: 28). Ruíz favors this orientation over the first two because it directly promotes the language status of subordinate languages, helps to ease tensions between majority and minority communities, and highlights the importance of cooperative language planning (Ruíz 1984: 25–26).

Language-planning orientations provide important frameworks to analyze the thinking behind language practices and policies. As Ruíz (1984) points out, language attitudes and orientations are closely connected because they work together to determine the acceptability and legitimacy of certain attitudes towards certain languages. The concept of "orientation" is similar to the term "language ideology," which is defined as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994: 57). Although language ideology is not a perfect match for language orientation (Ruíz 1984: 29), both concepts focus on the implicit ideas that shape the landscapes of language planning, policy, and practice. This chapter uses Ruíz's framework to analyze the language ideologies that underlie different language policies in the Asian context.

2.2   Typology of beliefs and ideologies in policy models for ethnic and linguistic diversity

All of the countries discussed in this chapter face challenges and opportunities created by increasing cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity, which are induced by immigration and globalization. Examining how each government responds to these continually increasing diversities provides a unique perspective to understand debates surrounding the rationales behind various language-planning policies. Castles (1995) proposes three policy models that determine how immigration and diversity are perceived by various countries. Although his model is primarily based on incorporating and integrating immigrants into host societies, we would like to take his model one step further by including all language minorities (including indigenous populations) and focusing on policy orientations that are specifically pertinent to language education.

The first model, differential exclusion, refers to a situation where immigrants are granted limited rights and are excluded from full participation in society. This situation often emerges when immigrants are considered temporary residents rather than permanent settlers. Migrant "guest workers" (Castles 1995: 295), as well as indigenous minority groups settled outside their home town/village (e.g. the Ainu in Japan), would fall into this category. Under this model, immigrants and ethnic minorities' languages are often subject to exclusionism and severe discrimination, reflecting a language-as-problem ideology (Ruíz 1984).

The second model, the assimilationist model, aims for the complete absorption of immigrants into the dominant group. Immigrants are expected to give up their unique social, cultural, and linguistic heritage and learn the norms of the mainstream population in order to integrate into the host society. According to Castles (1995), this model has existed to some extent in all economically highly developed countries with considerable immigrant populations. Again, this model reflects a language-as-problem ideology (Ruíz 1984) because it posits the abandonment of heritage language(s) and the learning of dominant language(s) as the only way to achieve upward social mobility. This model inevitably stigmatizes the minority language as a deficit rather than a resource, and turns the language into a problem that needs to be fixed through monolinguistic, educational language policies.

The last category of models includes two main approaches (Castles 1995; Rong 2017). The laissez-faire approach, which is often referred to as the pluralism model that tolerates differences, does not believe that governments are obligated to play a role in the preservation of diverse ethnic cultures and heritage languages. On the other hand, the multiculturalism approach posits that explicit efforts should be made to support and promote cultural differences (Castles 2000). Most importantly, multiculturalism advocates for the "multiculturalization" of society (Jackson 1994: 181) and is concerned with the institutions, policies, and practices that shape the society. This approach also emphasizes inequalities of power and advocates for the rights of marginalized groups. Compared with the differential exclusion and assimilationist models, the multiculturalism approach values the minority language as a fundamental right for the minority group and a resource for all (e.g. Banks 2004; Cummins 2001).

2.3   Multiculturalism versus linguicism

An important component of multiculturalism is multilingualism. In terms of the language-planning orientations in many countries, linguicism is still exerting significant but various levels of influence. Linguist Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) defines linguicism as the ideologies and structures used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language. Skutnabb-Kangas maintains that linguistic discrimination is culturally and socially constructed due to a preference for one language over another. Many scholars argue that linguicism is a form of language-based discrimination (e.g. Phillipson 1992). It includes an overemphasis on government-approved official languages and "standard" languages at the cost of diminishing heritage languages and dialects. The ideological foundation of linguicism is "cultural nationalism", which emphasizes notions of "homogeneity",

"unity", and "solidarity", and disregards notions of "diversity", which "heterogeneity" and "difference" (Jo & Jung 2017: 195). In terms of language education policies, Cho (2016) states that linguicism at the individual level involves discrimination against individuals, mainly based on the spoken language, dialects of languages, and/or detected accents. Therefore, language educators should reflect on and resist policies and practices that are based on linguicism in order to support disenfranchised and marginalized groups.

3.   Singapore

Formerly a British colony, Singapore first gained independence in 1965. Its multilingual resident composition and its policy supporting multiculturalism and multilingualism make it a unique case study (Goodwin & Low 2017; Pakir 2004). As a city-state in Southeast Asia, Singapore lacked natural resources, a compulsory education system, and skilled workers when it was first established (Goodwin & Low 2017; Pakir 2004). Today, the literacy rate among its residents is close to 97%, and among the literate population 15 years of age and older, 73.2% can read in at least two languages (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016). Among the various factors contributing to Singapore's academic and economic success, its language policy and planning are considered some of its greatest strengths (Goodwin & Low 2017).

Singapore is generally known as a successful example of addressing issues of multilingualism and heritage languages (ibid.) and producing young citizens who embrace multilingual values (Pakir 2004). As a multilingual society, Singapore has four official languages, including English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil. As of 2015, English and Mandarin were the two most widely spoken languages in Singaporean homes, constituting 36.9% and 34.9% of the total population, respectively, followed by Chinese dialects (12.2%), Malay (10.7%), Tamil (3.3%), and others (2.0%) (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016). Among the five countries discussed in this chapter, Singapore's response to diversity most closely matches the multiculturalism approach (Castles 1995).

Before it obtained independence, Singapore was facing deep linguistic and ethnic segregation; therefore, it was in need of language policies that could unite its citizens and ensure the country's participation in the global economy (Goodwin & Low 2017). As a part of a colonial legacy and the *lingua franca* in the global markets, English became the national choice, as well as the personal choice of many citizens (Chew 2007). At the national level, English is the *de facto* official language and has been used as the medium of instruction (MoI) since 1987 (Pakir 2004). As English gained power and linguistic capital (Bourdieu 2001) through national

language planning, parents' preference in enrolling children into English-medium schools was rising as early as in the 1960s (Chew 2007). As a result, the proportion of the population that used English as the primary household language increased from 8.9% in 1980 to 20% in 1990 and 36.9% in 2015 (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016; Pakir 2004).

The growing use of English among Singaporeans comes with a price, namely the decline of other languages, i.e. the continuous decline in populations that speak non-English languages at home (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016). In fact, student enrollment in primary schools in English-language education was eight times greater than students who enrolled in all other language schools in the 1970s (Chew 2007). To address this issue, the Singaporean government strived to develop "English-knowing bilinguals" (Pakir 2004: 287). While students are educated in the English language, their heritage languages are also available in the regular curriculum (Pakir 2004). Learning a second language other than English was compulsory at the primary level in the 1960s and has been required to enter the national university since 1985. Thus, the school curriculum and entry criteria for higher education further promote bilingual education at the national level (Goodwin & Low 2017). These language polices are very effective. Survey data show that Singaporean young adults are generally bilingual or trilingual, with bilingualism in English and a mother tongue being more dominant (Leimgruber et al. 2018; Siemund et al. 2014).

Despite the government's efforts to promote bilingualism and multilingualism, the shift toward English was inevitable in the context of globalization and neoliberalism. In an "increasingly depoliticized, neocolonial, and materialistic environment" (Chew 2007: 75), the ideologies that advocate for language diversity in connection with cultural identities are challenged by the fact that certain languages are now perceived to have higher market value. For example, the "Speak Good English Movement" (SGEM) was launched in 2000 to promote the use of grammatically correct English instead of so-called "Singlish", which is Singaporean English that is affectionately embraced by Singaporeans (Leimgruber et al. 2018; Siemund et al. 2014), while also considered poor and "a threat to the nation's competitive advantage in the global marketplace" (Rubdy 2007: 308). Similarly, the "Speak Mandarin Campaign" (SMC) advocates for Mandarin to replace Chinese dialects because Mandarin is considered to have higher capital value as China gains economic power (Chew 2007; Siemund et al. 2014).

These language shifts – together with decreases in populations that speak Malay and Tamil at home (Department of Statistics Singapore 2016) – illustrate the dilemma between the "globalized norm" that leads to economic prosperity and a "localized norm" that preserves culture and identity (Goodwin & Low 2017: 222). Chew (2007) argues that the Singaporean case reveals a new trend in the politics of culture and language, which considers language to be a commodifiable resource

rather than a marker of identity and heritage. Proponents of this trend argue that these deliberate shifts should not be considered linguistic imperialism but rather a trend that "makes economic sense and is part of a popular movement" (ibid.: 89). On the other hand, languages are inherently related to the building of ethnic and national identities (Anderson 2016; Gardt 2004; Leimgruber et al. 2018; Siemund et al. 2014). Therefore, opponents of this trend believe that the above-mentioned language-planning orientation may project a negative image on Singlish and other non-standard-English languages and would disempower speakers' cultural heritages and legitimate discrimination by promoting English as the dominant language (Macedo et al. 2003; Wee 2005). Despite these debates, Singapore's language policies, which focus on bilingualism and multilingualism, have been "integrated into the very foundation of the country and [are] part of the national ethos" (Goodwin & Low 2017: 231) and provided multiple examples of relatively successful language planning in a multiethnic and multicultural society.

However, some scholars (e.g. Ho 2009) argue that like any multiracial heterogeneous state with historical constraints, Singapore also faces the same struggles such as interracial tension and strife from its inception, and has strived to balance the promotion of national identity, diversity, and global perspectives through language education. These tensions between the national and the global, as well as between unity and diversity, remain highly relevant in today's Singapore, a young country with vast diversities in an increasingly globalized world (Rong 2017).

4.   Japan

Japan is a country with an established common language and no colonized history; however, it does have a history of colonizing other Asian countries. Japan's language planning and policies do not focus on competing languages, but rather on "modifying and promoting an existing and well-entrenched asset" (Gottlieb 2001: 22). Although not specified as the official language, Japanese is the language spoken by the majority of citizens and is one of the defining factors of Japanese identity (Gottlieb 2012). Since the Meiji Restoration in 1867, Japanese Kokugo (the national language) has been established and standardized with the intention of building an effective compulsory education system and modernizing the country in a Western fashion (Honna et al. 2004), while creating a unified and homogeneous nation (Gottlieb 2012: 7).

This national monolingual ideology requires all Japanese citizens to speak Japanese as their first language, despite the considerable population that speaks an indigenous language, such as the Okinawans in the south and the Ainu in the north (Gottlieb 2012). As Hashimoto (2007: 33) points out, the government document

outlining Japan's goals in the 21st century identifies cultural diversity as bringing "able foreigners" to Japan instead of focusing on the culturally and linguistically diverse populations that already exist in the country. Therefore, assimilation has also become the major goal for indigenous groups who speak languages other than Japanese.

The Japanese government began colonizing the northern prefectures when Russia began threatening to escalate their activities in the region. In 1899, a full-scale assimilation policy was enacted for the Hokkaido Ainu, followed by the prohibition of their indigenous language in 1901 (Honna et al. 2004). This assimilation law was not annulled until 1997 when the *Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture* was passed, declaring the government's responsibility to help retain the Ainu in their cultural and linguistic heritage. This new law occurred due to pressure from activists with international support, as well as the Japanese public's recognition of the Ainu's rights (Honna et al. 2004). Although much progress has been made (Gottlieb 2012), attention to linguistic diversity in educational policies is still lacking (Hashimoto 2007).

Another population that contributes to linguistic diversity is immigrants who speak various heritage languages. According to Castro-Vázquez (2013), close to 30,000 foreign students who were enrolled in public schools were in need of Japanese as a second language (JSL) assistance in 2010, and 82.2% received the support they required. On the other hand, more than 5,000 students with Japanese nationality are not fluent Japanese speakers due to their family histories as returnees or mixed-ethnic households (Castro-Vázquez 2013). Because no national funds exist in this area, the JSL services are dependent on the local education boards' budgets and sometimes even the availability of tutor volunteers, which creates sustainability challenges (Burgess 2007; Castro-Vázquez 2013) and large variations across regions. However, as Okano (2012) notes, local education boards and schools in Japan are relatively autonomous, leaving spaces to create programs (e.g. after-school tutoring program) for providing bilingual JSL and migrant-language classes for students. This is especially true for regions with high concentrations of migrants and a history of minority civil rights movements (Okano 2012).

Foreign language education, with English as the dominant option, is another important component of language education in Japan. The trade wars between Japan and the United States in the 1980s led to the creation of the government-funded Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program, which aims to recruit native English-speaking teachers and often considers White Americans as the only legitimate candidates (Kubota 2017). English was included in the elementary school curriculum in 1998 and later became a required formal school subject for Grades 5 and 6 under the *English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization Act* in 2013 (Kubota 2017: 293). Together with the recommendation of using commercial

English proficiency tests (e.g. TOEFL) to assess the English proficiency of students and teachers, these policies reflect national efforts to make Japan more economically competitive through the neoliberal promotion of English language education (Kubota 2017).

Hashimoto (2007) considers Japan to be a successful example of a non-English-speaking country that has maintained its cultural heritage and identity by promoting English education within the Japanese internationalization framework and by striking a balance between the benefits and side effects of participation in the global economy. Kubota (2017) cautions that the promotion of Japanese identity through the prioritization of teaching English compliments "rightwing nationalism in language education" (p. 294). This ideology supports the national monolingualism ideology that is visible in foreign language policies for the linguistic minority populations (Gottlieb 2012), which reflects "a synergy of neoliberalism and nationalism" (Kubota 2017: 287).

5.   Korea (Republic of Korea)

The history of language policy and education in Korea is inextricably linked to its relationships with its two neighboring countries: China and Japan. Hangul, the Korean writing system, was invented in the 1400s. However, until modern times, language education mainly consisted of reading and writing in Chinese for upper class Korean people. Schools teaching the Korean language started to grow in the late 19th century, partially due to the efforts of Korean language scholars who wanted to modernize the language (Shim & Baik 2004). However, this period was cut short when Korea was absorbed into the Japanese empire in 1910. During the colonial period (1910–1945), Japanese was the only official language and MoI in schools (Yim 2007). Although the Korean language was granted limited freedom of usage after 1919, the main goal of Japanese policies was "the extirpation of Korean culture and language and concomitant assimilation of Koreans to Japanese language and culture" (King 2007: 208–209).

After gaining independence from Japan, the Korean Language Society advocated for Hangul-only policies that aimed to eradicate the usage and teaching of Hancca, the Chinese characters, in order to enhance Korean cultural identity and self-esteem through a purified language (Song 2001). At the same time, a purist group believed in Hangul's superiority, which represented the ideology of "script nationalism" (King 2007: 220–221). The abolition of Hancca triggered heated criticism among Hancca supporters who argued that the decision would deprive Koreans of their cultural heritage and cut off cultural connections with other East Asian countries (Song 2001). The government went back and forth on its Hangul-only stance

due to continuous protests from both sides before it finally included 1,800 selected Chinese characters in the middle and high school curricula (Shim & Baik 2004). In this debate, the government plays an "indecisive, if not unconcerned" role because economic growth always takes priority over its language policies (Song 2001: 139).

The emphasis on economic prosperity and global competence has raised the government's concern about Korean students' limited English proficiency in an increasingly globalized world (Yim 2007). The history of dependence on the United States for military support, politics, and economic growth also contributed to the "English fever" in Korea (Lee 2015; Park 2009). English has been taught as a regular subject in secondary schools since 1945 and became a compulsory subject in every public elementary school in 1997 (Jung & Norton 2002). Besides formal education, more than 90% of students are signed up for additional English tutor lessons (Lee 2015), and an increasing number of parents are sending their children abroad for English lessons from as early as elementary school (Park 2009). The 1997–1998 financial crisis promoted competitiveness as a core value of the state and individuals, thus leading to the further expansion of English as a subject in high school and on college entrance exams, as well as an MoI in higher education institutions and a great advantage in the job market (Piller & Cho 2013).

Yim (2007) argues that the dominance of English in Korea resulted in both the cultural and linguistic hegemony of Western power; however, the construction of the new Korean national identity through the very same language mediates the process of assimilation. From a different perspective, Piller and Cho (2013) argue that English as an MoI in Korean higher education is a form of self-colonization. This policy, which is perpetuated by the neoliberal ideology, naturalizes the expansion of the English language by employing competitiveness as a core value, while creating the illusion of meritocracy that bears heavy costs for the country.

Korea is traditionally known as a country with a homogeneous ethnicity. After the Korean War that divided the Korean peninsula into two countries in the 1950s, the South Korean government attempted to build ethnic identities through the curriculum via stories that created an imagined community with shared blood across borders, and emphasized pride in ethnic homogeneity (Chang 2017). Between 1990 and 2015, the number of foreign residents increased 35 times to 1.74 million (Jo & Jung 2017) and accounted for 3.9% of registered residents in 2016. Therefore, homogeneity of ethnicity is no longer an accurate description of the Korean population. Still, the ethnic homogeneity narrative has deep roots among Koreans, and the term "single ethnicity" did not disappear from Korean textbooks until 2007 (Chang 2017).

The term "multicultural family" is used exclusively in Korea to describe families with members of different cultures, races, and ethnicities, including foreign migrant workers, marriage migrants, and refugees from North Korea (Chang 2017: 176).

Multicultural policies for children from multicultural families mainly focus on their assimilation into Korean culture with little emphasis on students' heritage languages and cultures (Chang 2017; Jo & Jung 2017). Heritage languages are taught either by untrained local foreign mothers and wives, or in the few community-run minority-language schools that have lower status compared to other schools (Lee 2015). Although the government has adopted policies that are more inclusive, these policies still aim to teach the Korean language and culture, which is consistent with the ideology that promotes Korean homogeneity. In this context, Korean language policies fit the assimilationist model (Castles 1995) where the heritage languages of multicultural children are treated as problems to be solved (Chang 2017; Jo & Jung 2017; Ruíz 1984).

6. India

With a population of more than 1.2 billion and 22 official languages, India is known as a multilingual country (Bhattacharya 2016; Mohanty et al. 2010). The 2001 census listed more than 6,600 mother tongues that could be linguistically categorized into 300–400 varieties, among which 196 were considered endangered (mainly the indigenous, tribal, and minority [ITM] languages) (Mohanty 2013). The national language education policy, namely the *Three Language Formula* (TLF), was enacted in 1956 and recommended students to study Hindi, English, and a regional or modern Indian language in schools. The policy was inconsistently implemented across regions and generated escalating tensions at the regional level because it reinforced the hegemony of Hindi and English (Bhattacharya 2016).

The use of English in India was historically constructed by British imperialism (Bhattacharya 2016). First circulated among a select group to better serve the colonizers' interests (Hornberger & Vaish 2009), English acquired sovereign status soon after. Although English was considered "a symbol of subjugation" during the Independence movement, the *Constitution of Independent India* in 1950 recognized English as an associate official language for 15 years. This status was later extended indefinitely due to the English language's growing economic power in globalization and also the disagreements among various Indian regional languages in terms of which regional language should be the dominant one (Panda & Mohanty 2015: 543).

As mentioned earlier, the TLF represents the government's efforts to consolidate ambiguity in language choices in schools. The first version announced in 1957 recommended schools teach (1) a regional language or mother tongue as the first teaching language for five years, (2) Hindi (in non-Hindi areas) or another Indian language (in Hindi areas) as a second language in grades 6–8, and (3) English as a third language from grade 3 onward (Mohanty 2013). However, English gradually

replaced Hindi and became the second language in later revisions of the TLF, partly because of the resistance to the use of Hindi in non-Hindi areas (mainly South Indian states). On the other hand, the use of the mother tongue as the first teaching language was gradually replaced by each state's dominant majority language, partly because many marginalized ITM mother-tongue-speakers remained "powerless and voiceless" in the state's power and political hierarchy (Mohanty 2013: 3).

These imbalances of power among different languages in India create a "double divide" (Mohanty et al. 2010: 211). The first divide lies between English and major dominant Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali, and Telugu, as English has become more popular as an MoI in schools today. Most states start teaching English as early as Grade 1, despite evidence showing the benefits of building solid mother tongue proficiency first and introducing English in later grades (Mohanty 2013). In today's India, there is no consensus on the actual number of English speakers (ranging from 1–20%); however, there is no doubt that English is spoken by a small group of the elite population on the higher end of the power hierarchy (Bhattacharya 2016).

The second divide is between the major Indian languages and the ITM languages. The number of languages used as MoIs in India is decreasing, thus resulting in ITM children's subtractive schooling experience with higher push-out rates (Mohanty et al. 2010). There are a few cases of activism for linguistic rights of ITM languages (Mohanty 2013), as well as recorded instances of teachers' practices to confront linguicism towards ITM children in the classroom (Mohanty 2006). Nevertheless, the loss of ITM languages is hard to resist because it is a byproduct of social, economic, and political inequality inside India and globally.

One factor we cannot dismiss is the colonial baggage carried by both English and Indian languages (Hornberger & Vaish 2009). As Bhattacharya (2016) points out, although India's educational policy for languages argues that the colonial origin of English is irrelevant now, data show that children's ideologies towards English are "undergirded by anxieties about the colonial experience, an imagined current state of war with England, as well as future attacks" (p. 16). Meanwhile, the spread of English and its associations with upward economic mobility echo the global neoliberal trend, demonstrating how "postcolonialism and globalization – in theory and in effect – are inextricably intertwined" (Asher 2017: 98).

On the other hand, the unequal distribution of linguistic capital also exists among Indian languages. Because many speakers of ITM languages are marginalized and subject to social and political negligence due to discrimination, speakers of languages that are more privileged have continuous access to power and prestige. Thus, multilingualism in India is considered a "multilingualism of the unequals" (Mohanty 2006: 266). The TLF, while aiming to promote multilingualism, contributes to a wider double divide among the English language, majority Indian

languages, and ITM languages. Therefore, language education in India "remains chaotic and multilingual only in a nominal sense" (Mohanty 2013: 3).

7.   China

With a population greater than 1.37 billion (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2016), 56 ethnic groups, and a landmass of 9.6 million square kilometers (Li 2004), China is a large and heterogeneous country. China has a long history of language planning, with the first attempt at standardization of Chinese script occurring in 221 BC in the Qin dynasty. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, China's language policy has focused mainly on state-building with a unified language (Zhou & Ross 2004). In 1954, a language-planning committee was formed directly under the control of the State Council with three major tasks: (1) designate Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua) as a *lingua franca* for speakers of various dialects in China, (2) simplify the Chinese characters, and (3) develop and introduce a phonetic alphabet system (Pinyin) to facilitate the pronunciation of modern Mandarin Chinese (Li 2004; Rohsenow 2004).

Mandarin Chinese is the designated MoI for all schools in China. Teachers need to pass Mandarin tests in order to graduate from teacher preparation programs and are required to speak Mandarin as the only language in schools (Li 2004). The promotion of Mandarin is generally considered successful as the number of Mandarin speakers is growing, especially among the younger generations (Chen 2007; Zhou & Ross 2004). However, Mandarin has been disseminated unevenly in terms of geography, urban and rural communities, ethnic groups, and education levels. For example, people in smaller towns and remote rural and mountainous regions, often with lower socioeconomic statuses, are at a disadvantage in terms of accessing and speaking Mandarin, largely because local dialects are still the major MoIs in schools (Li 2004). Because Mandarin is associated with cultural capital and higher status, dialect speakers from rural areas face linguistic discrimination when they migrate into larger cities. On the other hand, by losing their dialects, younger generations in larger cities are losing important identity markers (Chen 2007; Li 2004). As Mandarin becomes essential in global and national contexts (Wang & Phillion 2009), economic and pragmatic factors are arguably the fundamental contributing factors to the loss of dialect, although the language-planning policy plays an important role in this process as well (Chen 2007).

Parents are often less enthusiastic about maintaining their children's local dialects than improving their English proficiency (Chen 2007). It is estimated that China has approximately 390 million English learners (Wei & Su 2012), constituting 99% of the foreign language learning population (Wang 2007). As a language that is

increasingly considered a national and personal asset in China (Hu 2005), English was first taught as a compulsory subject in China's middle schools in 1902 as a way to acquire Western technology and ideas in order to modernize the country. Russian replaced English during the first 15 years of the PRC. English was taught sporadically during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and resumed its status as a required foreign language in secondary schools in the early 1970s (Wang 2007). At the turn of the 21st century, China experienced remarkable economic development and started to emphasize the utilitarian value of English in enhancing national competitiveness in a globalized world (Hu 2005). English has been offered from Grade 3 onward as a compulsory subject since 2001. This policy was first piloted in cities and counties and then expanded to towns and villages (Wang 2007). However, there is a tremendous shortage of trained teachers, especially in rural areas. As English is a required subject for college entrance exams and is associated with high economic returns and social prestige, unequal access to English educational resources reproduces educational inequalities between rural and urban students (Hu 2005).

As mentioned earlier, China is a multiethnic country even though the Han ethnic group constitutes more than 93% of the population (Li 2004; Wang & Phillion 2009). Ethnic minority groups represent approximately 112 million people (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2010). With the exception of the Hui and Manchu who largely speak Mandarin, ethnic minority groups speak different languages, including 30 languages with written scripts and 20 languages with fewer than 1000 speakers (Li 2004; Wang & Phillion 2009).

Wang and Phillion (2009) describe three stages of China's minority language policies after 1949, including: (1) the support of minority languages before the mid-1950s, (2) the suppression of minority languages from the late 1950s to the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, and (3) the tolerance of minority languages since then. The major goal of minority language planning is to encourage bilingualism in Mandarin Chinese and a minority language (Chen 2007). Since Grade 3, minority students are required to be taught through the national curriculum, which considers Han knowledge and Mandarin Chinese to be the norm (Wang & Phillion 2009). As a result, minorities in younger generations are increasingly becoming Mandarin Chinese speakers, or even monolingual Mandarin speakers. This trend is especially evident among ethnic minorities with small populations and close contact with the Han group (Chen 2007).

The challenges faced by minority languages in China include regional poverty, shortages of qualified bilingual teachers, and the hegemony of Han culture (Wang & Phillion 2009). Although China's constitution explicitly includes the language rights of minority ethnic groups, the policy is not enacted equally among different groups. In some cases, minorities with large populations and perceived greater threats to national unity have higher statuses than other minorities (Zhou 2004).

In addition, because national unity and stability are prioritized over other considerations (He 2005), bilingualism in a minority language and Mandarin is promoted because it is considered to be a bridge between Han and minority communities. Such bilingualism is believed to enhance communication across ethnic groups and alleviate potential conflicts that might harm the stability of the society. Because the instrumental value is emphasized, minority languages are tolerated only if they contribute to the national unity (Wang & Phillion 2009).

Language policies in China are shaped by the pursuit of national interests, as reflected in the promotion of English for global competitiveness and the emphasis on Mandarin for national unity. However, as Chen (2007) points out, language, particularly Mandarin, has not been enthusiastically pursued as "a symbol of national identity" in China's intellectual and political discourses, particularly after the late 19th century (p. 166). This view of language in relation to national identity is different from countries with long colonial histories, as well as the European context.

8.   Discussion

This chapter described historical and recent macro-language education policy discourses that were affected by multiculturalism, diversity, and identity by specifying each country's political and sociodemographic context. We have identified differences between each country's language-planning orientations, which are supported by a variety of perspectives with myriad contextual considerations. Furthermore, the situation in each country is much more complex and contradictory than we summarized and many unsettled arguments and lingering questions remain. Nevertheless, we would like to summarize three major similarities across the countries analyzed in this paper.

8.1   Promotion of national unity: Minority languages and dialects as "problems"

Across the five countries illustrated above, the language-as-a-problem ideology (Ruíz 1984) is still prevalent and forms the foundation of national language policies that govern languages spoken by indigenous minorities and immigrant families. In many countries, a mixture of differential exclusion and assimilationist models (Castles 1995) are implemented across culturally and linguistically diverse populations. For example, although immigrants have brought diversity to Korea and Japan, the prevailing ideology of national homogeneity results in few resources being allocated toward these students to maintain their heritage languages (Burgess

2007; Castro-Vázquez 2013; Chang 2017; Jo & Jung 2017). The same situation applies to indigenous groups in Japan, which are perceived as obstacles to national unity (Gottlieb 2012).

The population that speaks dialects and other mother tongues is decreasing rapidly because of the acquisition and corpus planning efforts, especially in industrializing countries. As part of the double divide in India, ITM languages are excluded from the curriculum in order to make room for English and more dominant Indian languages, which is resulting in higher dropout rates among ITM students (Mohanty et al. 2010). In China, Mandarin is designated as the *lingua franca*, and young urban dialect speakers are transforming into monolingual Mandarin speakers and losing their dialects as identity markers. Meanwhile, residents in rural areas have limited access to Mandarin and are disadvantaged based on their accents and use of colloquial words (Chen 2007; Li 2004; Zhou & Ross 2004).

These cases exemplify how language diversity is commonly treated as a problem that needs to be fixed. Nationalist ideologies and the belief in the benefits of linguistic uniformity make it difficult for ITM language speaking children to climb the social ladder. However, many educators believe that the disadvantages that people face due to linguicism are usually attributed to lack of personal effort in learning the mainstream language. This reasoning turns the structural racism and linguicism embedded in social and educational systems into individual deficits (Katz & Hass 1988; Wiley & Lukes 1996).

8.2   Resisting linguicism: Language as a right

Various groups that have adopted the language-as-right ideology are resisting the loss of language due to the nationalism and the language-as-problem ideology. As Menken and García (2010) argue, shifts in language usage are not only subject to social, economic, and political forces, but are also influenced by human agency in policymaking and implementation. For example, the *Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture* states that it is the Japanese government's responsibility to retain the Ainu heritage. This was the result of indigenous rights activism and the public's increasing awareness of the Ainu population's rights to their language and culture (Honna et al. 2004). Okano (2012) discovered that in regions of Japan with long histories of minority civil rights movements, local education boards managed to create spaces for immigrant children to receive classes of their heritage language despite limited support from national funds. In the case of India, Mohanty et al. (2010) documented how teachers negotiated the discrepancy between the state-mandated language teaching goals and what they experienced in real schools. By actively challenging language policies in their classrooms, these teachers played an important

role in resisting the injustice of the double divide, and particularly the harm it would cause to ITM children's linguistic rights (Mohanty et al. 2010).

These examples in the Asian context demonstrate how agents at various levels are interacting with and influencing each other in order to affect language policies (Menken & García 2010). However, cases that solely emphasize minority language rights are rare. For example, although ethnic minority language rights are explicitly supported by China's constitution (Zhou 2004), actual policies that support minority languages are enacted mainly because they are able to enhance national unity, such as promoting communications between minority groups and Han (Wang & Phillion 2009). In this case, language is taught not only because it is a fundamental right, but because it is also seen as a practical resource.

Ruíz (1984: 24) points out problems with the language-as-right orientation. The use of terms such as "entitlements", "enforcement", and "protection" used in the legal discourses that support language rights might create confrontations and automatic resistance from the public. In addition, this orientation might create a situation where diverse groups "invoke their rights against each other" (ibid.: 24). Because of these controversies, Ruíz (1984) argues for a different language-planning orientation. However, an increasing number of scholars (e.g. Cervantes-Soon 2014; Petrovic 2005) point out the danger of shifting away from the language-as-right orientation toward the preservation of minority languages because the other two orientations either stigmatize or risk objectifying their linguistic heritage.

8.3   Postcolonialism and neoliberalism: Language as a resource for globalization

Many scholars (e.g. García 2009; Ruíz 1984) consider the language-as-resource orientation to be a more promising approach to language planning and teaching. In the Asian context, this ideology is especially celebrated in the field of English language education.

Among the five countries discussed in this chapter, Singapore and India both have a British colonial history that has affected the status of the English language in each country. Although scholars, such as Chew (2007), argue that the English language is considered a commodifiable resource rather than an identity marker, important connections do exist between the recognition of linguistic distinctiveness and the formation of local identity in Singapore (Joseph 2004). Language planning policies that support standard English only (often equal to the language of White native English speakers only) are detrimental to Singlish and non-English language speakers because they project a deficit perspective onto their languages. Similarly, although Indian language education policy documents argue that the

colonial origin of English is no longer relevant, studies show that the colonial baggage of the English language still exists in the minds of children (Bhattacharya 2016). The renewed framing of English as a language for upward social mobility in India demonstrates the long-lasting effect of colonialism compounded by globalization (Asher 2017).

Although China, Japan, and Korea do not have British colonial histories, English is still a mandated subject in K-12 schools and is increasingly used as an MoI in higher education. The domination of English as a foreign language is often a product of neoliberal ideologies because the instrumental value of English in the global market is emphasized in language planning policies. Although English carries less colonial baggage in these three countries compared to India and Singapore, the framing of English as a resource to enhance global competitiveness is not a neutral stance. Scholars in the field of English as a Second Language (ESL) education in Asian countries have started to raise concerns about this neoliberal ideology in foreign language teaching. For example, Piller and Cho (2013) argue that the increasing popularity of English as an MoI in Korea is naturalized by the neoliberal ideology, thus perpetuating the illusion of meritocracy, which poses a heavy cost to the country. Kubota (2016, 2017) argues that the promotion of English education in Japan does not automatically enhance understanding and communication across borders. The neoliberalism that emphasizes the instrumental value of English in the context of globalization compliments, rather than contradicts, the promotion of Japanese national identity from nationalist stances (Kubota 2017). The heritage languages of indigenous people and immigrants are still viewed as problems. Therefore, the promotion of English with the language-as-resource orientation might have no conflict with the type of nationalism that values homogeneity and considers minority languages as problems to be solved.

The neoliberal promotion of English also results in problems with educational equality. The language-as-resource orientation of language planning in the Asian context promotes the dominant status of English in the national curriculum; therefore, all students should be able to access English education. However, Price (2014) argues that learning English becomes a necessity rather than an opportunity when English is valued as cultural capital in (and sometimes even as the gatekeeper of) education and employment. Since access to high-quality English education varies among children from different regions and socioeconomic backgrounds, English as a testing subject could reinforce inequality in education. This widening gap is evident in all of the five cases in this chapter and should be carefully examined in the Asian context.

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Theoretical perspectives

From multilingualism to plurilingualism

L3, the tertiary language

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The fact that learners of a new language often already have experience of one or more other non-native languages has come into focus with the growing interest in multilingualism as a linguistic phenomenon and multilingual education as a practical concern. *Third language* or *L3* has become a regular term fairly recently in dealing with the complex constellations of languages that occur with multilingual speakers and exploring the roles of these languages in the acquisition process. The purpose of the present chapter is to examine and discuss the construct of L3 in the context of the individual speaker's multilingual repertoire and language learning. I first touch upon the wide occurrence of bi- and multilingualism in the world of today, especially as promoted by globalization and modern communication technology, and individual multilingualism (plurilingualism) as the normal form of linguistic competence that develops in human speakers. I then discuss the speaker/learner's linguistic repertoire as a dynamic complex system, as well as the mutual connection between the developing repertoire and the process of language use and acquisition in specific situations in time. What we mean by L3 is seldom reflected on in the literature on so-called third language acquisition (TLA). In defining L3, we should ask what kind of concept we need in order to represent a speaker's non-first non-native language. It should be a concept which is cognitively grounded and compatible with the terms L1 and L2 as these are commonly used in SLA studies. This leads to a definition of L3 and a discussion of its cognitive role as "tertiary" in relation to pre-existing L1s and L2s. Cross-linguistic influence becomes more complex when more background languages than a single L1 are involved, since both L1s and L2s can become activated in the process. Recent literature has explored a range of factors that may determine which language will dominate as source language when acquiring an L3, and formed conflicting hypotheses regarding their relative strength. I examine some problems that are reflected in this research, including the "L2 status issue". This has implications for understanding the potential benefit of a multilingual language background in language learning.

Keywords: Factor Model, L2 status factor, L3 definition, language learning chronology, multilingualism, repertoire of languages, tertiary language, third language acquisition

1.   Introduction

It is a well-known fact that people who learn a new language often have experience of one or more other non-native languages already. In a school situation, this applies, for example, to students taking a second or further foreign language, but also to many minority or migrant children when they study their first foreign language in class. In traditional research on *second language acquisition (SLA)*, no distinction is usually made between learners of their first non-native language (the first L2) and those who go on to learn further languages. All are treated simply as second language learners. Up till recently, the first language (L1) was the only language that was taken into account as a potential source of cross-linguistic influence on the learning process, and any influence from other previously learned languages was usually ignored or thought to be insignificant. However, with the current growing interest in *multilingualism*, in society as well as in the individual, this view is changing. Within the past couple of decades, a rapidly developing body of research on so-called *third language acquisition (TLA)* has shown that the situation for a learner with prior experience of acquiring one or more non-native languages is different from that of a first-L2 learner in important respects. This means that the dimension of complexity in the learner's language background is now being taken into account, and what it involves is being investigated.

One aspect of this is the awareness that the L1 learner, the first-L2 learner and the learner of further languages are differently equipped for the task, which influences the learning process variably. Hufeisen expresses this in her *Factor Model* which she has developed in several works (1998, 2003, 2005, 2010, this volume) by specifying a number of linguistic and extralinguistic factors which guide the language learning process. When the learner proceeds in the course of time from the acquisition of the first language to the learning of a second language and then to the learning of a third language, new factors are added, so that the set of factors that come into play becomes increasingly complex. The new factors that apply when moving from learning the second to the third language are connected with the prior experience of an L2. They consist of *foreign language specific factors* (such as individual foreign language learning experiences and strategies, language interlanguage of previous languages, interlanguage of target language), and *linguistic factors* (knowledge of the prior L2, in addition to L1) (Hufeisen 2005: 38; cf. also 2010: 204). If the learner moves on to learn more languages, no further factors come into play. Those factors which guide the learning of the third language also apply to subsequent languages, although they will become increasingly developed and refined (Hufeisen 2010: 204–205). There is thus, according to this model, a qualitative difference between the learning of the first non-native language and any further languages, as represented by the different sets of governing factors that are involved.

Another aspect is that a richer repertoire of languages provides a more complex and variable pattern of cross-linguistic influence, especially the fact that influence may arise not only from an L1, but also from a prior L2. With more background languages, an issue in current research is the question under which conditions a particular language will influence the use and learning of the target language. Several such conditions have been proposed and their effects and interactions with each other are being studied (Falk & Bardel 2010).

A further aspect is the potential benefit that a complex repertoire of languages provides for the learner in terms of greater linguistic resources and awareness (Cenoz 2003, 2013). This also implies possibilities to make systematic use of learners' multilingual background in foreign language teaching (see e.g. Neuner 2004).

This concern with complex linguistic backgrounds in language learning has led to a diversification of the concept of *second language* as it has usually been applied in SLA studies. Besides the established categories first and second language (L1, L2), the additional term *third language* or *L3* has come into use. In established usage in SLA studies, L1 refers to any native language, i.e. a language acquired from early infancy, and L2 refers to any non-native language, i.e. a language added later. (The terms first and second language have lost their literal sense of language number one and two, due to the fact that a person may have more than one native and more than one non-native language.) What we can mean by L3 and how it relates to L1 and L2 is neither self-evident nor trivial, however. How we define and use these terms is important because the way in which we construe them reflects and affects our understanding of how multilingualism works and develops in the individual. The category L3, the relative newcomer in the terminology, is motivated by the need to deal with the complex language constellations that occur with the multilingual learner, and to distinguish this from a simple L1–L2 relation. This raises questions regarding the definition of L3 and its relationship with the learner's other languages in the process of language use and acquisition.

The term L3 has become quite established in research and in the general debate by now, and it seems reasonable to assume for the time being that it has come to stay. In TLA studies, the term is often being used in a simple way, as a label for language number three in a chronological order of acquisition. This tends to be the case especially in contexts where precisely three languages are at play, one L1, one previously learned L2 and the current target language, L3. But language use and acquisition by multilinguals, viewed in general, involves much more than that. There is often no strong reason to put a particular focus on language three in a multilingual speaker's repertoire, nor to limit the perspective to strictly sequential acquisition of languages over time. It is rather for methodological reasons that many investigators prefer to concentrate on trilingual settings; it produces a neat model situation with an L1, an already familiar L2 and another non-native language as the

current target. But if we envisage a term that can represent a non-first non-native language more generally in relation to different degrees and histories of multilingualism and to different situations of language use and acquisition that occur in real life, then we need to define a concept of greater generality.

The present chapter aims to examine the construct of L3 in the context of the speaker's multilingual repertoire and language learning, and to outline the basis for an adequate use of the term L3. I first touch upon the wide occurrence of bi- and multilingualism in the world of today, especially as it is promoted by globalization and modern communication technology, and argue that multilingualism should be regarded as the normal form of linguistic competence that develops in human speakers. Secondly, I discuss the mutual connection between the developing linguistic repertoire and the process of language use and acquisition in specific situations in time. Thirdly, I focus on how to define and characterize the concept of L3 and point out how this category differs from those of the speaker's other languages. Fourthly, I consider some recent research that has explored the various factors that may determine which language will dominate as a source language for cross-linguistic influence when acquiring an L3. From an educational point of view, this research has implications for understanding the potential significance of a multilingual learner's various background languages and making use of this in language teaching.

2. The multilingual context

Bi- and multilingualism is one characteristic feature of human life.[1] Linguists working in this area are widely of the opinion that bi- or multilingualism is more common in the world's population than monolingualism. It is found to be increasing in the modern society with its globalization, mobility and fast communication (see Aronin & Singleton 2012).

Multilingualism is part of our personal development. In the course of life, people tend to pick up knowledge of languages with which they get into active

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1. The way in which the terms bi- and multilingualism are defined varies somewhat in the literature, foregrounding either the social or the individual domain, either use or knowledge, sometimes requiring high-level proficiency in each language or early simultaneous acquisition. Sometimes the terms bi- and multilingualism are treated as synonyms, or one term is used for both. Sometimes the term plurilingualism is used instead of individual multilingualism. Here I will follow one common terminological practice and define individual *mono-*, *bi-* and *multilingualism* as knowledge of *one*, *two* and *three or more* languages, respectively, at some significant level of proficiency. Defined in this way, a distinction is drawn between bi- and multilingualism, and the terms do not presuppose a certain level or type of proficiency in each language.

contact. This can take place naturally in daily life, or through organized study. It is obvious that all humans have the potential of acquiring several languages. This indicates that multilingualism is natural to human speakers and an integral part of the human language faculty. It can be argued that multilingualism as it develops over the lifespan is the normal form of language competence. This is a break with a traditional attitude in Western societies to see monolingualism as the normal state and regard the knowledge of additional languages as special, extended cases. Adult monolingualism, where it occurs, is rather the case that needs to be explained (see Hammarberg 2012).

Individual multilingualism develops for different reasons, in different kinds of environments, and in different forms. In some parts of the world, such as for example Papua New Guinea or many parts of Africa, local linguistic populations live in close contact with each other, and the alternate use of several languages is a regular part of daily life. With the process of modernization comes the need also to learn national and international languages, which in a short perspective increases people's multilingual repertoires (but in the long run may lead to the abandonment of local languages and thus the reduction of multilingualism). Contacts with other countries of course motivate language learning. In this respect the European scene is characteristic with its multitude of states, each with its configuration of languages, existing in close contact and communication with one another, while English also increasingly functions as a lingua franca. (On the role of English in Europe, cf. Cenoz & Jessner 2000; House 2008). Bi- and multilingual countries create a complex language situation especially for the speakers of the minority populations, who need to handle the language of the majority as well for various public functions. Language diversity is a particularly striking phenomenon in bi- and multilingual urban communities, where it is connected with many aspects of demographic and cultural structure, the city's linguistic landscape, and policy regarding public services, education, and so forth (Boix-Fuster 2015; Extra 2015; Extra & Gorter 2001, 2008; Extra & Yağmur 2004). In the multilingual and multicultural youth environments which have arisen in European larger cities as an effect of migration, the coexistence of different languages is a given reality, and the development of specific, identity-creating varieties besides the standard language is a consequence (Bardel et al. 2013; Källström & Lindberg 2011; Quist & Svendsen 2010).

Foreign language learning in school settings can be seen in its relationship with the various cases of language acquisition that take place for "natural" reasons and under "natural" conditions. The distinction that is often made between (instructed) *foreign language learning* and (spontaneous) *second language acquisition* is indeed well motivated, in view of the differences both in ways of learning and in type of

results.[2] Yet, although foreign language learning has to proceed (typically) in the absence of a real target language environment and learners thereby tend to get fewer opportunities of realistic interaction and natural reasons to communicate and have to rely more on metalinguistic learning, there is a basic connection between foreign language learning and uninstructed language acquisition in "natural" environments. In both cases, the acquaintance with different languages provides comparative language experience and furthers linguistic awareness. During our lifespan, we develop a stock, or *repertoire*, of linguistic knowledge, experience and skills, acquired in a variety of ways and contexts. There is no reason to assume that learners who learn foreign languages through organized study could not draw on this wider linguistic resource (cf. Hufeisen 2010: 205).

3.   The language repertoire and situations of language use

A person's multilingual development involves the buildup of a repertoire of languages. This is an ongoing process which includes the adding of knowledge of new languages over time, but also other aspects such as:

–   Changes in level of proficiency in the respective languages: gradual growth, also attrition
–   Changes in depth and type of knowledge, familiarity with variation (dialects, sociolects, genres, styles, trends etc.), familiarity with the cultural context of each language and the social norms governing its use
–   Comparative knowledge of different languages
–   Metalinguistic awareness
–   Experience of language use in situations
–   Experience and skills in learning languages; strategic skills in using and acquiring language
–   Attitudes, affective relations to specific languages

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2.   The use of the terms *language acquisition* and *language learning* varies in the literature. A distinction is upheld in contexts where it is important and focused on. Thus (uninstructed) *second language acquisition* taking place in the target language environment is contrasted with (instructed) *foreign language learning*, usually outside the target language environment. In another approach, *first language acquisition* is contrasted with *second language learning* (e.g. Paradis 2004 in his neurolinguistic theory of bilingualism). In contexts where such distinctions are not in focus, *acquisition* and *learning* tend to be used as synonyms, or one term is used in a broader sense covering both, for example in the names of the subject fields *second language acquisition (SLA)* and *third language acquisition (TLA)*. In the present chapter, I use the terms acquisition and learning interchangeably, except when referring to authors who are using the finer distinction.

The notion of a linguistic repertoire was introduced in the sociolinguistic work by John Gumperz in the 1960s and has since then played an important role in socio-linguistics. Gumperz (1972: 20) defines it as "the totality of linguistic resources (i.e. including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities". Whereas Gumperz (and later sociolinguistic work) stresses the social side, the concept of a repertoire has also been applied with a focus on the language knowledge of individuals (Blommaert & Backus 2013). I will deal with this latter aspect here.

It has been emphasized by many that a person's knowledge of languages forms a coherent whole, rather than separate competences in each language. Cook (1992) refers to this holistic knowledge as a *multicompetence*. According to Paradis (1981, 2004) the speaker's languages are assumed to be represented in the mind as sub-sets within the same larger cognitive system. One much-debated issue is whether this system contains separate lexicons for each language, or one common lexicon. Predominant research today points to the conclusion that words of different lan-guages are stored in a common lexicon, so that they are simultaneously accessible for searching in the memory (de Bot 2004). In this way words from more than one language can compete for activation both in perception and production of speech (de Bot 2004: 23), which may give rise to cross-linguistic transfer.

A central aspect of a language repertoire is that it keeps developing over time. This feature is an essential part of the perspective on language represented by ap-proaches such as Dynamic Systems Theory (DST; Verspoor et al. 2011), Complexity Theory (see Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008) and the view of language as a Complex Adaptive System (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman 2009). Language and lan-guage use is understood here as a developing complex system, which is variable and continuously changing and contains interacting elements and forces. Complex systems contain subsystems and are themselves part of a larger system. Thus, for example, a person's repertoire of languages constitutes a complex system, and so do the various languages forming the repertoire; similarly, a speech situation forms a complex system, as well as the many interacting subsystems that are involved in the situation. This view on language assumes a usage-based approach (cf. Bybee & Beckner 2012; Langacker 1999), according to which development is driven by use of the system. Language is seen as an adaptive system which is socially situated: it develops through the user's interaction with the social environment, especially with other language users, as well as through internal self-organization. This system and its parts can be studied over shorter or longer periods or at a given point in time.

A language in the repertoire becomes an L1 or an L2, depending on the indi-vidual's stage of cognitive maturity at the time when it is internalized and stored in memory. An L1, or native language, is acquired from early infancy during a period when the child learns the basics of linguistic interacting and first establishes

linguistic categories, structural patterns and rules of use. An L2, or non-native language, is a language added after this period, when the initial process of language acquisition has taken place and the speaker – as older child, adolescent or adult – has become cognitively more mature. Paradis (2004, 2008, 2009), in his neurolinguistic theory of bilingualism, posits two distinct mechanisms for, what he terms, the *acquisition of implicit linguistic competence* in L1 and the *learning of explicit metalinguistic knowledge* in L2. According to Paradis (e.g. 2008: 343), an L1 is acquired incidentally, stored implicitly, used automatically and sustained by procedural memory, whereas an L2 is learned consciously, stored explicitly, consciously controlled when used, and sustained by declarative memory. L1 and L2 also involve different parts of the brain. Paradis emphasizes, however, that the explicit knowledge of an L2 may become automatized when the language is used in practice, i.e. be successively replaced by implicit competence as the conscious learning process is gradually taken over by unconscious, incidental acquisition.

The transition from the period of implicit acquisition to that of explicit learning takes place gradually in the young child. Thus, if a child has encountered a new language at a certain age within this transition period, it may be difficult to tell categorically whether it should be considered an L1 or an L2. It may be L1-like in some respects and L2-like in others. Researchers differ as to the timing of this process. Paradis (2008) places the end of the L1 acquisition period at about age five. In investigating child SLA, McLaughlin (1984) chooses the third birthday as a practical cutoff point between first and second language acquisition.[3] Meisel (2011), reviewing research on neural maturation and age, finds that changes in the direction from L1-type to L2-type processing seem to take place at least up to age seven, with certain crucial changes around age four. Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson (2003), investigating age of onset and ultimate attainment, report effects that appear to indicate that the child's capacity for L1-type acquisition starts to decrease successively already shortly after birth. There is thus reason to interpret the L1/L2 distinction cautiously in the case of languages with an onset within this transition period. On the other hand, when dealing with a language acquired from early infancy or one learned in late childhood, adolescence or adulthood, the L1/L2 distinction will be clear-cut. The term *primary language* is sometimes used in linguistics as equal to a native language, or L1. Given that L2s are languages which presuppose a period of basic language acquisition when one or more L1s have been established, L2s can be designated as *secondary languages*.[4] Certain observable facts, for example that

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3. See note 2.

4. The term *secondary language* is sometimes used in the literature for a non-native language, notably in the seminal work on language contact by Weinreich (1953: 14).

L2s in contrast to L1s are subject to fossilization, and that cross-linguistic transfer usually goes more from an L1 to an L2 than vice versa, are indicators of a cognitive difference between L1s and L2s in the mature speaker.

When considered in its entirety, a multilingual repertoire comprises languages of different prominence for the speaker. Some languages may be used on a regular basis, others more rarely. The speaker's knowledge of the languages will vary in level of proficiency, or be different in kind. In some cases, the proficiency is limited to reading and/or listening comprehension, or to familiarity with terminology in some subject area. The knowledge of some languages may be largely metalinguistic in nature, consisting of knowledge *about* the language. In some cases, the comprehension of a language will be aided by familiarity with another language which is closely related and very similar to the target language. For example, close languages like Danish–Norwegian–Swedish or Bosnian–Croatian–Serbian will all be comprehensible to a speaker who knows one of them well. Thus, the knowledge of one language provides comprehension of other, close languages as a bonus, so to speak. Likewise, for example, Italian–Spanish, Dutch–German, English–German or German–Swedish will support each other to a considerable extent. Familiarity with the "international" (Latin and Greek based) vocabulary which occurs widely in European languages will have a similar effect.[5] Blommaert & Backus (2013: 17) distinguish broadly between several degrees in the learning of languages: *comprehensive' language learning*, leading to a "maximal" set of resources in the respective languages, *'specialized' language learning* which produces various kinds of more restricted or partial forms of linguistic knowledge and skills, and *'encounters' with language* which refers to learning "very small bits of language" such as single words, slang expressions or various fragments. Blommaert and Backus even count the mere ability to recognize and identify languages as parts of the repertoire. In a description of one highly multilingual speaker's repertoire, they sort the languages into four large categories: maximum, partial, minimal and recognizing competence.

A person's repertoire of languages is therefore a complicated thing to capture in total. It is not immediately obvious how it can be adequately accounted for in connection with language learning. Should all languages, whatever the learner's knowledge of them is, be taken into consideration as potentially interacting languages in a learning situation? Apparently, the answer is yes. Current studies on cases of L3 acquisition tend to limit themselves to constellations of languages with some recognized standing in the learner's repertoire, and to leave aside any potential influence from various kinds of minimal or specialized knowledge in other languages. This will certainly make a study more manageable or concentrate the

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5.   On the matter of intercomprehension of similar languages, cf. e.g. Hufeisen & Marx (2007); Klein & Rutke (2004); for Scandinavian languages Delsing & Lundin Åkesson (2005).

focus on specific research questions, and therefore often be preferable. On the other hand, it is obvious that minimal or specialized knowledge of background languages sometimes does have an influence, even if we actually know rather little about this at present, in the absence of systematic research on this issue. In dealing with language learning in multilinguals, we cannot simply exclude potential influence – and support – from various minimal or specialized linguistic background knowledge. We then need to use terms such as L1, L2 and L3 in such a way that they do not preclude such cases of cross-linguistic influence.

As I mentioned, a linguistic repertoire is a continuously developing system. If we adopt a usage-based theory of language, language acquisition is assumed to be driven by use the language in specific situations. Concrete communicative events thus shape the buildup of the repertoire over time. Conversely, the process of language use and acquisition in such situations is dependent on the current state of the repertoire with its complex linguistic contents. Hammarberg (2017) discusses the interconnection between the developing repertoire and language use in situations and distinguishes two major points of view that are seen to occur regularly in SLA and TLA research. He characterizes them as a *macro* and a *micro time* perspective. The former constitutes a long-term view on languages and learning. It deals with the speaker's multilingual competence and practices, how this develops and changes over time, the stages and sequences of development, etc. This includes how the languages contained in the repertoire are structured, used and mastered, and how this develops over time. The latter, short-term perspective deals with states and processes in situations. It has its focus on the speaker's options, activity and linguistic products on specific occasions when the language is being used, and on the conditions and factors that govern the acquisition process in such situations. While the interdependence between the repertoire and the specific events of language use is crucial, placing the focus on one or the other will involve different issues.

One aspect in the *macro time* perspective is the chronology in which the languages occur and develop. One very common practice in connection with multilingualism and TLA is to sort the languages according to a *chronology of onsets*, i.e. in the order in which the speaker has started acquiring them. The languages are then designated by numbers in a series: L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, etc. This sorts the speaker's languages into a simple historical schema and is applicable to languages that can be placed in a clear linear order. But it is connected with some problems that should be noted. First, the terms L1 and L2 are being used in a different sense here than the standard SLA sense of any native versus any non-native language, which makes these terms ambiguous. This usage also restricts the term L3 to meaning the third language in onset order which, as we shall see, is problematic. Second, a linear order presupposes a strictly sequential order of acquisition, which is often not the case in real life; languages may be acquired simultaneously, or in an alternating

fashion where the order of onset may be hard to determine. Third, the numbering depends on which languages should be counted, which is a problem in itself, as we saw above. The number series may thus be dependent on an uncertain conception of which languages should be included. Fourth, one should be aware that the chronological numbers relate to the development of the repertoire over time, not to the roles that the languages have in the acquisition process during situations of use, a distinction which does not always seem to be observed in the literature. For these reasons, it seems wise to use the linear chronological numbering of languages restrictively, with the problems mentioned here in mind.

Whereas a chronology of onsets is a simple, or simplifying, way of representing a person's language history, a *chronology of use* is much more complex and complicated to account for. Yet the chronology of use is more representative of the development of the repertoire. Of course, languages are not only introduced at some point in time, they keep developing over the lifespan, growing, attriting if not used, changing function for the speaker and thereby changing the ways they are acquired and the frequency of use. At any given point in time, a person's repertoire forms a complex of coexisting languages. They develop along with each other and change their pattern of prominence or dominance in relation to each other. What a person's language history is about is the development of this dynamic complex system. The acquisition process that takes place when a language is being used will draw on the current state of this repertoire at the time of use.

A central concern in the *micro time* perspective is to explore the circumstances and conditions that govern the process of acquisition during events of language use. The situation that arises when a language is being used forms a complex system in itself which contains the use of the current target language as a part. This system will vary depending, *inter alia*, on the content of the linguistic repertoire which is available to the speaker at the time. A range of extralinguistic factors also come into play and interact to influence and guide the learning process. These factors also vary with the current state of the repertoire. Hufeisen's Factor Model (see Section 1 above and Hufeisen's chapter in this volume) outlines the set of such linguistic and other factors and shows how it gets successively more complex if a speaker proceeds in sequential order from acquiring a first language (L1) to learning a second language (L2) and then a third language (L3). The model thus combines a micro and a macro time perspective by comparing the conditions that govern acquisitional processes at different stages of development of the learner's linguistic repertoire. In particular, it demonstrates the qualitative difference between being faced with an L2 for the first time and continuing with one or more other non-native languages thereafter.

The Factor Model has its focus on the conditioning factors. Their effects, on the other hand, get manifested in the processes of acquisition that take place in the

actual situations of language use. Hammarberg (2017) proposes a variable model of such events as they apply to a potentially multilingual user/learner. The processes of use and acquisition take place as the individual interacts with his/her current linguistic environment, receiving and/or producing utterances in context. As in Hufeisen's model, a factor approach is adopted here. The model is designed as a template with variable realizations from time to time, depending on the language user's state of mono-, bi- or multilingual development. Figure 1 shows the model as applied to an L3 user (allowing for one or more L1s and one or more prior L2s).
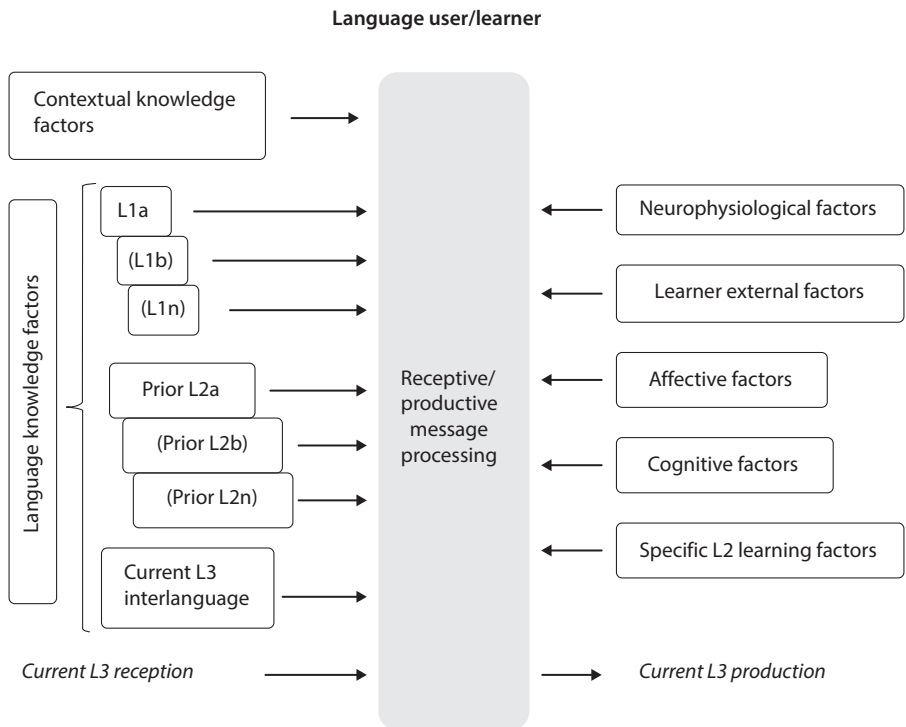
Figure 1. L3 use (non-native language use by a multilingual speaker. From Hammarberg 2017)

The model contains as its central part a mechanism for receptive and productive message processing which receives and produces utterances in the currently used language and is guided by a set of conditioning factors.

The boxes on the left side represent the user's contextual and linguistic knowledge. The *contextual knowledge factors* comprise the awareness of the preceding discourse, the understanding of the situation, and the encyclopaedic "knowledge of the world" pertinent to the situation. The *language knowledge factors* are the user's

current state of knowledge of one or more L1s, one or more already familiar L2s, and the current L3 interlanguage as developed so far; the parentheses indicate "if occurring".

On the right side are several other individually related factors. For the time being, these types of factors are assumed to be essentially those of Hufeisen's Factor Model, summarized here from Hufeisen (2005, 2010), with the proviso that they will still have to be further elaborated and be open to revisions.

These various factors will apply only to the extent that they are applicable to the speaker's state of linguistic development. Thus, more reduced versions of the model will apply to an L1-only speaker or to a learner of a first L2 (Hammarberg 2017). On the other hand, the model takes the whole contents of the current repertoire into account at every stage to which it is applied: studied languages as well as languages acquired informally, languages at different levels of proficiency, even minor or partial knowledge and different types of knowledge of a language. Although the speaker/listener/learner is normally focused on the language that is currently in use (the *selected* language in the sense of Green 1986), his/her knowledge of the other languages that coexist in the repertoire at the time (the *background languages*) is in principle available for activation in the situation to a greater or lesser extent. In practice, most of this co-activation will involve one or more "major" languages in the speaker's repertoire. I will come back below to the question of which language(s) will be most likely to get activated.

4.   Defining L3 as a tertiary language

How is the category of L3 to be defined and characterized? In view of what has been said above, it is a matter of defining a concept which represents a non-first non-native language that has the role of selected language for a multilingual speaker in a situation of language use and acquisition. For a learner, this means the current target language. We require that this concept should be cognitively grounded and compatible with how the terms L1 and L2 are commonly used in the field of SLA, i.e. as any native and any non-native language, respectively. It should be applicable to speakers with various numbers of background languages, and the speaker's knowledge of these languages may be at various levels of proficiency and may be of various types. A definition of L3 along these lines is the following, quoted here from Hammarberg:

> In dealing with the linguistic situation of a multilingual, the term *third language (L3)* refers to a non-native language which is currently being used or acquired in a situation where the person already has knowledge of one or more L2s in addition to one or more L1s.   (2010: 97, italics in original)

Defined in this way, the concept of L3 is not based on the counting of languages; the current L3 is not necessarily "number three" in acquisition order. Rather, it rests on the cognitive distinction between L1 and L2 as used in SLA research (cf. Hammarberg 2014). Any knowledge of L1s and L2s can be taken into consideration as linguistic background knowledge. The crucial point is that the category of L3 is *situation-related*. That is, an L3 is identified in relation to a given situation of language use. Whereas L1s and L2s are languages in the repertoire which are (more or less) known to the speaker in the given situation, the non-native language used in the situation becomes the L3. L3 is thus a situationally defined special case of an L2, special in its role of constituting the current target language in a multilingual setting. Thus, the concept of L3 does not contrast with the concept of L2, but with that of prior L2 (one or more) in the given situation.

It follows that an L3 learner is also, in a wider sense, an L2 learner. In traditional SLA usage where no distinction is made between a learner of a first L2 and one who learns further languages, all are referred to as L2 learners. The present definition of L3 is compatible with this, which has practical advantages. There are of course many topics in the field of SLA where the complexity of the learner's language background is not an issue. In such cases, it serves its purpose to speak of even multilingual learners as L2 learners, without going into the L2/L3 distinction. The traditional SLA usage causes no problems here. The novel perspective introduced with TLA research is to focus on the dimension of complexity in the linguistic background and distinguish an L3 learner from a first-time L2 learner. But clearly this is not an important aspect in every SLA context. Thus, the same multilingual learners may either be defined widely as L2 learners or specifically as L3 learners, depending on what the topic is about.

L3s have been characterized as *tertiary languages* (German: *Tertiärsprachen*). This term was introduced in the literature in the 1990s to designate a second or further foreign language (see Hufeisen & Lindemann 1998). It is being frequently used especially in German TLA research and pedagogy when dealing with the learning and teaching of a second or further foreign language in school settings, for example referring to the frequent case in many countries when German and other languages are learned as a subsequent foreign language after English. The tertiary language then corresponds to the third level of Hufeisen's Factor Model.

The notion of tertiary languages fits in well with the definition of L3 that we are discussing here and the wider perspective on multilingualism on which this definition is based. As mentioned above, an L2 can be called secondary because it presupposes a period of acquisition of an L1 (a primary language), and the first-L2 learner has L1 as background language. In a multilingual setting, a non-native target language (L3) presupposes both L1 and L2 background knowledge and is in this sense tertiary in relation to these primary and secondary languages. Hammarberg

(2010) has argued that it might be a good choice to avoid the common terms "first", "second" and "third" language altogether because of the problematic association with the literal sense of number one, two and three in chronological succession, and instead read the abbreviations L1, L2 and L3 as primary, secondary and tertiary language, respectively.

5.   L3 and the background languages

In a strictly bilingual situation, where a learner has one L1 and the target language as the only L2, only the L1 is available for cross-linguistic influence on the learner language. But in a multilingual situation, there are different background languages which potentially may have an influence on the development of the L3. It is well attested in TLA research that both L1s and L2s may become activated regularly and thus become sources of transfer. Exploring the patterns of such cross-linguistic influence and how they arise in multilingual cases has become one of the key areas in the study of TLA. Although it is clear that background languages may become activated both in comprehension and in production, the most comprehensive research on multilingual cases has been done in the area of learner production.

In a multilingual situation, what will cause a certain background language to become activated rather than another? A number of causing factors have been identified in the literature. Williams & Hammarberg (1998, 2009) propose that four interacting factors determine which background language will most often become co-activated in L3 production:

– *recency*, i.e. the extent to which the learner has used the language recently
– the learner's level of *proficiency* in the background language
– the degree of *typological similarity* between the background language and the L3
– *L2 status*, i.e. if the background language is an L2 for the learner

The hypothesis is that the language that reaches the highest total score on these scales is the one which the learner will activate most often. Other contributing factors have also been suggested, such as if the language has been acquired in natural situations (Ringbom 1987: 113), if the language has been used actively (Heine 2002), at what age it has been acquired (Cenoz 2001), and the learner's emotional attitude towards activating a certain language (Hammarberg & Williams 2009).

The factor *recency* has to do with how the level of activation of a language, and thereby the ease of using it, is influenced by its recent and frequent use. Green (1986, 1998) distinguishes three different states of activation of a language: *selected* (i.e. the language chosen to use), *active* (i.e. present in the memory without being

selected, and capable of taking part in the speech process) and *dormant* (i.e. known to the speaker but without influence in the situation). At any specific point in time, a language is assumed to have a certain default level of activation. Repeated use of the language will raise its level and thereby its capability of becoming activated in the situation. By contrast, the level of activation will decrease if the language is not used for a long time. If this is the case, the speaker's access to a background language in memory should be influenced by a factor of recency of use.

Since high *proficiency* in a language makes it easier to use, a background language which the speaker masters well has an advantage as a potential source of transfer. However, this is somewhat more complicated. It has been shown that even a language at an elementary level can become activated and cause transfer in situations where L3 too is at a low level (Bardel & Lindqvist 2007; De Angelis 2005). A finding is also that lexical transfer at elementary stages of L3 tends to affect the formal shape of words, whereas transfer at advanced stages tends to be semantic in nature (Lindqvist 2010; Ringbom 1987). The proficiency factor is also reflected in the fact that transfer is generally more frequent at lower stages of L3 development where the lack of expressive resources in L3 more often causes a background language to become activated.

Cross-linguistic typological similarity is the factor which has most often attracted attention in the literature.[6] Many studies have shown that the relative similarity between the respective background languages and L3 is a strong factor which favors the closer language as a source of transfer. See especially Ringbom's (2007) thorough treatment of the factor cross-linguistic similarity in foreign language learning. However, similarity between languages is not a clear-cut concept. It has been defined in different ways in different studies. A typological comparison of languages is primarily based on specific elements or structural features which are alike or differ between languages, and in that connection larger areas of the languages may also be more or less similar. Historical-genetic relatedness has also often been referred to as an indication of cross-linguistic similarity. However, even though this relatedness usually also entails more or less far-reaching typological similarities, typological similarity cannot be predicted categorically on genetic grounds; historically related languages may be similar in some parts and different in others. It should be noted that historical relatedness, unlike specific typological similarities, primarily concerns whole languages. There is also a psychological aspect of similarity. It has been argued that the psychologically relevant criterion is the similarity or dissimilarity that the learner perceives or assumes, the so-called *psychotypology* (Kellerman 1983), rather than the factual typological (dis)similarity. Kellerman

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6. This factor is often referred to by the shorthand term *typology*, which is then to be understood as the degree of cross-linguistic typological similarity.

found in studies of learners' transfer behavior in L2 (Kellerman 1977, 1978) that there was a tendency to avoid transfer from L1 in cases where the L1 structure was perceived to be "irregular" or "not transparent" or "marked", even though the languages were actually similar on the points in question. He coined the term psychotypology for "the learner's *perception of language distance*" (Kellerman 1983: 114, italics in original). However, this kind of typological relation which is based on learner intuitions may be difficult to predict with any certainty, so in practice most studies have relied on objective typological facts in order to judge cross-linguistic similarity, or simply on the degree of historical relatedness.

The factor *L2 status*, that is the notion that a background L2 has a special reason to become activated in L3 production rather than an L1, has attracted much interest in recent TLA research. This notion goes against the traditional belief in SLA studies that L1 is the main, if not the only source of cross-linguistic influence on the learner language. The hypothesis that L2 status is a major influencing factor along with the other factors mentioned above was proposed by Williams and Hammarberg (1998, 2009). The possible existence of an L2 effect had also been put forward earlier by Meisel (1983: 17–18) who, however, did not pursue the idea. An L2 status effect has been demonstrated in different areas of the language: lexicon (De Angelis 2005; Falk 2015; Lindqvist & Falk 2014; Williams & Hammarberg 1998, 2009); syntax (Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2010, 2011; Lindqvist & Falk 2014; Sánchez 2011); phonetics and phonology (Hammarberg & Hammarberg 2009; Llama et al. 2010).

Explanations for the L2 status factor have been proposed along various lines. Williams & Hammarberg (1998: 323, 2009: 63) suggested a couple of possible reasons: (1) a different acquisition mechanism for L2s as opposed to L1s, and hence a reactivation of the L2 type mechanism in L3 acquisition, and (2) a desire to suppress L1 as being inherently "non-foreign" and to rely rather on another "foreign" language as a strategy to approach the L3.

The first explanation is in line with Paradis' distinction between two separate neuro-cognitive mechanisms for L1 and L2 (see above). This has been pointed out by Bardel and Falk (2012) who examine the L2 status factor from the point of view of Paradis' (2009) declarative/procedural distinction. Since both the current L3 and prior L2s are non-native languages, they show a neurolinguistic affinity with one another which they do not share with native languages. There are also other respects in which late-learned, non-native languages are similar; Bardel and Falk summarize this in the following way:

> […] the L2 status factor is an outcome of the higher degree of similarity between L2 and L3 than between L1 and L3, regarding age of onset, outcome, learning situation, degree of metalinguistic knowledge, learning strategies and degree of awareness in the process of language appropriation. (2012: 68)

The four main factors mentioned above have all been found to play a role in favoring the activation of a background language. But to determine their relative strength and the degree of impact they have in relation to each other has become an issue of debate in recent TLA research. Since they are not dependent on each other, different factors may either support or counteract each other which means that different factors may, but do not have to favor the same background language as a transfer source. Several researchers have chosen to compare the effect of *typology* and *L2 status* in investigations, with conflicting results. In some cases, the typology factor has turned out to dominate, e.g. Ó Laoire & Singleton (2009), Rothman (2010, 2011), Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro (2010). In other investigations, the L2 status factor has been decisive, e.g. Bardel & Falk (2007), Falk & Bardel (2011), Llama et al. (2010), Sánchez (2011). Taken together, the results do not indicate that the relative strength of the typology and L2 status factors can be determined on a general basis. There are also complications connected with comparing the two factors. Whereas languages can be more or less close to one another, and hence typological similarity is a gradual phenomenon, the question of L1 or L2 status for a language is a categorical choice. It can therefore be expected that the typology factor will have a greater impact in the case of background languages which differ more in their distance to L3 than when the distance is more even, and that this will affect the strength relation between the typology and L2 status factors in a given constellation of languages. It is still unclear, however, how great this difference in language distance has to be for the typology factor to dominate. It is also somewhat problematic if two factors such as typology and L2 status are compared in isolation without other potentially influencing factors such as recency and proficiency being taken into account. There is still little research on the relative impact of these latter factors.

When teaching an L3, it may be of interest to judge the possible supportive role of the learner's various background languages and to look for reasons why a certain language (a previously studied foreign language, a certain minority or heritage language) may have a potential to influence or guide the learning of the L3. It may then be relevant to consider languages not only because they are available to the learner, but also to evaluate them by the properties that may play a role (a language which is typologically similar to the L3, one which the learner knows very well, one which the learner is using much, one by virtue of its being an L2, etc.).

6.   Summary and conclusion

The awareness that many language learners already possess knowledge and learning experience of one or more other non-native languages has led to a diversification of the concept of second language. Exploring the influence of complex language backgrounds on language learning has become an area of interest in language acquisition research, and in language teaching the possibilities of making use of learners' prior knowledge of other second languages as a resource has attracted attention. This focus on language learning in multilingual settings has necessitated a term for a target language in situations where the learner has some prior knowledge of one or more other L2s. Such a language has come to be termed *third language* or *L3*.

I have argued in the present chapter that, rather than simplistically regarding L3 as the learner's "third" language, certain wider aspects of the complex phenomenon of multilingualism need to be taken into account if the concept of L3 is to be defined and used in an adequate way.

To this end, a definition of L3 should meet certain requirements. This concept should be compatible with the concepts L1 and L2 as these are commonly used in SLA research. It should be cognitively grounded rather than being based on the counting of languages acquired by the learner. It should be compatible with the nature of a learner's developing linguistic repertoire. It should be applicable to speakers with various numbers of background languages, and the speaker's knowledge of these languages may be at various levels of proficiency and may be of various types. It should not be restricted to sequential learning of languages or depending on the chronology of onset of learning the languages; rather, it should recognize simultaneous learning and concurrent development of different languages in the learner's repertoire.

The concept of L3 that I speak for here has certain essential characteristics. Crucially, whereas the terms L1 and L2 refer to languages with a role both in the learner's stored linguistic repertoire and in the specific situations of language use, L3 as the multilingual learner's current target language is a relevant concept only in a concrete situation of use, and not in the stored repertoire. The L3, being a non-native language, is an L2 that assumes the role of target language in the situation of use, hence a situationally defined special case of an L2. The category L3 does not contrast with the category L2, but with the coexisting background L2(s) in the situation.

In the literature, the term L3 is often used indiscriminately both as a multilingual learner's current target language and as the third term in a linear chronological series of onset of acquisition: L1, L2, L3, (L4, L5, …). The two uses are obviously based on different defining criteria and reflect basically different conceptions of multilingual development. I have commented above on the problematic aspects of

the latter practice. Our topic here has been discussing the basis for defining L3 in the former sense.

One central aspect of dealing with multilingual settings for language learning has been the exploration of the influence that various forms of complex language backgrounds have on learning the target language. The study of the various factors which condition such influence helps us understand why an L3 is likely to be more susceptible to influence from certain background languages than from others. From an educational point of view, this has implications for the possibility to make use of multilingual learners' prior linguistic experience as a resource in language teaching.

L3s have been characterized as *tertiary languages* since they presuppose both some L1 (primary language) and some L2 (secondary language, presupposing the acquisition of some L1) as background languages. The expression tertiary language has attained a certain currency in the field of TLA. It seems to me that primary, secondary and tertiary language are better characterizing terms than first, second and third language. They have the merit of associating to a cognitive hierarchy and avoiding the association with a rigid chronology of three languages. The terms first, second and third language are certainly very firmly established today. A question is whether it would be desirable and practically feasible to favor the use of primary, secondary and tertiary language on a more regular basis in SLA and TLA usage as the full terms for which L1, L2 and L3 are the short forms.

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Plurilingual identities

On the way to an integrative view
on language education?

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The aim of this paper is to get a clearer understanding about the developments in the research domain of plurilingual education, and especially to gain insights about which steps towards an integrative and identity-oriented language education have been achieved. In a first part, the focus lies on the concept of identity itself, and the way it relates to language and language/intercultural learning. I will then discuss other influential concepts, such as the concept of *plurilingualism* itself (in contrast to multilingualism), the idea of *language repertoires* and of *translanguaging*. In a second part I will concentrate on some equally influential pedagogical and curricular developments such as the "language portraits" or the project "Wege zur Mehrsprachigkeit" (Ways to Multilingualism) that had been developed already in the 1990s in the German state of *North Rhine-Westphalia*. I will finally take a closer look at existing empirical research that focuses on the learners' whole language repertoires. This research sheds light on the learners' and teachers' perceptions of plurilingualism, and investigates in how far the language repertoires are taken into account within the classroom. While this research focus has been rare until the turn of the millennium, there are now clear signs that the awareness for integrative research perspectives on language learning and teaching has been growing.

Keywords: plurilingualism, identity, integrative language education, language repertoires, transdisciplinarity

1. Introduction

Multilingualism is a crucial topic for today's schools in multiple ways: In many countries, school life, learning, and teaching are increasingly taking place under conditions of linguistic and cultural diversity, which presents severe challenges to school systems that are grounded on national and often monolingual traditions.

Therefore, multilingualism should be the point of departure for learning and teaching at school. The linguistic repertoires of students are often diverse, and do not necessarily correspond to the official school language(s).

Multilingualism is also the declared aim of school education: Through directed (foreign) language teaching or content and language integrated learning (CLIL/ EMILE) students are meant to acquire language competencies in order to be able to communicate across national borders and gain an understanding of the mind sets of others (cf. Council of Europe 2001: 14f.).

Beyond this, languages play a crucial role in learning processes in general: Content learning takes place in and through language, so that language competencies are of pivotal importance for acquiring competencies in content subjects. Previously, content teaching often assumed that the language of instruction is the students' first language which in reality is often not the case. In close connection with the points raised above, language competencies largely determine students' performance not only in the language subjects themselves but also in content subjects. International large-scale-assessment, such as the PISA study (OECD 2016), has clearly established this connection. The role of languages in education is thus directly related to issues of educational success, social justice and (in-)equality.

Finally, it must be noted that the question of school languages is intimately tied to issues of identity formation not only on an individual but also on a collective level. The individual language (learning) biographies of the students (as well as the teachers) represent a significant part of their individual identity formation; at the same time, emphases within the language curriculum heavily influence the importance and spread of specific languages in a given country: Languages at school are thus directly related to the linguistic and cultural identity of the respective society (cf. Hu 2014).

From the point of view of language education, the following questions are thus crucial: How does multilingualism – conceptualized as the interplay of multiple linguistic repertoires (mother tongue(s), language(s) of schooling, foreign, second languages) – affect learning practices and processes, and how can multilingualism be capitalized on and transformed into a resource for educational success and social well-being? Are the common organizational forms of language and foreign language learning in the traditionally established structures and delineations of subjects still adequate to contemporary linguistic-cultural diversity? And beyond this: To what extent must the methods and didactics of language teaching be changed in the face of already existing linguistic repertoires in order to further plurilingualism in the sense of cross-lingual communicative competence (cf. Council of Europe 2001: 17)?

In the field of language education research, significant developments have taken place within the last 30 years. There is a clear trend away from a so-called

monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994) towards a multilingual mind set: In light of the linguistic-cultural heterogeneity in many countries as well as the necessity of inter-cultural/transcultural communication in the context of progressive globalization, multilingualism has been gaining increasing importance in pedagogical research and practice. This is also the case for Higher Education. Here the issue of students' and researchers' linguistic identities in an increasingly globalized world of science is gaining more and more attention (Hu 2016). On the one hand, these developments are in many cases linked to critical discourses focussing on ideas of "Bildung", self-realization of the individual as an entirety, identity development, intercultural understanding, and social responsibility in education in general, as well as in language and intercultural education. On the other hand, the effectivity argument plays a significant role – especially in the context of L3-learning and intercompre-hension approaches (see footnote 3). In general, the overall picture in this growing research field is quite disparate: Given the fact that different disciplines deal with this topic (e.g. (psycho-)linguistics, general education, foreign language education) the concept of multilingual education (in German: "*Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik*") is interpreted in various ways. It is also important to mention that in spite of a clear trend towards plurilingualism, monolingual mind sets still continue to exist and impact on language education and language teaching methodology.[1]

In this paper, I will focus on the development of innovative theoretical concepts, relevant pedagogical approaches, and empirical research within the field of integra-tive plurilingual education[2] over the past 25 years. Due to the vastness and dynamics of this internationally growing field this account will by no means be exhaustive, but its aim is to get a clearer understanding of the developments in different do-mains, and especially to gain insight about which steps towards an integrative and identity-oriented language education have been achieved. While this account shows enormous progress in both theory and practice, research will have to focus more strongly on relating the various and, in part, clearly separate strands of research in the future and enter into an inter-/transdisciplinary dialogue. Beyond this, and given the very recent political developments of responding to globalization and internationalization with a new kind of nationalism and xenophobia, the social and ethical aspects of multilingual education should be emphasized. In the light of this, integrative and identity-oriented approaches to language education seem especially

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1.   This is documented very well in the comparative studies in Byram and Parmenter (2012). They show the (unintentional) impact of the CEFR, consisting in an overemphasis on monolin-gual assessment and a clear disregard of the concept of plurilingualism (ibid.: 114). For mono-lingualism in language testing regimes, cf. also Shohamy (2006).

2.   For the concept of plurilingualism in contrast to multilingualism see below.

valuable, and language and intercultural education have an important responsibility to educate children towards openness, dialogue and mutual understanding.

2.   Basic assumptions and concepts

It is not only empirical findings that contribute to changes and developments within education; it is also the concepts that we use, or better the redefinition of current and often naturalized concepts that play an even more important role. Also, the creative and innovative combination of concepts, e.g. *language learning* and *identity*, leads to a new understanding and impacts on learning and teaching. In this part of my chapter, I will focus on three concepts that seem especially important for the development of an integrative view of language education, and that have contributed to a fresh look on plurilingualism in general: The combination of identity and language learning, the concept of plurilingualism itself (including the idea of language repertoires) and the recently very influental concept of translanguaging.

2.1   Identity and language (learning)

Although not necessarily dealing with multilingualism but with language in general, an important development for engaged research on plurilingualism in education has been research on the relationship between language and identity, or – in other words – the deconstruction of essentialist views of identity in favor of a close interconnectedness between identity and language. Based on these fundamental conceptual developments in philosophy, linguistics and sociology, there has been an explosion of interest in the issue of identity and language learning within the last 20 years. *Identity* now features in most encyclopaedias and handbooks of language learning and teaching (e.g. Barkowski & Krumm 2010; Byram & Hu 2012; see also Burwitz-Melzer et al. 2013). Based on the developments in cultural and identity theory, intercultural (Bredella 2007; Bredella & Delanoy 1999), post-structuralist and socio-cultural approaches to language and language learning (Bakhtin 1981; Firth & Wagner 1997; Lantolf 2000), researchers have examined the diverse social, historical and cultural contexts in which language learning takes place, and how learners negotiate the diverse positions those contexts offer them (Norton 2012: 327).

2.2   Narrative identities

From a psychoanalytical perspective, the individual must enter the symbolic order created by language, which is pre-existent to him and only then offers him the

opportunity to express himself and to accept a symbolic identity, in other words, to become a social subject (Lacan 1986; Nünning 2001: 613).

From a historical perspective Michel Foucault's critique of classical images of the subject and its identity focusses on the relationship between subject and discourse. Foucault's approach is based on a concept of subject, which puts the moment of subjugation (lat: *subicere* = 'subject') at the center, namely the subjugation of speaking subjects to discourses and the subjugation of discourses to the speaking individuals (Foucault 1994: 246). "The subject is produced 'as an effect' through and within discourse, within specific discursive formations, and has no existence, and certainly no transcendental continuity or identity from the subject position to another" (Hall 2000: 23). In many of the deconstructivist approaches to identity, discourse and language (as well as power relations) play an important role:

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity – an identity in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation.
>
> (Hall 2000: 17)

Based on the same assumptions on the interconnectedness between language, identity, and power, narrative conceptions of identity imply that identity is neither a philosophical illusion nor an impermeable substance. Rather, a narrative identity provides a subjective sense of self-continuity as it symbolically integrates the events of lived experience in the plot of the story the person tells about his or her life (Ezzi 1998). While traditionally the essential self prevailed over language, these conceptions see the self as constituted through language:

> Our own existence cannot be separated from the account we can give of ourselves. It is in telling our own stories that we give ourselves an identity. We recognize ourselves in the stories that we tell about ourselves. It makes very little difference whether these stories are true or false, fiction as well as verifiable history provides us with an identity.
>
> (Ricœur 1985: 214)

Identity will thus be constituted by stories:

> On a narrative account, the self is to be construed not as a prelinguistic given that merely employs language, much as we might employ a tool, but rather as a product of language – what might be called the implied subject of self-referring utterances.
>
> (Kerby 1991: 4)

The telling of stories is thus not a mere description of events relevant to one's identity, but a complex speech act with psychosocial functions, through which a person's identity is created in the first place. This in turn can be considered a performative knowledge of its own kind (Straub 2004: 286).

Research on language biographies, language memoirs or cross-cultural autobiographies is directly related to these positions: Within this research, language is seen as a primary force in identity construction and transformation, especially in multilingual contexts. Autobiographical and biographical accounts are stimulated, and the individuals' sense making of their own experience is empirically reconstructed and therefore valued (cf., e.g., Pavlenko 2001). Important studies have been conducted with language learners and based on autobiographic narratives of multilingual writers. I can name only a few: Franceschini and Miecznikowski (2004), for example, investigated linguistic trajectories of adult multilingual persons where identity plays a crucial role. Pavlenko (2001) focuses on contemporary American writers for whom English is a second language and examines ways in which these writers position and reposition themselves with regard to their multiple languages and identities in autobiographic narratives. Hein-Khatib (2007) analyzes the autobiographic texts of two bilingual authors, Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt and Peter Weiss, and describes their linguistic development in relation to their identity development (for a more exhaustive overview see Hu 2006, 2013).

2.3   Identity, language learning, and intercultural understanding

In the field of Intercultural Learning within foreign or second language education, the issue of identity and language has been of special significance. Already in the early 1990s, Buttjes (1991: 12) claims that "learners' identities must be respected as starting points and receiving ends", and Thürmann explains:

> *Landeskunde* has changed into 'intercultural learning' in recent years. If this development is to be more than a switching of labels, not simply old wine in new bottles, then there is a need to re-think the work on collective and personal identities.
>
> (Thürmann 1994: 184, my translation, my italics)

Within the discourse on intercultural language education (e.g., Bredella & Christ 1995) the issue of identity and language learning has become even more relevant. Herbert Christ and Lothar Bredella in particular reflected on intercultural understanding in the context of foreign language learning. The reflections were mainly concerned with fighting the oversimplification of foreign language learning in the course of the communicative turn in foreign language teaching:

> Lately, communicative teaching has been repeatedly blamed for trivialising the meaning of communication. The blame is justified in view of the fact that the communication targeted in foreign language teaching barely encouraged the learner to query what the other intended and meant by his utterance. Thus, it did not trigger any interpretation process through which the learner could activate and challenge his world knowledge and his moral code. It is only when the act of interpretation is the focus that it becomes evident that understanding is an infinite, risky operation in which one can learn something about both the other and oneself.
>
> (Bredella & Christ 1995: 10; my translation)

Thus, understanding is not perceived as mere "rule-governed decoding" (Bredella & Christ 1995: 10) but rather as a creative act, which can lead to identity changes.

Bredella, in particular, advocated a concept of understanding that goes beyond such mere appropriation (Bredella 2007). From his point of view, understanding otherness is an interplay between an inside and outside perspective as a "dynamic unending educational process that turns back on the understanding of self and one's own world view" (Bredella 2007: 11, my translation). In conceptualizing language learning as part of education (here in the sense of the German *Bildung*), changes of identity are a crucial part of the learning process. In this context, it is worth to be mentioned that the Humboldtian concept of *Bildung* as a process of holistic growth which puts the development of the individuals' unique potential at the center of the educational process, seems to experience a revival – mainly in contrast to neoliberal and efficiency oriented tendencies within education (for such a fresh look on the concept of *Bildung* in our days see Byram in this volume; Heidt 2015; Hu 2015).

2.4   Socio-cultural theory, identity and language learning

The identity issue has become very prominent too within the Anglo-American research on Second Language Education (SLA). The theoretical basis is, on the one hand, post-structuralist theories of language which interpret language as a complex social practice through which relationships are defined, negotiated and resisted (Bakhtin 1981; Norton & McKinney 2011: 77) and, on the other hand, socio-cultural theories of learning (e.g. Lave & Wenger 1991), which emphasize the role of participation in and belonging to communities of practice. From the perspective of socio-cultural theory, language learners are not seen as individually internalizing stable systems of language knowledge, but as members of social and historical collectives, using language as a dynamic tool:

> Whereas some linguists may assume, as Noam Chomsky does, that questions of identity are not central to theories of language, we as L2 educators need to take this relationship seriously. The questions we ask necessarily assume that speech,

> speakers and social relationships are inseparable. […] In this view, every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors, they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation.   (Norton 1997: 410;
> cf. also Norton & McKinney 2011; Norton 2012; Norton in this volume)

In a similar vein, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) see language learning as an act of identity positioning. They highlight the fact that language learning is a process in which one becomes a member of a specific (often imagined) community: "Applying such an approach to SLA involves shifting the focus of investigation from language structure to language use in context, and to the issue of context and belonging" (Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000: 156) for a detailed overview regarding the development of SLA research and the issue of identity (cf. Block 2007; see also Norton in this volume).

Claire Kramsch especially emphasizes the role of subjectivity and self for language learning (Kramsch 2000, 2009). In Kramsch (2000) she points out that language learning is primarily a dialogic process of negotiation and interpretation of signs on the basis of which the self as well as the other are constantly reconstructed. She understands the learning of a language as "a dialogic process of sign making, exchanging and interpreting that constructs the self as it constructs the other" (Kramsch 2000: 133). In Kramsch (2009) she highlights the subjective aspects of the language learning experience for multilingual persons. In her view of the subjective aspects of language learning and multilingualism, memory, emotion and imagination play a crucial role.

The conceptual developments on language and identity described until now have been of high significance for the development of an integrative understanding of language education, taking into account the complex and often hybrid identities of the learners (De Florio-Hansen & Hu 2003). If language and identity are interrelated, this has important implications for understanding and redesigning language education in pluralistic societies. Especially in the field of bilingual and heritage language education, the identity argument has been of specific significance (see e.g. Cummins 2001; Cummins & Early 2011).[3] Nevertheless, the described approaches

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3.   Cummins links the identity argument to his interdependence theory that has been very influential within bilingual and plurilingual education. This theory means that there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency that is common across languages – although the surface aspects of the languages included might be clearly different (e.g. pronunciation). This common underlying proficiency makes the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy related proficiency from one language to another possible, not only in linguistic but also in conceptual terms (Cummins 1981). This hypothesis has been extremely influential as it has fundamentally put into question

mostly focus on the learning of one language or on bilingual settings. They rather neglect multiple language repertoires of the learners, as well as the idea of learning more than one language *in the same classroom at the same time*. Especially the concept of plurilingualism on which I will focus below is based on an integrative idea of language repertoires and further language learning, relating at the same time to identity and intercultural competence.

3.   Plurilingualism, language repertoires, translanguaging

Plurilingualism – in contrast to the more popular concept of multilingualism – is a concept developed by the Council of Europe, especially in the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001). It refers to the capacity of individuals to speak, read and write two or more languages or language varieties to differing degrees and for changing purposes throughout their lives. Plurilingualism may be a consequence of institutional language teaching and learning or of biographical experiences in multilingual environments, or both. It is related to cultures and identities and should be linked to intercultural competence, i.e. the ability to move and mediate among people of different languages and cultures (see Coste et al. 2009). The innovative power of this concept lies in the emphasis on the individual as a social agent in a multilingual and multicultural society and on the concept of a plurilingual repertoire (see also Busch 2013: 20ff.). This plurilingual repertoire does not mean an accretion of languages each stored separately, but a complex and composite competence which includes first languages/'mother tongues' and second languages, but also the languages taught in educational institutions, often called 'foreign languages':

> Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society. Multilingualism may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language, or reducing the dominant position of English in international communication. Beyond this, the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other people (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated

the long established tradition of the "two solitudes" (Cummins & Hornberger 2008), i.e. the conviction that languages should be taught as separately as possible in order to avoid interference and mixture (see also Cummins 2016; Hu 2016).

mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. In different situations, a person can call flexibly upon different parts of this competence to achieve effective communication with a particular interlocutor. For instance, partners may switch from one language or dialect to another, exploiting the ability of each to express themselves in one language and to understand the other; or a person may call upon the knowledge of a number of languages to make sense of a text, written or even spoken, in a previously 'unknown' language, recognising words from a common international store in a new guise.

(Council of Europe 2001: 4)

In the meantime, new proposals have been elaborated in response to the objective of strengthening plurilingual and intercultural competences (Candelier 2007; Council of Europe 2007; Byram et al. 2009) and represent an integrative perspective on language learning and teaching (cf. Cavalli 2016; see also Byram in this volume for a more detailed analysis).

Another similar and very influential concept (mainly in the Anglo-American context) is *translanguaging.* Garcia and Li Wei (2014) even speak of a "translanguaging turn". *Translanguaging*, a term that was originally coined in Wales to describe a specific kind of bilingual education, has been developed extensively (see e.g. Canagarajah 2011; Garcia 2008; Garcia & Li Wei 2014; Lewis et al. 2012).[4] Similar to the former developed *plurilinguisme* (although rarely referring to it), it is based on a concept of language as social practice ("language as a verb"), and focuses on "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah 2011: 401). In contrast to the longtime established concept of *code-switching* (Milroy & Muysken 1995), *translanguaging* assumes that there are no real borders between languages, but that, as explain Garcia and Wei:

Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire. (García & Wei 2014: 22)

The concept of language itself has thus been put into question, mainly the idea of separate languages or different language systems, replacing it with the concept of language repertoire as an integrative whole (for a discussion on this assumption see Cummins 2016; Hu 2016).

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4. For an overview of the historic development of translanguaging as well as similar concepts like polylanguaging or codemeshing see Beres (2015).

This approach that is focused mainly on bilinguals and bilingual education has significant implications for the understanding of bilingualism and the designing of curricula and development of innovative teaching methods, mainly giving up the principle of separate languages in favor of fluid and permeable approaches. At the same time the concept is closely related to the learners' identities as socially constructed in interaction (Creese & Blackledge 2015).

4.   Integrative language education – Pedagogical approaches and empirical insights

I will now focus on some pedagogical approaches and empirical studies that adopt an integrative perspective on language education and that take explicitly into account the learners' full repertoires, i.e. the first languages including migration-related multilingualism, the language(s) of schooling, and foreign/second language teaching. This object of research is complex insofar as so-called migration languages comprise not only a multitude of different languages from different language families (with, in part, different writing systems), but also because students' level of language competence varies greatly.[5] Nevertheless, these approaches are especially important if the learners themselves and their identities are seriously taken into account.

4.1   Pedagogical and curricular approaches

Already in the 1990s, interesting and dedicated approaches had been proposed in order to facilitate and promote multilingualism in an integrative sense. Thus, Hans-Jürgen Krumm (1994: 24ff.), for example, criticizes the dual nature of the previous debate over multilingualism, conducted on the one hand in the context of Europe as growing ever closer and on the other hand in the context of

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5.   As there are separate chapters in this book about L3 Research (Hufeisen in this volume) and L3-related language teaching and learning (Melo-Pfeifer in this volume), I will not include these research approaches in detail here. It needs to be noted, though, that the findings of L3-research are of great interest for integrative language pedagogies (cf., e.g., Cenoz & Jessner 2000; Cenoz et al. 2001). This is particularly true for insights into multilingual competence as an integrated communicative ability (Cook 2007), to the importance of sociolinguistic factors (Cenoz & Genesee 1998: 17p.) and to "inter-language learning" as positive transfer (cf. Meißner & Reinfried 1998). Nevertheless it must be noted that many approaches in this field are focussing on either typologically related (e.g. Romance languages, cf., Martinez & Reinfried 2006), or school languages (e.g. French after English, cf. Leitzke-Ungerer 2005; Leitzke-Ungerer, Blell & Vences 2012). Typologically unrelated languages, and/or unsystematically acquired first/heritage languages are still underrepresented.

migration-related multilingualism. Rather, the various forms of multilingualism, according to Krumm, must be seen in an indivisible reciprocal relationship (Krumm 1994: 32). He also highlights the lack of credibility of any call for multilingualism as long as any given society continues to denigrate and ignore existent multilingualism (Krumm 1999: 26). On the pedagogical level Krumm (2011; see also Gogolin & Neumann 1991) developed *language portraits* in order to reveal the identity forming functions of languages for multilingual children. For their language portraits, the children receive blank figures on which they can draw their languages. Languages are then distributed on the figure's bodies in different ways because children have very different ways of representing themselves and their languages (Krumm 2001, 2011: 101). This approach, which has been also an important part of the European Language Portfolio (Council of Europe n.d.), allows to reflect the entire language repertoire of learners. It has also been used in educational research, which investigated children's subjective view of themselves, their entire language repertoires, including English as a foreign language, and their language learning practices in the primary TEFL classroom (Kolb 2007).

Arguing along similar lines, Karl-Richard Bausch advocates the development of truly multilingual school profiles (Bausch 2003: 442ff.). For reaching this goal he asks for specific learning objectives for every different (foreign or second) language taught at school, taking into account the language learning experience of languages already learnt before (e.g. French after English, but also first or heritage languages). He also argues for a stronger cooperation between the different language teachers and a multilingual conception of learning in general. Arguing along similar lines, Hufeisen has long been suggesting and calling for a so-called "*Gesamtsprachencurriculum*", i.e. an "integrated language curriculum" relating different foreign, second and heritage languages to each other (Hufeisen 2005).

It can be argued that this concept was – at least partly – put into practice in the early 1990s when the two projects *Learning for Europe* and *Paths to Multilingualism* were launched in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, focussing on integrative conceptions of multilingual education. In his six theses laying the foundations for the project *Paths to Multilingualism* (Thürmann 1997), Thürmann elaborates his model for the integration of social, individual and school multilingualism, which was intended to replace the previously merely additive multilingualism in schools. The core points of change in the language curriculum were then named as:

– Raising linguistic and cultural awareness for languages through contact with many languages in the primary classroom (e.g. Denkler et al. 1999).
– Strengthening teaching German as a Second Language for students who have not grown up with the German language.
– Creating bilingual educational programs and modules.

– Teaching (at least) two foreign languages to everyone.
– Consolidating and extending linguistic competences acquired outside the regular German school system.
– Extending heritage language education instead of a second foreign language (cf. Thürmann 1997).

Similar projects have been run in different countries, such as the *Evlang* ("Eveil aux langues") project in the French-speaking context (Candelier 2003).

4.2   Empirical insights: Identities, perceptions, practices

As to empirical research, quite a number of projects have been realized which focus on the one hand on the learners' *whole* language repertoire, and on the other hand on the language teachers' perspectives and practices within the classroom and within a specific school policy. Empirical research focussing on students' whole language repertoires (including heritage languages, languages of schooling and so-called foreign languages) and the way teachers deal with this challenge, has been developed quite intensively in the new millennium. Before that, studies tended to investigate languages separately: heritage language education, languages of schooling, second languages, or foreign language education. And more often than no, this research focussed on former colonial languages, such as English, French or Spanish. Although this kind of research is still popular, also because of the traditional structure of subjects at many universities (departments of English, French or German, often quite separated from departments of Education) there are clearly encouraging signs that the awareness of more integrative approaches is growing.

As we will see, a common outcome of these studies (of which I can only mention a few)[6] consists of a certain divergence between the students' perceptions on their plurilingualism, and the language policy adopted in the school or the classroom. Beyond this, even very recent studies show that many teachers lack methodological

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6.   There is also a growing number of interesting studies that focus on the attitudes or competencies of multilingual learners, which I cannot include here in more detail. Rück (2009), for example, deals with the attitudes of monolingual and multilingual learners of French. Her results show that multilingual students seem to have more positive attitudes to foreign language learning than monolingual students. Fäcke (2006) investigates the importance of mono- vs. bilingual socialization for dealing with literature in secondary school French classrooms: Her findings suggest that bi-culturally socialized adolescents exhibit stronger forms of inter- or transcultural understanding in dealing with cultural topics in French literature classes than students with monolingual socialization (for quantitative studies on language competencies of multilingual students Hesse, Göbel and Hartig (2008) and Rauch (2014), whose studies indicate that the bilingualism of German-Turkish students positively influences their English-reading competence.

strategies and adequate material that can support them in an integrative teaching approach. Another point concerns the underlying beliefs and the language awareness of the teachers themselves, which will need more empirical research and innovative directions within teacher education in the future.

An early empirical study (Hu 2003) focussed on the integration of migrant languages, the dominant language of schooling and foreign language education. To investigate various social conditions of multilingualism, this study looked at two cases: the tenth grade of a *Hauptschule* (general secondary school) and a *Gymnasium* (academic secondary school). In both schools, in depth interviews had been conducted with tenth grade students and their language teachers (including in the *Hauptschule* English, German as a Second Language, and heritage language education in Turkish and Arabic, in the *Gymnasium* also French and Spanish).

One of the results of this study was that it provided clear evidence of a gap between the learners' and the foreign language teachers' perceptions of plurilingualism: While the students identified multilingualism and linguistic-cultural identity as central categories, these played a much less important role for the foreign language teachers. Not only were the biographical-cultural experiences and memories of students hardly perceived or constructively included in classwork, but the respective conceptions of language diverged notably: For the youths, emotional and identity-related aspects played an important role, whereas the teachers emphasized much more an achievement- and testing-oriented understanding related to the "target language". Owing to their biographical experiences with multilingualism in various countries, the students exhibited a notable sensitivity for questions of cultural norms, cultural identity and the connection between language and culture, aspects that did not play an important role for most of the teachers. Apparently, the teachers' beliefs centered around (1) a deep rooted tradition of foreign language education to exclude on principle all first languages in the classroom apart from German, (2) the presupposition of a monolingual group of learners, and (3) languages as not being connected to the emotionality and identity of the learners.

The interesting question is in how far recent studies produce similar or different findings. Linderoos (2016) conducted a study within the Finnish context, investigating how *multilingualism* is managed in foreign language classrooms in Finnish comprehensive schools. The focus is on how bi- and multilingual learners with a migrant background can benefit from their previous individual language experiences, language learning experiences and language awareness and how these function as a resource for their further (foreign) language learning process. Interestingly, the results replicate largely the findings of the former study, which was conducted in Germany, which means that most minority learners have a positive appreciation of and attitude to their own multilingualism. The results also show that minority

students often draw on their heritage languages during foreign language lessons. For instance, they translate new words not only into Finnish but into their own native language(s) and they compare information belonging to cultural aspects of the new foreign language with Finnish and their own culture(s). Learners can recognize benefits from their multilingual knowledge and are aware of synergy- and transfer-processes between their native languages and the foreign language. Although foreign language teachers also realize that the learners' multilingual skills are a resource for the learners themselves and for the whole group of foreign language learners, the findings show that the native languages of the bi- and multilingual learners are more or less ignored in their foreign language classrooms. The study indicates that on the one hand foreign language teachers feel uncertain about dealing with the native languages of their learners, and on the other hand they have a lack of pedagogical methods and concepts to challenge and support these bi- and multilingual learners. Furthermore, the results suggest that foreign language teachers are not well informed about previous individual language (learning) experiences of their learners with a migrant background.

Similar evidence is provided in a very recent study in the German context (Cutrim Schmid & Schmidt 2017). The authors investigated learners' and teachers' perceptions of plurilingualism, especially the question in how far migration-induced multilingualism is seen as an obstacle or as an advantage for further language learning, to what extent teachers use migration-based multilingualism as a resource in the EFL classroom, and in how far the students' social identity is influenced by this school context. The data indicates that some multilingual learners clearly exhibit a certain degree of cross-lingual awareness and seem to have developed intuitive strategies to exploit their linguistic repertoires for the learning of English. However, other students perceive their migration-based multilingualism more as an obstacle than as a resource for their learning:

> These findings indicate the importance of making multilingual learners aware of their own metacognitive knowledge and of helping them to reflect and draw on their rich store of language information and skills. This may encourage them to value their multilingualism and better exploit their linguistic repertoires for additional language learning, i.e. to develop their plurilingual competence. (ibid.: 48)

Concerning the teachers' perspectives, the study also confirms existing research findings. Although many teachers see – on a general level – multilingualism as an advantage for further language learning, they seldom use the learners' whole repertoires as a resource in the EFL classroom: "Most of them cited their limited

expertise on this topic as the main reason for not implementing practically the theoretical recommendations" (ibid.: 49).[7]

5. Conclusion

The main objective of this paper was to get a clearer understanding of the developments in plurilingual education, and especially to establish, which progress towards an integrative and identity-oriented language education has been made.

In general, it can be noted that multilingualism and/or plurilingualism are more and more regarded as valuable in educational and language policies and has been gaining increasing importance in research. In light of the linguistic-cultural diversity in many countries as well as the necessity of intercultural/transcultural communication in the context of migration processes and progressive globalization, this development is both necessary and positive.

For a long time few contributions have dealt explicitly with the relationship between languages acquired due to migration and the learning of third and fourth languages. What have been (and are partly still today) the reasons of this reticence? A key reason is that the situation of retrospective-prospective multilingualism (cf. Königs 2004: 96pp.) transcends traditional (borders between) disciplines. Hardly any representative of migration and intercultural pedagogy, for example, is concerned with the acquisition of a third or fourth language in the context of foreign language learning at school; in turn, scholars working in foreign language education often see no reason for dealing with the existent language repertoires of their students. In addition, the questionable division between mother tongues, heritage languages and foreign languages as well as their neat separation in school and university curricula persists:

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7.   In her empirical study on foreign language teaching and learning in primary schools from the perspective of children with Russian as L1, Natalia Portnaia (2014) shows to what extent even a superficially homogenous group of pupils (all have Russian as one of their first languages) are in fact heterogeneous. Based on classroom observations and in depth interviews with children, parents and the teachers of English as a foreign language, she gives valuable insights into the complexity of the learning situation and the interconnectedness of linguistic, psychological and social factors. In a similar perspective Elsner (2007) in her case study investigates in how far the hypothesis that early English creates equal opportunities for minority students, is valid. Her empirical findings contradict this hypothesis. Her study indicates that equal opportunities would be given only if linguistic promotion in the respective first language and German as a Second Language were improved and if at the same time multilingualism and multiculturalism were incorporated in the early foreign language classroom and considered productive factors.

> These forms of institutional integration of language teaching substantiate, on the one hand, the continuity and a certain inflexibility of institutional structures, which, once functioning, exhibit a tendency for self-propagation/perpetuation. This is grounded on the fact that they are part of complex networks in which teacher education, curricular design and processes are organized and which, in turn, are subject to control of specific lobbyists. On the other hand, these structures mirror the still persisting consensus in the majority of the population that places trust in the established educational traditions and contents and wants to see these represented as a persistent value, including the availability of specific foreign languages as a separate teaching subject.   (Budach et al. 2008: 8–9, my translation)

However, there seems to be a growing awareness among researchers and educationalists that an integrative perspective on the learners' language repertoires is overdue. Based on powerful developments on the conceptual level (interconnectedness between identity and language (learning), plurilingualism, language repertoires, and translanguaging), numerous approaches shed a fresh light on traditional viewpoints and challenge deeply rooted pedagogical perceptions and beliefs. There is also a growing consensus on strongly relating the various and, in part, clearly separate strands of research and enter into an inter-/transdisciplinary dialogue (cf. Cenoz 2015; The Douglas Fir Group 2016; Weber 2014).

Although there are clear positive developments of identity-oriented and integrative approaches to language teaching and learning on a theoretical level, empirical studies – even in very recent times – show a lack of transfer between theory, teacher education and pedagogical practice. Many teachers do not know how to implement integrative approaches into their teaching and complain about adequate material or course books. It will be an important task for the future to overcome the obvious gap between theory and practice – teacher education playing an especially important role (for promising practice-oriented approaches cf. Beer 2005; Fernandez-Amman et al. 2015; Hildenbrand et al. 2012; Rückl 2016; Schöberle 2015). Another challenge will be to shed light on the linguistic and cultural identities of language teachers. The still (in many cases) prevailing monolingual attitude of foreign language teachers ("French teacher", "English teacher") should give way to a professional identity that implies the role of a language councillor who promotes curiosity, respect and interest for languages in general and therefore raises and informs awareness of language learning processes – beyond the so-called "target" language.

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Models of multilingual competence

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In this article, I will discuss the notions of first language(s) L1, first foreign language L2 and second foreign language L3, also including further foreign language(s) Lx or Ln and the question of what multilanguage competency means in terms of 'using' or even 'mastering' a language. A level of C2 in all skills does not appear to be a prerequisite. I will present some of the older models, and some more recent models that reflect social and individual plurilingualism, multiple language learning, and plurilingual speech production. The models have been drawn from a very wide range of research disciplines, including psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, teaching-learning research and foreign language teaching methodology. In their respective fields, they serve as theoretical bases and are evaluated during the conduct of pertinent studies. I will use a model to demonstrate the interaction between model formation and the results of data-led research, which are included in the further development of the model.

1. Introductory considerations: Why L2-based models are inadequate and why we need models based on plurilingualism

In this article, I will use the designators L1 (first and second language/s), L2 (first foreign language), L3 (second and foreign language), L4 (third foreign language) and Lx (further foreign language x = n > 2) purely mechanistically. This seemingly unambiguous distinction in a chronological sequence of learning and acquisition is not so well-defined in real life, nor are the languages so easily separable from each other (one only has to consider the "1.5 learners", see for example Chiang & Schmida as early as 1999). The sequences provide no information about their ability to interact in these individual languages (see Hammarberg this volume; also Hammarberg et al. 2010, 2014). Furthermore, these purely chronological lists do not take any domain-specific or skill-related emphases into account. Those

emphases provide the conditions that allow some speakers to be entirely capable of managing many different languages in which they were socialized during the period of primary language acquisition, even though the attainment of level C2 across the board would not be observed for any of those languages (see Chimbutane this volume; Kärchner-Ober 2009). The implicit European understanding of an L1 as a complete C2 language in all skills, which not even all monolingual L1 speakers attain, is not adequate in this case, and must be replaced with broader terms of reference. Finally, the framework of the chronological list does not make any allowance for changes that take place over time: One of the languages is forgotten because it is no longer used; another language, which is learned later, becomes more important and is learned and used at a high level.

These disadvantages of the chronological description must be identified and taken into account, but for the purposes of the modelled abstraction of learning and language production processes it is necessary to draw up set definitions, and the chronological description is well suited to this because it is the only demonstrable, immutable approach. For example, my L3 French (which I began learning in school at the age of 13) will always be my second foreign language, even though I now only listen to the language in my personal life, and I understand it well, I read French for professional purposes, but never write or speak it. In contrast, I now speak, write, read and understand my chronological L5 language, Swedish, at a high level (B2–C2), but it will always be my fourth foreign language, which I acquired outside of the classroom and did not begin learning until the age of 27. For this reason, I again advocate retaining the chronological counting method and supplementing the numbering with self-assessments and third-party evaluations.

When I use the abbreviations L1, L2, L3 etc. in this chapter, these labels are always applied in the context of the variability of daily life and individual diversity, which are much more heterogeneous than models seem to suggest. Accordingly, models themselves are necessary abstractions, abbreviations, distillations, occasionally even simplifications, which however enable us to illustrate general situations, commonalities and repetitions in a comprehensible, representational manner, so that we can use them not only as an aid for describing and explaining, but also to attempt to make predictions with due prudence and consideration for the individual or a society. I will discuss how and within what theoretical research frameworks models are born, developed and refined later in this article.

The important language acquisition and learning models of the 1970s, such as the very useful heuristic concept of an interlanguage posited by Selinker and the deliberations on concepts of language transfer(s) from which it evolved (Selinker 1969, 1972), were very meaningful in their time, and remain consistent today, but they all proceed from a starting point of the one L1 on the one source language side and the one L2 on the one target language side. Of course, it may be argued from a universal

grammar point of view that it is sufficient to treat the one L2 as representative of all foreign languages that are learned. Since then, however, such an enormous mass of convincing empirical evidence has been gathered to the effect that the various L1, or even the various Lx languages and their interlanguages influence the process of learning an Ln + 1, due to linguistic similarities or differences, or learning experiences and strategies, in so many different ways, that L2 models are not detailed or complex enough to represent and reflect this complexity of plurilingualism.

General studies on multilingualism were introduced as early as 1937 (Braun), 1963 (Vildomec) and 1979 (Wandruszka), but early publications on L3 and the institutional learning of second foreign languages in the 1970s concentrated, however, on the negative side of cross linguistic interaction by focussing on interferences and by warning that multilingual children or learners of multiple languages might be confused (for instance, de Vriendt 1972; see Hufeisen 1991). Later, Stedje (1976), for instance, showed a number of Swedish-German interferences produced by Finnish learners of German who had already learned Swedish in contrast to Finnish learners who had not learned Swedish. She also showed that having learned Swedish before German is not always disadvantageous: Swedish also seemed to help Finnish learners of German. A few years later, Ringbom (1987) confirmed these findings not without emphasising that the positive effect of this cross linguistic interference might be even more beneficial than detrimental: "[c]ross-linguistic influence based on perceived similarities is overwhelmingly "positive transfer", not "negative transfer"" (Ringbom 1987: 109). Institutional learning of foreign languages began to be discussed in a positive way (Zapp 1983).

From the 1990s onwards, more studies were undertaken with an emphasis on the positive effects of transfer or cross linguistic influence (among them Hammarberg 2001; Hufeisen 1991). Terminology was discussed and defined, new terms were coined and first L3 models were introduced for application and evaluation.

They showed very clearly that L2 models necessarily ignore the particularities that differentiate them from L3 and Ln (n > 2) models. The recognition that more complex models are also needed in order to be able to illustrate the more complex learning processes and developments grew in step with the increasing complexity of individual language learning processes and individual plurilingual skills inspired by social multilingualism and plurilingualism, not least by migratory movements that were and are still reflected in political record keeping for example by the expressive European formula "L1 plus 2" (functional language competence in the one or more first languages plus two further languages to varying degrees).

The models that will be presented and discussed on the next few pages were all developed in the late 20th century, so in comparison with research into general language acquisition and SLA they are still young. Some are still undergoing empirical evaluation, adjustment and development even now, and are constantly being

applied and evaluated, whereas others have not been modified further. The further developments of the models serving as the basis for research are usually prompted by evidence affirming or refuting individual parts of said models, or the models as a whole. Thus, for example, there is now a version 2.0 (see Hufeisen 2010) of the factor model, and this will be further advanced to version 2.1 and presented for the first time in its latest form in this article.

2. On the role and function of different languages in models based on plurilingualism and in models for learning multiple languages

Since the late 1990s, a number of models have been proposed to describe pluri-lingualism or learning multiple languages. They are explained, integrated and presented in various ways. The reasons for this lie not only in individual authorship; it is also mainly due to the differing theoretical research origins of the models. The abstraction of a model with sociolinguistic orientation, such as the Biotic Model of Multilinguality (Aronin & Ó Laoire 2004), is based on specific parameters and criteria, and particularly on research questions and experimental interests, which relate to social plurilingualism and multilingualism. These differ from those that are of interest for a psycholinguistically oriented model such as Jessner's very pertinent Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (see Herdina & Jessner 2002), which deals with plurilingualism of an individual. It is therefore understandable that the various scientific disciplines that concern themselves with plurilingualism and multiple language learning should also develop their own models, designed and able to serve as the basis for further research.

One feature that is shared by nearly all models regardless of their linguistic emphasis is the assumption that all languages, whether in an individual or in a society, interact with each other, and that the languages do not exist in isolation from each other in the society or in the individual. We observe this, for example, when we overhear a conversation on the underground in a foreign language permeated with English phrases, when siblings with a shared "migration background" constantly switch between their languages, or when students of a new language look to languages they already know for comprehension aids and bridges when reading texts in a new language. The careful separation between the different languages as they appear on the school lesson timetable represents a delimitation that does not exist as such in real life.

In this article, we are particularly interested in the models that deal with the acquisition and learning of multiple languages. Some of these models emphasize the importance of the first foreign language as a kind of starting point for subsequent foreign language learning. The experience-based competences and the strategies

developed for subsequent foreign language learning that are gained by learning the first foreign language L2 give rise to their own language-specific competence, referred to by Jessner as the *M factor* (= multilingualism factor) (see most recently Jessner & Allgäuer-Hackl 2015), and by Hufeisen as the *foreign language specific factors* (see Hufeisen 2010). This assumed – and confirmed – competence can only be created under the influence and in the presence of multiple foreign languages and the processes involved in learning them, and it is more than the sum of the individual competences in the individual languages. As early as 1993 (and most recently in 2013), Cook coined the term multi-competence, which describes the whole range of skills developed by a plurilingual individual for interacting via language. He does not place any particular emphasis on the special role of L2 from his perspective. The important function of L2 learning for acquiring subsequent foreign languages is recognised most clearly by the *Foreign Language Acquisition Model* (= FLAM). However, this promising model advanced by Groseva (1998) was never developed further. The sociolinguistic *Biotic Model of Multilinguality*, advanced by Aronin and Ó Laoire (2004), was not developed beyond its preliminary state either. In this model, nine interacting characteristics were defined and posited as the constituent elements of social plurilingualism: complexity, interrelatedness, fluctuation, variation and inconsistency, multifunctionality, inequality of function, self-balance, self-extension, and non-replication.

The most interesting of the speech production models (besides de Bot's *Selection and Control Model* from 2004 and the Clynes *Model of Plurilingual Processing* from 2003) is the *Languages Switches Model* proposed by Williams and Hammarberg (1998), because it attempted to identify roles for the various languages acquired by an individual (see also Hammarberg 2001). Unfortunately, this was not pursued further following the death of one of the researchers involved. It deserves to be presented here because it was also one of the first models to emphasize the important role of a preceding foreign language besides L1. In 2010 and 2014, Hammarberg applied the designator L2 to all previously learned foreign languages, and L3 to the respective target foreign language being studied. Williams and Hammarberg investigated a substantial corpus of verbal data from Williams herself, which they had recorded during the early part of her residence in Sweden. Williams' L1 was English; in the course of her life she had been introduced to Romance languages in an institutional learning context, and had spent time in Germany during her doctoral studies. Her German (designated L2 here) was evaluated between C1 and C2 for all skills. What they discovered when analyzing her language data was that in her Swedish productions Williams had recourse to German, one of her later but strong preceding foreign languages to fill vocabulary gaps, for example. Her interlanguage German thus took on the status of a source language /default supplier language: "En man <mit> med en nyckel," while English, her L1, assumed the role

of a kind of metalanguage, used for metalinguistic commentaries, for example: "i ett engelsktal … <no> talastande" (see Table 1).

Table 1. Languages switches model, adapted from Williams & Hammarberg (1998)

English L1	German L2
Instrumental language	Default supplier language
Metalinguistic function	Main source for cross-linguistic influence
Swedish L3	
<right> här finns de en kvinna som städer	Jag hade månge *<sachen>*
i ett engelsktal … *<no>* talastelande	Men alle personer *<waren>* mycket hjälpfull.
<what's 'umschlag'?>	En man *<mit>* – med en nyckel
	Den *<klei->* den den liten pojken

The most interesting example from her corpus is undoubtedly "< what's 'umschlag'? >", because here in one question, in one utterance, she clearly separates the different roles assigned to the two languages. Williams might just as easily have asked "What's envelope?", but it evidently seemed to her to be intuitively more consistent to continue using her source language German. Hammarberg's replication studies (2009: 101–126) do not seem to confirm that this fixed assignment to a source language (always an L2) or to the language with metalinguistic function (always the L1) holds true at all times, but the principle appears to be valid: Languages that are perceived to be close to the respective L3 are used as source languages, languages in which learners consider themselves to be competent at a high level are used for metalinguistic functions. It would be good if studies were conducted to investigate the question of perceived distance or closeness more thoroughly. Especially, interview studies with as many multilingual subjects as possible would be able to shed light on the individual roles which languages can play in a specific learner and user of foreign languages. A further important aspect of this model is that of recency: Languages that have only been learned very recently appear to take on more important roles and functions than languages that were acquired or learned in the more distant past, a phenomenon which may possibly be linked to the quality of the ability to interact in a language.

3.   On two models that are often referenced in research

The models discussed in this section of the article are among those implemented, used as reference, and thus also evaluated and tested empirically in psycholinguistic research and studies of foreign language teaching methodologies.

3.1   Psycholinguistics: The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM)

Jessner's system-theoretical *Dynamic Model of Multilingualism* (DMM) assumes dynamic, not linear acquisition processes, which are controlled above all by variables inherent in the learner such as motivation and attitude, and fluctuate constantly in comparison with the contextual system, and wherein the dynamism may equally well encompass regression, chaos or rapid progress. The other variables are metalinguistic awareness, anxiety, language aptitude and estimation. These variables interact with each other within an individual, and slight changes within one variable possibly result in a complete shift over all other variables. They change over time and can be anticipated only on a very restricted basis.

The identified features of the acquisition process are non-linearity, reversibility, stability, interdependence, complexity, and change in quality, which emphasize the dynamic character of the acquisition process. Two features of this model, which is without any doubt one of the most important and most influential ones, that are not even mentioned, much less addressed systematically by any of the other models (because they are not psycholinguistic models), are language maintenance and the associated working and maintenance effort, and lost or forgotten language. If not used and applied, languages remain unavailable, and deteriorate dynamically (without involving any pathological loss processes).

3.2   Foreign language teaching methodology: The Plurilingual Didactic Monitor Model (PDMM)

The *Plurilingual Didactic Monitor Model* (PDMM) was developed as part of the EuroCom projects. These projects regarding intercomprehension show the strategies that can be used by people whose L1 language is German to learn to read several interrelated languages very quickly with the aid of a bridge language, also related, as the preceding language. In this context, EuroComRom (Klein & Stegmann 2001) addresses the Romance languages with – initially – French as the bridge language, EuroComGerm (Hufeisen & Marx 2014) deals with the Germanic languages with L1 German and L2 English, and Slavic Intercomprehension (Tafel 2009) relates to the Slavic languages with Russian as the bridge language. Meißner reintroduced the *Plurilingual Processing Model* – originally called the *Gießener Intercomprehension Model* – and continued extending and refining it. For this model, he defines the three pillars of awareness and sensitivity, grammar of hypotheses, and monitoring as controllers of the learning process when reading. Although Meißner himself belongs to the EuroComRom researchers' group, his model can obviously be applied to all learning alongside the EuroCom paradigm. To what extent his model can be
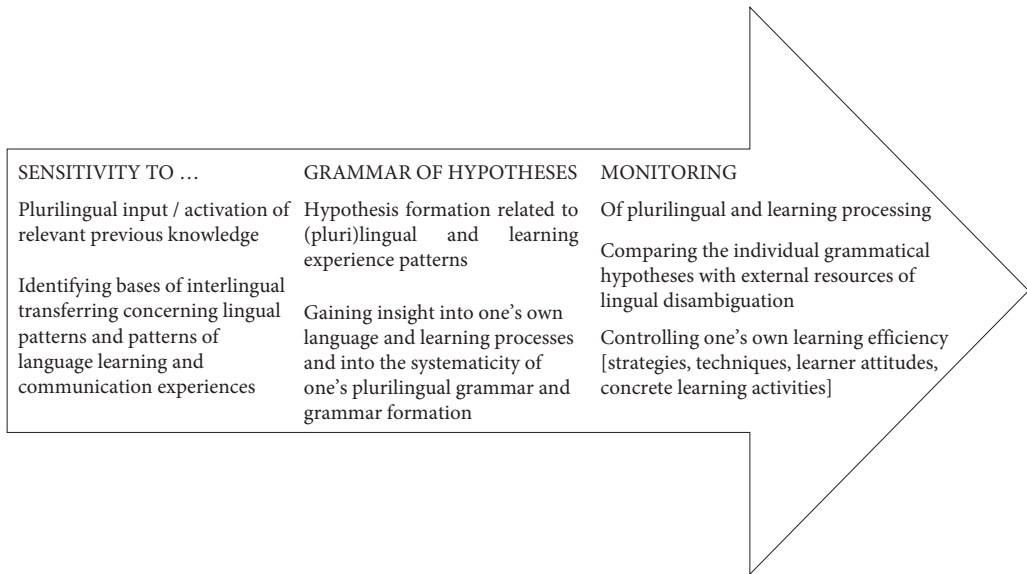
Figure 1. The Plurilingual Didactic Monitor Model (based on Meißner in prep.)

SENSITIVITY TO …	GRAMMAR OF HYPOTHESES	MONITORING
Plurilingual input / activation of relevant previous knowledge	Hypothesis formation related to (pluri)lingual and learning experience patterns	Of plurilingual and learning processing
Identifying bases of interlingual transferring concerning lingual patterns and patterns of language learning and communication experiences	Gaining insight into one's own language and learning processes and into the systematicity of one's plurilingual grammar and grammar formation	Comparing the individual grammatical hypotheses with external resources of lingual disambiguation
		Controlling one's own learning efficiency [strategies, techniques, learner attitudes, concrete learning activities]

used for other learning circumstances than EuroCom has not been discussed in multilingualism research.

According to this model, while reading, even when reading several closely related languages in parallel, a grammatical hypothesis extending over all linguistic levels of the target languages is constructed and developed spontaneously, which however remains in the short-term memory. If the motivation to learn the languages is strong, the repeatedly processed hypothetical grammar is transferred to the multilingual storage area of the long-term memory through careful, deliberate processing of the hypothesis. Meißner (2004: 44) holds that this controlled, deliberate and conscientious processing for the purpose of intentional learning takes place via the plurilingual didactic monitor.

The process underlying this model is that of transfer. The transfer bases therefore may be all syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of the languages in question, as well as individual intercultural and even social language learning and communication experiences. Typologically, Meißner identifies the following transfer types: native language intra-lingual transfer, bridge language intra-lingual transfer, target language intra-lingual transfer, interlingual transfer, and didactical or language learning related transfer. This model is the reference model for all intercomprehension-based research (see most recently Behrend 2016) and is being developed further in step with these studies (see Meißner in prep.).
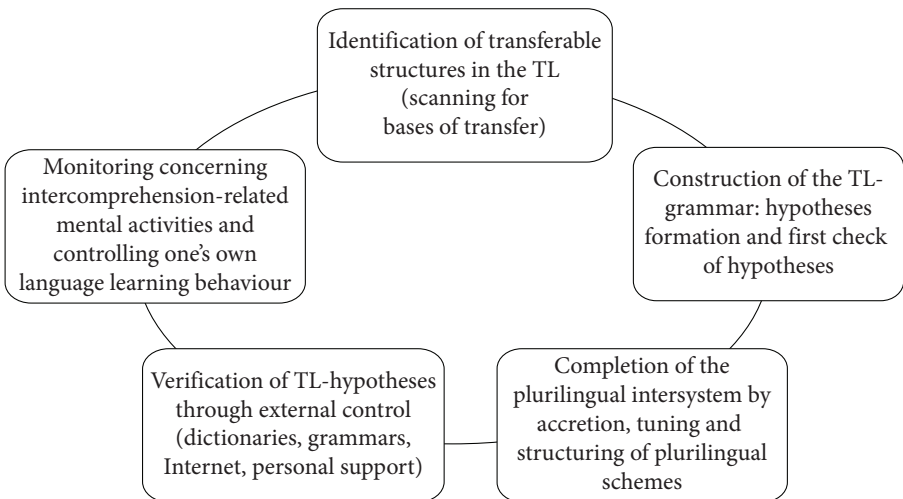
Figure 2. Processes of transfer and learning according to Meißner's Plurilingual Didactic Monitor Model (in prep.)

4.   On a relatively recently developed sociolinguistic model: *Dominant Language Constellation*

With her model of the *Dominant Language Constellation* (DLC) Aronin (in press, also in Aronin & Jessner 2014: 64–66) introduces, for discussion, a concept for describing the excerpt from the individual language repertoire with which an individual uses language in a social multilingual and plurilingual environment. In this model, the languages used represent an indivisible whole for the individual, and are not perceived as individual languages in isolation. Aronin sees DLC as a mental construct, which the individual uses to conceptualize and metaphorize, not only in a language-specific, but also in a language-transcendent and language-independent manner. As an example of such, she refers to Israeli society (see Aronin & Jessner 2014: 64–65; Aronin in press: 195f.), in which, for example, individuals of Arab ethnicity must operate linguistically in various constellations of Hebrew, English and spoken Arabic; the dominant language is dictated for each set of circumstances by the given context of activity. Thus, DLCs that can be described and analyzed are set up for individuals and for the groups they belong to. Such a model might usefully be applied to sociolinguistic studies of a politicolinguistic nature, for example. It remains to be seen if and in what form the research community adopts this model for use in their own studies and thus subjects it to evaluation.

5.   On refining a model: Factor Model 2.0 becomes Factor Model 2.1

The applied linguistic *Factor Model* will be used as an example to show how empirical evidence can be incorporated in the ongoing development of a model. In five stages, Version 2.0 of the *Factor Model* (Hufeisen 2010) represents the factor complexions or factor bundles of the influencing variables at the start of acquisition of L1, learning L2 (the first foreign language), learning L3 and learning Lx (X = n > 2), and thus in particular illustrates the quantitative and above all the qualitative differences between learning a first foreign language and learning a second or subsequent foreign languages. I refer to these differences as a collection of foreign language-specific factors, and I consider them to include the factors that we have been able to identify and investigate as influencing factors in studies on learning in institutionalized contexts: Individual foreign language learning experiences and strategies (ability to compare, transfer, and make interlingual connections), previous language interlanguages, and interlanguage of target language (see, for example, Kärchner-Ober 2009; Marx 2005). This factor bundle represents the same concept as Jessner's M-Factor (see above).

This model has been adopted as the theoretical reference basis in many studies of applied linguistics research, and is constantly being verified and developed at the same time, as more factors are identified as being relevant to the L3 learning process. For example, Kursiša observed in 2012 that in the factor bundle of learner external factors, in addition to the factors already known and demonstrated – learning environment(s), type and amount of input, and L1 learning traditions –, the L2 learning traditions factor has a particularly critical effect on the attitude of the students to institutionalized work at the place of study, the school. The students Kursiša investigated were learning German as a foreign language, which for this group was an L3 language. It was found that they expected their German instruction to use the teaching methods and social forms that they knew and were accustomed to from their English (= L2) studies. They requested precisely these methodologies in German L3-instruction as well, and were reluctant to embrace the L3-specific approaches that were intended to draw on the previous L2 experience and render it usable. It was not until they realised the great benefit of incorporating their previous linguistic and learning strategy skills and competences that they were willing to accept them, and towards the end of the study most of the students evaluated the approach as very helpful. This finding was confirmed and reinforced by Fan's study (2017), so the *Factor Model* had to be supplemented with this factor and updated to Version 2.1.

The cultural heritage factor, which was not yet included in *Factor Model* 2.0, is also an influencing factor that was made evident not only by Fan's interviews (2017), but also and particularly through Brizić's work (for example in 2011). Brizić developed the insight that the cultural heritage of immigrants continues to exert a powerful influence for several generations, and, especially if there is insufficient L1 input in both quantitative and qualitative terms, represents a deficient foundation for all subsequent language learning, making it difficult to resume language learning processes, and possibly even threatening them (see Hufeisen 2010, internal learning factors). Behrend (2016) showed very convincingly that the status and the role of the instructor is another very influential aspect within the learner external factors. Her study dealt with subjective theories of EuroComGerm learners of Germanic languages, and her subjects emphasized the fact that the EuroComGerm instructor is more likely a partner and a facilitator and not so much instructor and teacher any longer. Vidgren (2018), in her study, found that the Finnish learners of L3 German thought that the necessary amount of effort concerning time and energy in order to learn German on the one hand, and the educational aims on the other are the most important aspects of learning multiple languages. This latter aspect (educational aims) is, according to Wang (forthcoming), the most important factor of all for all language learning. In her study, she investigated why some Chinese universities returned to their traditional and somewhat outdated text book in German

preparatory classes after they had used important text books from Germany for some years. The reasons the interviewed Chinese instructors of German gave for the change back to a Chinese text book of German were: L1 learning traditions and cultural heritage and the educational aim of passing the future tests in German. With this empirical evidence, it seems to be helpful for future studies to include each new aspect into the model in order to develop it constantly further.

Stage 1 of *Factor Model* 2.1 (see Figure 3) shows the main features of the L1 (or L1s) acquisition process which determine how successful the learning process will be. First of all, there are neurophysiological factors which are inherent to the child. A child's hearing must be normal so that the child can use the heard input while acquiring language. Impaired hearing might result in false or insufficient acquisition of sounds and words. At the same time, this input, as part of the learner external factors, must be satisfactory in quality and quantity so that the child receives sufficient information about the language(s) to be acquired. If this input is too poor in amount or quality, the chances of acquiring the language(s) are limited and might result in less successful language acquisition.

Neurophysiological Factors: General language acquisition capability, age, …

Learner External Factors: Learning environment(s), type and amount of input, …

L1
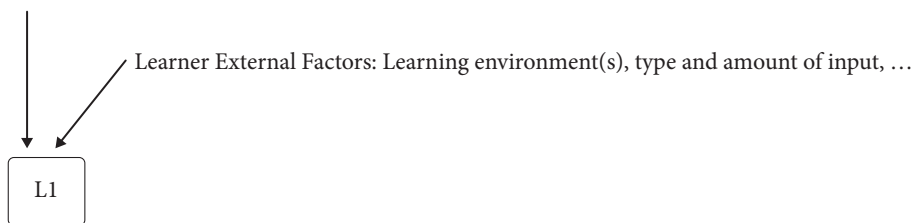
Figure 3. Acquisition of an L1

Stage 2 of *Factor Model* 2.1 (see Figure 4) focusses prototypically on the beginning of the institutional learning of an L2 after the end of the primary L1 acquisition process. Besides neurophysiological factors, which naturally remain a relevant factor, learner external factors comprise more aspects that have significant effects on the learning process, such as the learning and teaching traditions of the context a learner faces. For example, a language learner in Asia or Africa will experience different educational learning traditions than a learner in Central Europe or Canada will in regard to learning group sizes. Whereas in many African countries class sizes amount to 70 or 80 learners, Central European learner groups are seldom larger than 30 pupils or students. Educational aims might also vary from country to country: Whereas in one pedagogical context the main aim might be communicative oral competence and determining specific, optimal methods of instruction, in others the target might be to know a lot about a specific language. Both approaches

will have an influence on how learners engage in learning a language. Affective and cognitive factors such as motivation or attitude towards language learning or a specific language can be highly influential in this process as well. As well, significant effects on the ease and success of the learning process will result from factors such as the learner's ability to apply previously acquired learning strategies to the learning process: the more efficiently utilized these strategies are, the more successful the learning process will be.

Neurophysiological Factors: General language acquisition capability, age, …

Learner External Factors: Learning environment(s), type and amount of input, **L1 learning traditions, cultural heritage, educational aims, status + role of the instructor,** …

Affective Factors: Motivation, (learning) anxiety, assessment of own language proficiency, perceived closeness/distance between languages, attitude(s) towards language(s), towards target cultures, towards languages learning (necessary effort concerning time and energy), individual life experiences, learner type, …

Cognitive Factors: Language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, learning awareness, learner type, learner type awareness, learning strategies, individual learning experiences, …

L2

Language Specific Factors: L1

Figure 4. Learning of an L2

Stage 3 of *Factor Model* 2.1 (see Figure 5) shows the beginning of the learning process of a second foreign language (L3) in a student's language learning career. At this stage, foreign language specific factors come into play and significantly influence the learning process. The most critical factor at his stage is the fact that the learner is now an experienced foreign language learner: S/he is repeating a process that s/he has encountered previously, including all of the positive and negative side effects of this experience. This second foreign language learning experience might well progress much more smoothly because the learner already knows how to tackle learning new vocabulary, grammar or how to best approach a text. On the other hand, it could be that the previous learning experience was not a positive one. In this case the learner would not be starting the new language learning process with a neutral or open mind but might be reluctant or have a negative attitude; s/he might be confused by the new and different linguistic input and feel overwhelmed by the process of language learning. Luckily, however, the positive influence of a previous language learning experience often seems to be stronger than the negative one. Another feature of learner external factors can have either a positive or negative impact, namely, L2 learning traditions (see Kursiša 2012). Learners might insist on learning a second foreign language in exactly the same way as they learned the first foreign language because they liked the approach or because it seemed easier to them. It could also be, however, that they prefer a distinctly different approach

to the learning process the second time around in order not to repeat a learning experience that they felt was negative.

Neurophysiological Factors: General language acquisition capability, age, …

Learner External Factors: Learning environment(s), type and amount of input, L1 learning traditions, cultural heritage, **L2 learning traditions**, educational aims, status + role of the instructor, …

Affective Factors: Motivation, (learning) anxiety, assessment of own language proficiency, perceived closeness/distance between languages, attitude(s) towards language(s), towards target cultures, towards languages learning (necessary effort concerning time and energy), individual life experiences, learner type, …

Cognitive Factors: Language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, learning awareness, learner type, learner type awareness, learning strategies, individual learning experiences, …

Foreign Language Specific Factors: Individual foreign language learning experiences and strategies (ability to compare, transfer, and make interlingual connections), previous language interlanguages, interlanguage of target language(s), …

L3

Language Specific Factors: L1, L2

Figure 5. Learning of an L3

Stage 4 of *Factor Model* 2.1 (see Figure 6) chiefly shows that beginning to learn an L4, or a fourth foreign language, adds another language to the individual's learner language(s) repertoire in quantitative terms more so than in qualitative terms, in contrast to the case of proceeding from stage two (learning an L2) to stage three (learning an L3).

Neurophysiological Factors: General language acquisition capability, age, …

Learner External Factors: Learning environment(s), type and amount of input, L1 learning traditions, cultural heritage, L2 learning traditions, educational aims, status + role of the instructor, …

Affective Factors: Motivation, (learning) anxiety, assessment of own language proficiency, perceived closeness/distance between languages, attitude(s) towards language(s), towards target cultures, towards language learning (necessary effort concerning time and energy), individual life experiences, learner type, …

Cognitive Factors: Language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, learning awareness, learner type, learner type awareness, learning strategies, individual learning experiences, …

Foreign Language Specific Factors: Individual foreign language learning experiences and strategies (ability to compare, transfer, and make interlingual connections), previous language interlanguages, interlanguage of target language(s), …

Lx (x>2)

Language Specific Factors: L1, L2, Lx, …

Figure 6. Learning of an L4

6.   Concluding remarks

These still relatively new models from the barely mature fields of research into language acquisition and language teaching and learning will certainly be joined by others. Further models will be added from other scientific perspectives, and these will be borne out and may have to be refined in the application thereof. It seems important to point out again that learning a first foreign language differs systematically from subsequent foreign language learning, and it therefore represents a fairly specific variable that cannot be equated with the variables involved in learning subsequent foreign languages (see Missler 1999). But it may be that this research field also needs its own methods for collecting and evaluating data (see Hufeisen 2011).

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The multilingual turn in foreign language education

Facts and fallacies

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The multilingual turn in language education has been frequently referred to in recent research. However, the meaning of 'multilingualism' is far from being unequivocally understood, which points to a multiplicity of perceptions about what multilingual individuals, multilingual education, multilingual competence and policies to promote multilingualism are. I suggest that a line can be drawn to distinguish between social and individual multilingualism (the latter is also called 'plurilingualism') and that, if individual multilingualism is to be achieved, namely by frequenting a school system, the offer of several foreign languages in the school curriculum or the generalization of CLIL approaches are steps forward but not enough to ensure a plurilingual competence. Instead, it is a change of the teaching and learning *habitus* and paradigms that is needed, namely through the spread of pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures. Furthermore, I claim that English, because it is being taught and learnt globally as the first foreign language, has a pivotal role to play in the development of learners' plurilingual competence. By encouraging, from the very beginning, the establishment of relationships between languages and varieties, a certain way of teaching English could prepare an integrated learning of subsequent languages. Finally, I discuss the consequences of "Teaching Other Languages to Speakers of English" (TOLSE) instead of the more commonly used "Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages" (TESOL) and the open questions it points to, that can inspire further research.

Keywords: English, multilingual turn, pluralistic approaches, third language learning

1.   Introduction

Language education and applied linguistics seem to be well supplied with "turns" these days. Besides the "multilingual turn" (May 2014; also Conteh & Meier 2014; Flores & Aneja 2017), other turns have been challenging – or broadening – our perceptions and conceptions of what it means to teach and learn a language or to educate future language educators: the "social turn" (Block 2003), the "narrative turn" (Pavlenko 2007), the "visual turn" (Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta 2017) and what could also be called the "embodiment turn" (Block 2014).

These "turns" have their roots in different moments of the evolution of language education, but all have in common that they recognize that language learning and teaching is far more than the sum of the elements of that equation seen as isolated units – language, learning and teaching – and should therefore be seen from a more holistic and ecological perspective. In particular, they acknowledge the fact that language learning and teaching are not just about language. What these turns also seem to be pointing to is that language learning and teaching are also (and sometimes foremost) about non-verbal communication and the embodiment of new (non)linguistic behaviors, about constructing and reconstructing identities, about power and empowerment (and their opposites), about emotions and feelings, about subjects and not about objects (Kramsch 2009; Pavlenko & Backledge 2004; Williams et al. 2016). And they are not about language, but about languages – in what has been called the "multilingual turn" in language education. Within this multilingual turn, the very notion of language has been discussed as problematic and old-fashioned (García & Wei 2014; Makoni & Pennycook 2007) as it tends to induce an isolated treatment of individual languages (namely, in the school context), disregarding their connections and commonalities – called a monoglossic perspective in language education. Instead, a heteroglossic perspective has been proposed (Blackledge & Creese 2014), which would allow for multivoiced perspectives in the classroom, the relativization of the native speaker as linguistic norm and the softening of boundaries between languages.

This contribution reviews some of the fundamental facts underlying the multilingual turn in "language" education, with the aim of showing its potential but also to point out some of the ambiguities or fallacies that come with it. In the first section of this contribution, I take a critical look at the current discourses around this particular turn, clarifying some of the epistemological and heuristic aspects that underlie it. In the second part, some of the curricular changes included under the umbrella term "multilingual turn" will be revisited (pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures and L3/Ln language learning developments). Subsequently, two banners of the "multilingual turn" and their ambiguities will be discussed (the promotion of multilingualism with the inadvertent favoring of English in the school

curriculum, and the co-existence of monoglossic and heteroglossic perspectives in curricular options promoting multilingualism). To conclude, after synthetizing the main points of this contribution, I will highlight the questions that remain open in the field of foreign language education and teacher training.

2.   The multilingual turn in language education: Turning or spinning around? Some considerations

In this section, I return to a discussion of the key-concept in the field – "multilingualism" – and some of its declinations in the literature: multilingual speaker, multilingual societies, multilingual competence, multilingual education and multilingual turn. I will not review each one separately (see Aronin & Singleton 2012; Herdina & Jessner 2002; Martin-Jones et al. 2012; Moore 2006; Zarate et al. 2008 for developed theoretical accounts) but rather reflect on some of the aspects which make them difficult to grasp and operationalize in multilingual education. These aspects include: (1) the historicity of our research field; (2) the illusion of heuristic transparency through intertextuality and the recent conceptual effervescence; and (3) the heterogeneity paradox in the treatment of linguistic diversity in discourses about linguistic education.

The first burden in acknowledging the "multilingual turn" in education relates to the historical evolution of our disciplinary field and is related to the historicity of knowledge production. May refers to this bias – speaking of "a number of ironies" (2014: 2) – as follows:

> The first [irony], of course, is that urban multilingualism is not solely the product of late modernity but has been present in earlier periods of history, particularly prior to the advent of nationalism and the nation-state […]. Likewise, Western applied linguistics' recent "discovery" of multilingualism reveals its own lack of historicity and not a little ethnocentrism. […]".   (May 2014: 2)

The real irony lies in the undisputed assumptions that the multilingual reality or super-diversity has no precedent in history (see Piller 2016 for a critique; also Aronin 2017 on multilingualism as a "The New Linguistic Dispensation") but that monolingualism is overall treated as the exception rather than the rule and yet, in order to keep up with this unprecedented diversity, multilingualism must be protected (and enhanced). The recognition of this multilingual order pervades the field of education, at least in the theory. In terms of reality, the longstanding and often unquestioned institutional, curricular and working cultures and pedagogical *habitus* make it difficult to take multilingualism more seriously and to engage in more transformative practices. Thus, the multilingual turn meets monoglossic

research and school traditions as reconstructed by Gogolin (e.g. 2008), causing a tension between the multilingual social level and the monoglossic school tradition of language learning and teaching, which is also socially recognized and valued.

The second aspect worth critical scrutiny, resorting to Blommaert's discourse theorization, is that "multilingualism" has been so frequently "entextualised", i.e., "successively decontextualized and recontextualised, and thus made into a "new" discourse" (2005: 251), that its use creates "an impression of coherence and allows for the recuperation of various entextualisations in new ones" (ibid.: 201). Within the scope of this chapter, this means that the use of the term "multilingualism" needs critical examination, because there is by no means a common understanding what it refers to or denotes. One might rather say that it far too often created "a hinge of intertextuality, masking other discontinuities" (ibid.). As is true for other buzzwords, the process of sloganization (Schmenk 2008) implies that "Ideological heterogeneity is both enabled and made invisible by textual homogeneity" (Blommaert 2005: 201). This idea made me question what the "multilingual" in "multilingual turn" actually is, aside from tropes, well intentioned catch-phrases or politically-correct assumptions. Bailey recognizes that common conceptualizations of multilingualism are reduced to "the coexistence of multiple linguistic systems that are discrete, ahistorical, and relatively self-contained" (2012: 500). Furthermore, multilingualism has come to be perceived as "individual" or "societal", close to or even a synonym of "plurilingualism" (see Marshall & Moore 2016 for a discussion), and sometimes used as a synonym of "linguistic diversity" in general, without reference to any particular context. As Jessner and Kramsch also conclude, "some treat bi- and multilingualism synonymously, others treat multilingualism as an umbrella term for linguistic diversity" (2015: 3). It is important to consider the difference between societal and individual multilingualism (the latter being close to "plurilingual competence", cf. Hu in this volume; also Moore & Gajo 2009). Recent studies have pointed out that this individual (multilingual) competence is not a juxtaposed sequence and coexistence of diverse isolated linguistic competences in one's repertoire, but the situated (re)composition of integrated linguistic repertoires according to situations and interlocutors (Coste et al. 1997). So, if all languages are intricately related in plurilingual minds and converge to the composition of a global communicative competence, the question of classifying the plurilingual competence of interlocutors regarding each of their languages (or "bits of language" (Blommaert 2010)) becomes secondary, as subjects "develop different levels of proficiency in each of their languages, depending on their perceived communicative needs" (Jessner & Kramsch 2015: 4). The following statement gives us a sense of the tensions existing in the field: "When multilingualism is an educational aim, students are expected to become competent speakers of different languages" (Cenoz & Gorter 2015: 3). So,

multilingualism as a collective phenomenon and multilingualism as an educational aim seem to follow parallel (without ever touching) theoretical paths.

The fact that many authors do not clearly state the position they are starting from can generate confusion when describing what "multilingual education" is and thus trying to operationalize the "multilingual turn" in education. Furthermore, as pointed out by Marshall and Moore (2016), different conceptions of "multilingualism" co-exist side by side with less common ones, like "codemeshing" or "translanguaging", which contributes to a nebulous understanding of the forms and meanings attached to this terminological effervescence. But, as the same authors advert, "each term has its own particular focus, history, contexts, and ideological connections, as well as proponents and detractors" (ibid.: 1; see also Aronin & Singleton 2012; Gajo 2014). Indeed, different disciplinary fields, different epistemological traditions, different languages tend to appropriate the concepts differently. This does not automatically mean that conceptual diversity is negative; it induces research dynamics that tend to apprehend the complexity of the linguistic world differently. What is important is to clearly state the conceptions underlying any theoretical and empirical approach to multilingualism.

A third aspect besides terminological fluctuation that makes "multilingualism" and diversity so difficult to operationalize in educational settings is the fact that identities are dynamic, hybrid and thus unstable. It has become a trope in educational discourses that teachers and educators must take into account students' diverse repertoires and integrate them in the classroom as affective bonds and cognitive tools. As Canagarajah explains, this trope can have perverse effects in terms of students' perceived self-identity, agency and motivation:

> Accommodating student diversity, providing spaces to represent their voices, and facilitating the development of more expansive repertoires of communication and knowledge are becoming important in language teaching. Though diversity is touted as a desirable pedagogical goal, there are serious ethical and ideological challenges for teachers in accomplishing it. To begin with, we cannot stereotype the voices and interests of students based on their nationality or ethnicity. The understanding that identities are hybrid and multiple would suggest that the backgrounds and desired identities of our students cannot be easily predicted. Furthermore, identities and values are always in flux. As we design a pedagogy based on certain expectations, we might be surprised to see students' interests changing. […] One can assume, therefore, that there are many unknowns in teaching for diversity.
>
> (Canagarajah 2016: 1)

As shown in the previous quotation, the recommendation that linguistic diversity and multilingual repertoires of the students should be included in teaching practices can in fact serve to ascribe a stable linguistic and cultural affiliation to them,

potentially disrespecting the actual diversity of their interests and the individual relationship each develops with their linguistic background, which can range from total denial to total acceptance. Consequently, if students are automatically assigned to a minority or minoritised group, even the most well-intentioned introduction of students' linguistic repertoires in the classroom – when dealing with languages acquired outside the school system – can result in stereotyping students' identities and the fixation of culturalistic and deterministic frameworks used to interpret them. It might also be added that viewing students as simply "diverse" can contribute to creating a new form of "linguistic homogeneity", paradoxically seen as "one diverse group – one multilingual linguistic repertoire". I propose that heterogeneities and commonalities both should be treated equally in educational discourses, bringing into discussion the diversities and similarities of linguistic repertoires within the classroom. The point is to signal the diversity within each identity (and not just the linguistic identity), underscoring the need to recognize intra- and inter-personal alterity in order to understand identity as a multilayered, complex and dynamic social construct.

The sometimes homogeneous treatment of diversity referred to above is visible in amalgamations that consider students with migrant linguistic background (biographic multilingualism) and students with curricular multilingualism (institutional multilingualism) as having the same linguistic aims, needs and goals. But, as Cenoz and Gorter (2015) put it, these student populations are somewhere in the *continuum* between "being multilingual", closely related to biographic multilingualism, and "becoming multilingual", associated to language(s) learning and institutional multilingualism. This new dichotomy comes not without problems, as it brings back to life a long discussion around dichotomies such as "acquiring vs. learning" and "using/communicating vs. learning". Because of this, the dichotomy should instead be seen as a double-helixed continuum, revealing a much more complex and dynamic scenario of linguistic education. I propose to treat this double dichotomy as a game of mirrors with a place for "the negative": "not being multilingual" and "not becoming multilingual", which reflect a more complex sociolinguistic reality and recognize the agency of subjects in language learning, respectively. A visual representation of this crisscross of the two *continua* could look like this:

Being multilingual
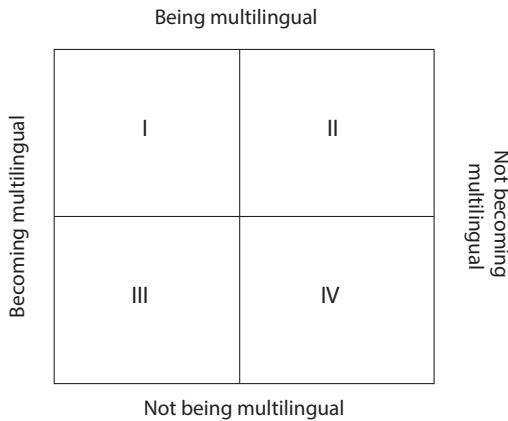
Figure 1. (Not) being and becoming multilingual

Each of the numbers I–IV represents a complex linguistic profile. Quadrant I would refer to multilingual speakers engaged in language learning, as is the case of children grown up bilingually learning an additional language at school; Quadrant II would refer to multilingual speakers not engaged in (at least formal) language learning, as, for example, adult multilinguals not taking language classes; Quadrant III would refer to monolingual speakers engaged in language learning, as is the case of children grown up monolingually and start learning another language at school; Quadrant IV would refer to monolingual speakers not engaged in language learning, such as monolingual children not (yet) learning another language at school or adults that never learnt other languages.

This classification is not exempt of risks: for instance, it is hard to say what individual monolingualism and individual multilingualism mean, depending on narrower or broader competency accounts for multilingualism. An example: within languages of the same linguistic family, the acquisition of partial receptive competences could, by some definitions, count as "multilingualism", but for others this would not be sufficient (see also Aronin & Singleton 2012). Hence, the kind of questions this raises would be, e.g., in the case of typologically close languages, if it is possible to be called a Portuguese monolingual subject, when Galician and Spanish are, at least from a receptive perspective, accessible to the subject; or, if it is necessary to have an excellent and symmetrical command of two languages to be called bilingual. Another difficulty, as Cenoz and Gorter also recognize, is the fact that "becoming" multilingual may not be a conscious process and that being engaged in communication with other subjects can indeed affect and improve multilingual abilities, since a repertoire – be it monolingual or multilingual – is not a definite product but an ongoing process.

Traditionally, Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) situated their research predominantly within Quadrant III (monolingual speakers engaged in language learning; a pioneer approach to students' multilingual repertoires in SLA was Cummins), but sometimes failed to acknowledge that their subjects were in fact multilinguals to some degree, with previous knowledge of other languages, what has been labelled a "monolingual bias" (May 2014), raising a host of new questions. More recently, the field of Third Language Acquisition and Multilingualism has focused on Quadrant I (multilingual speakers engaged in language learning), acknowledging the role of previous linguistic, metalinguistic and procedural knowledge in additional language learning but, in my view, sometimes failing to recognize or describe the diversity and intermeshing of multilingualisms and of multilinguals (Cenoz & Gorter 2015). As I have pointed out throughout this section, this difficulty is in part due to the fact that complex or at least opaque realities are being assigned to concepts as if they were transparent, causing hazy interpretations and ambiguities.

3.   Revisiting multilingual turns in language education

The added value brought by the multilingual turn is the view that, at least theoretically and without entering the battle of languages and symbolic power attached to them (an uncomfortable reality sometimes too quickly dismissed), all multilingual repertoires are valuable and should be given the right to be preserved and developed. In terms of formal language education, this means that school should be acknowledged as the social institution best placed to validate the linguistic experiences and linguistic biographies of students, but also to challenge the native-like standards present in foreign language learning and teaching. Among other curricular advances that potentially open doors to a validation and development of heterogeneous linguistic repertoires are: (1) the spread of early language education at the pre-primary and primary levels; (2) the theorization and implementation of multilingual approaches to languages and cultures; (3) the increasing offer of bilingual and CLIL programs; and, finally, (4) the recognition that, because L3 and additional languages have different acquisition patterns, learning and teaching them should follow different methodological and pedagogical paths. In this section, I discuss the two changes that clearly introduce a multilingual approach in the curriculum: theorization and implementation of multilingual approaches to languages and cultures, and the L3 approach to teaching foreign languages. The other two advances will be considered in Section 3, in order to discuss the ambiguities in the field of multilingual education and curricular options.

3.1   Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures

Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures are pedagogical approaches that focus on languages and cultures from a multilingual and intercultural standpoint (Candelier 2008; Candelier et al. 2012; Krumm & Reich 2016). Thus, they approach languages from an integrated and interrelated perspective, underscoring their similarities and differences, their points of contact and their *continua*. As the name suggests, pluralistic approaches are the opposite of monolingual and monocultural approaches in teacher and language education and thus challenge monolingual ideologies in teaching and learning. These are four of the monolingual challenged ideas: pluralistic approaches challenge the myth of both the native speaker and of pre-available linguistic norms; they abandon the idea of the classroom being a monolingual *locus* of teaching and learning; and they accept that interaction does not need to occur in just one language. As Candelier et al. explain:

> This is to be contrasted with approaches which could be called "*singular*" in which the didactic approach takes account of only one language or a particular culture, considered in isolation. Singular approaches of this kind were particularly valued when structural and later "communicative" methods were developed and all translation and all resort to the first language were banished from the teaching process.
> (2012: 8)

Even though there may be differences between various pluralistic approaches (Gajo 2008), it is undisputed that they share the goal of dealing with social and individual multilingualism, favoring language and metalinguistic awareness (see next section for a definition), social consciousness and positive attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity (Andrade et al. 2014). Four pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures are currently recognized: the intercultural approach, intercomprehension, awakening to languages (a rather rough translation of "éveil aux langues") and integrated didactic approaches to different languages studied (Candelier et al. 2012).

The intercultural approach brings to the fore the cultural, intercultural or even transcultural dimensions of language learning instead of merely its linguistic dimension. It aims at developing a complex range of skills, attitudes and knowledge related to linguistic and cultural diversity (Byram 1997) in order to succeed in participating in intercultural encounters, where students will often be called upon to play the role of mediators between languages and cultures. According to Byram, "FLT [Foreign Language Teaching] […] has the experience of otherness at the centre of its concern, as it requires learners to engage with both familiar and unfamiliar experience through the medium of another language" (ibid.: 3).

A generic definition of intercomprehension (cf. also Hu in this volume) would be the pedagogical approach that actively and systematically makes use of transfer strategies at all levels with the aim of understanding oral and written texts in a foreign neighbour language (Meißner 2016 for a synthesis). More broadly, intercomprehension can be understood from an inter-, intra- and trans-familiar perspective, as intercomprehension-related projects are not limited to one linguistic family (Degache & Melo 2008). Furthermore, intercomprehension can also be understood from an interactional perspective, where interlocutors negotiate and co-construct meaning through their knowledge of different languages and through collaborative interactional strategies (Araújo e Sá & Melo 2007; Capucho 2008; Melo-Pfeifer 2014; Ollivier & Strasser 2013).

Awakening to languages aims to mobilize the full range of pupils' linguistic repertoires and linguistic and intercultural experiences. Often considered better suited to pre-primary and primary school levels, awakening to languages attaches great importance to ludic activities in the classroom and focus on the development of metacognitive, metalinguistic and metacommunicative competences (Candelier 2007). Candelier et al. recognize that:

> It was designed principally as a way of welcoming schoolchildren into the idea of linguistic diversity (and the diversity of their own languages) at the beginning of school education, as a vector of fuller recognition of the languages "brought" by children with more than one language available to them and, in this way, as a kind of preparatory course developed for primary schools, but it can also be promoted as a support to language learning throughout the learners' school career.
>
> (2012: 9)

Integrated didactic approaches to different languages studied aims at constructing *bridges* between languages included in the school curriculum, promoting the creation and exploitation of linguistic, curricular and procedural synergies (Nevelling 2013). Thus, this approach does not conceive of language learning at school as a mere juxtaposition of different curricular languages; instead, it promotes transversalities in language work and aims at constructing a spiralling curriculum for language learning instead of the traditional successive and linear one.

Pluralistic approaches, then, promote an integrated and dynamic individual multilingual repertoire, recognizing and exploiting students' linguistic and cultural biographies with pedagogical goals. Therefore, they go beyond monolingual pedagogies and monoglossic practices that conceive language learning as being linear, successive and homogeneous, following the same strategies, aims, goals and motivations for all students. Pluralistic approaches rely on previous knowledge and on the linguistic and cultural lives of the school population, inviting students to follow a transfer-based discovery pedagogy and acknowledge the added value of establishing links across multiple languages.

The promotion and use of pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures relates to the development of students' multilingual competence in two essential directions: a first could be called retrospective, as these approaches are rooted in previous knowledges and experiences, stimulating their use in order to make on-going linguistic acquisitions faster, more flexible and more sustainable; the second orientation could be called prospective, as pluralistic approaches allow for contact with new (and unpredictable) linguistic and cultural materials, potentially awakening curiosity and interest towards other languages and developing cognitive strategies that could open up students' perspectives towards new language learning projects (Araújo e Sá & Melo-Pfeifer 2015).

3.2   L3/Ln learning

Another theoretical advance related to the multilingual turn in language education with pragmatic (and programmatic/curricular) modifications lies in the recognition that a bilingual subject is not the sum of two monolinguals or, in other words, "bilingualism is not simply double monolingualism, with bilinguals expected to be and to do with each of their languages the same things as monolinguals" (García & Flores 2014: 154). Additionally, a multilingual repertoire is not the sum of separate codes, as they intermingle dynamically with one another (Herdina & Jessner 2002). From this point of view, the processes of acquisition and use of a so-called mother tongue or L1 are therefore different from the acquisition and use of an L2, an L3 or any additional language (the Ln). Furthermore, this difference shows up in diverse spheres ranging from vocabulary, grammar and pragmatics, to phonetics and emotional or identity traits of the multilingual subject (De Angelis 2007).

The L3 approach to language learning adapted to the school context "is often based on the assumption that students (often) add English as a second language to their first language, and then add further languages to their language repertoires as they continue in education or in their professional lives" (Meier 2014: 135). A perspective that recognizes the intrinsically diverse composition of repertoires before acquiring an additional language can be interpreted too narrowly and monoglossically, seeing languages as mere accumulation of repertoires. Indeed, if English is becoming the most widespread L2, it may be added to a bilingual or trilingual linguistic repertoire acquired in early years. Referring to languages in terms of their acquisition order and in doing so conceptualize them as countable entities may be problematic when we consider the dynamics within multilingual systems (Herdina & Jessner 2002).

Despite these problems, it has been widely acknowledged that acquiring a new language after a first foreign language brings cognitive, affective and strategic advantages, varying with the age factor. Advantages include improved language and

metalinguistic awareness and a more conscious focus on form, decreased levels of anxiety when dealing with unknown linguistic material, and enhanced strategic competence, due to a longer language learning experience (De Angelis 2007; Herdina & Jessner 2002; Jessner 2006). Research has shown that "prior knowledge of two or more languages, as well as the learning experience gained in acquiring those languages, have a significant impact on cognitive development and on the language acquisition process" (De Angelis 2007: 109; cf. also Bono & Stratilaki 2009), boosted metalinguistic awareness being placed at the core of that positive impact, irrespective of linguistic typologies in contact, age and order of acquisition or learning context.

In terms of pedagogical implications for the L3 classroom, this means an approximation to what was called in the previous sub-section "integrative didactics", and considering language learning as a dynamic process that mobilizes all previously acquired linguistic and communicative resources as potential sources of transfer. It acknowledges the classroom as an intrinsically multilingual learning and communicative space, and multilingual pedagogical practices as fostering cognitive, affective and strategic gains instead of considering them negative interferences with the monolingual practice, resulting in smaller gains of language competence. Finally, such a perspective highlights the value of interconnecting languages and language learning across the curriculum, promoting collaborative work among teachers of different languages and at different school levels (Reich & Krumm 2013).

4.   The multilingual turn between tensions

As May (2014) explains, the encouragement of bilingualism and plurilingualism has been framed by a monolingual linguistic ideology that considers languages as self-ruling, discrete and clearly separated objects, submitted to "monolingual norms" and monolingual beliefs about language use. This means that, even though multilingualism has been widely promoted, teaching and research *habitus* tend to make sense of a person's multilingualism by considering it an addition of different languages, rather than as the interception, integration, and distribution of linguistic and other semiotic resources in situated communicative events. Prevalence of monolingual ideologies is visible when dealing with two phenomena in multilingual education: (1) the observation that English is the only language that was largely favored in the practices and *curricula* of the linguistic policies promoting multilingualism; and, (2) the promotion of multilingualism at school still happens through the chronological addition of separate curricular languages, which does not foster a dialogue between languages. So, while promoting multilingualism (and the question remains: what multilingualism? Individual or societal? Command of

several languages or development of an integrated linguistic repertoire?), many of the curricular practices – mediated by linguistic ideologies – may not be promoting the development of linguistic and cultural competences across multilingual contexts and not preparing students to act in those complex contexts. In the following, the two phenomena will be discussed in more depth.

4.1   English vs. multilingualism?

One aspect that was privileged in the promotion of foreign language learning and the development of multilingual repertoires in many European countries was the introduction of foreign languages in kindergarten and primary schools and the development of different models of bilingual education from the early years. This introduction had a big impact on how early bilingualism and trilingualism are conceived – danger or cognitive asset (see De Angelis 2007 for a review) – and researched, and how integrated language learning can be encouraged early in life. In the field of early language learning, theories on language learning and language acquisition are being revisited (namely the "age factor") and a variety of language learning models in pre-primary education are being tested and discussed (Mourão & Lourenço 2015). Authors included in Mourão and Lourenço (2015) dealing with pre-primary education come to the conclusion that second language education is beneficial in terms of the attitudinal, intercultural and linguistic development of children. Studies at other educational levels have also come to the same conclusions (Brohy et al. 2014; Pinho & Moreira 2012). Learning English has a positive effect on several domains of language learning and is a (first) step towards "becoming multilingual". But such gains are relativized when the promotion of individual multilingualism and multilingual competences are at stake, as we will see below.

At primary school level, in particular, the introduction of a mandatory foreign language could be seen as a step forward in the development of competences in a foreign language. Nevertheless, there is a certain conflict as to what should be the aims and goals of introducing foreign languages at this level, with two different currents: one that defends the teaching and learning of one foreign language – generally English – and another that sees exploring various languages at this stage as an opportunity to foster children's curiosity towards linguistic and cultural diversity (cf. above for the approach of "awakening to languages"; De Pietro 2005) and as being a propaedeutic for language learning later in life.

With respect to the first strand, which is most widespread in Europe, which generally promotes teaching and learning English, two main aspects need to be emphasized: (1) the unequal attention that English has received from programs implementing foreign language learning in primary schools; and (2) that diverse

national contexts still require more human, physical and material resources in order to fulfill the potential of foreign language learning at early stages (Mourão & Lourenço 2015). Additionally, it is still not clear if the early introduction of foreign languages in primary school (English or others), following the "as early as possible" principle, is really effective and what kind of language acquisition it really leads to.

As for CLIL, another potential curricular design aiming at improving language learning, it must be pointed out that its implementation in the school curriculum of non-Anglophone countries has served to promote English as a language of instruction above all else (Brohy et al. 2014). We should acknowledge that the massive promotion of this language in settings using CLIL, at least on a symbolic level, demotes other languages, as they were already offered at schools much more rarely and now are even less likely to be used as vehicular subject languages. Thus, the overwhelming offer of CLIL using English may be seen as a paradoxical consequence of the promotion of multilingualism and a symptom of the hyper-valorization of just one foreign language. Whilst CLIL *in itself* has the potential to make space for other languages in the curriculum, its implementation has proved to narrow down linguistic choices.

One example of this tension between the promotion of multilingualism and the univocal benefit of English is reported by Minardi and Costanzo (2013) on the curricular reforms in Italy. They describe the contradictions that occur when praised linguistic (multilingual) policies are put into practice. In Italy, they claim, that despite the legislation opening up schools to a more diverse linguistic landscape in the curriculum, the choices made *in loco* contradict this multilingual *ethos* and reduce multilingualism to mere rhetoric. In fact, all the way from preprimary to secondary level, language education is practically reduced to English. One reason for this may be the massive percentage of English as a Foreign Language in the curriculum. Another may be the status of CLIL, which has recently become mandatory from primary through secondary level in all types of schools. This means that even when other languages are theoretically available, the predominance of English is clearly reinforced. The massive introduction of *English-only-CLIL*, it has been claimed, is depriving foreign, minority, regional languages and varieties from curricular (and social) visibility, whilst at the same time being lauded as a political step towards the promotion of "multilingualism for all".

From this follows that while English needs to be recognized as a partner in the promotion of multilingual repertoires – as any attempt not to would be unrealistic and even unreasonable (Breidbach 2003; Melo-Pfeifer 2014) – a more balanced relationship between languages in the curriculum should be pursued and promoted. A possible pedagogical approach that could be conceptualized following the spread of English would thus go beyond TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and embrace what we would here call TOLSE (Teaching Other

Languages to Speakers of English), acknowledging the fact that English is becoming a shared linguistic resource in classrooms around the world and may therefore function as a starting point for further language learning. English could then be the linguistic basis for integrative approaches to language learning, mainly at school (development of institutional multilingualism), as the foundation for further development of multilingual repertoires (both institutional and biographical) and not an end in itself (learning English as the ultimate goal of language education). The rewording (TESOL to TOLSE) is intended to imply epistemological changes regarding the position of English in the contemporary world, and in additional foreign language classrooms in particular, since it is commonly the first foreign language taught.

4.2   Monoglossic and heteroglossic perspectives

It should be acknowledged that a common strand regarding the promotion of individual multilingualism is still embedded in powerful monolingual ideologies, and that the "multilingual imperative" is crossed by different tensions. Indeed, language education is being challenged by the idea that linguistic borders are fluid and unsuitable, or at least insufficient, to explain linguistic phenomena or communication in super-diverse contexts (Canagarajah 2013; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Even if many pedagogical practices and curricular changes in language education already challenge monolingual norms (by dealing with different languages, dialects or varieties), as we saw previously, a critical posture may be essential to advance towards a more heteroglossic and combined use of linguistic and other semiotic resources across the curriculum and in the classroom. Heteroglossia has been proposed as "a means of expanding theoretical orientations to, and understanding of, linguistic diversity" (Blackledge & Creese 2014: 1), offering a powerful lens to understand the several dimensions of *language in practice*: "rather than assuming that homogeneity and stability represent the norm, mobility, mixing, political dynamics, and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups, and communication" (ibid.; see also Bailey 2012). In terms of classroom interaction in the foreign language, for example, this means that communication should move away from a perspective that seeks to ascribe students to an exclusive language (learner) identity and embrace another one that sees them as creative language users (Busch 2014). Such a perspective recognizes that students employ their full range of semiotic resources, not only to acquire further features of another language but also to achieve their communicative needs to the best of their ability, in what has recently been called "translanguaging" (García & Wei 2014), both as a practice and a pedagogy.

Heteroglossia in the classroom, as a pedagogical, intersubjective and co-responsible approach to language education, thus implies three core principles (Busch 2014): multidiscursivity (learners can bring their concerns and topics of interest and participate in the *hic et nunc* construction of the classroom discourse), multivoicedness (learning is multidirectional and teaching and learning roles are not given in advance but situationally conveyed) and legitimacy of multiple codes (translanguaging as a transsemiotic meaning-making and meaning-negotiation process). These core principles, as we will see, are hard to operationalize in concrete curricular options.

In way of an example, the bilingual pre-primary schools under research in many projects included in Mourão and Lourenço (2015) follow a "two solitude model" principle (see Cummins 2008 for a critique), or a monolingual immersive program, and privilege native speakers (namely English native speakers) as models of linguistic and cultural authenticity, thus allowing little space for the emergence of multiple codes. These principles, as well as much of the research carried out, suffer from a monolingual and monoglossic bias, or a "monolingual research *habitus*", following Gogolin (2008), as the importance given to native and monolingual norms reduce the core values of intercultural and multilingual competence that acknowledge individual and social variation, as well as diversity and hybridity. Such programs also fail to recognize that the potential interlocutors for someone learning a foreign language (especially if that language is a highly-spread international language of communication) will much rather be multilingual non-native than native speakers of that language, which shifts interest from native-like norms and standards to intercultural and multilingual pragmatics (Byram 1997; Canagarajah 2013).

Another sign of the still rather monolingual and monoglossic perspective on language learning comes from programs that use more than one language as a language of instruction:

> CLIL or other so-called bilingual programs often separate the languages, i.e., the one-teacher one-language model […] what is sometimes referred to as parallel monolingualism […]. CLIL and other bilingual models may not make full use of opportunities to link to other languages, and develop multilingual, rather than two separate monolingual, competences.   (Meier 2014: 136; see also Ballinger 2015)

Actually, many of those models are still embedded in traditional monolingual (dual) immersion pedagogies which leave few opportunities to the recognition of students' heterogeneous linguistic repertoires and to students' verbal manifestations testifying the existence and interplay of those semiotic resources. As expressed by Martín Rojo, "the maintenance of linguistic ideologies in schools, such as the ideologies of monolingualism and standardization […] entails not valuing the languages

spoken by students in multilingual and multicultural schools, and the rejection of heteroglossic speech practices" (2015: 492).

5.   Conclusion

In this contribution I gave an overview of the multilingual turn from a pedagogical perspective, commenting on some issues that could hinder the understanding of the multilingual turn in language education and discussing some curricular developments that may (or may not) promote students' multilingual repertoires, as well as a more integrated vision of how languages work and are used in the contemporary world. I referred to those problems as the historicity of the research field, the illusion of conceptual transparency and the heterogeneity paradox. In order to be much more than a catchphrase in language education, the multilingual turn must recognize that it is deeply embedded in ideologies that are not always easy to classify as good or bad and embrace ideological complexity, ambiguity and instability as a way to permanently question the conceptual, methodological and empirical apparatus it proposes and employs. This means that authors should always clearly define the conceptual and ideological starting points of their work. Following Blommaert, I think that "transformations in the world will continually push us towards revisions of our old and established instrumentarium, and the fact that a particular analytic recipe worked in the past does not offer us any guarantees that it may work in the future" (2005: 235), requiring a permanent conceptual, heuristic and methodological vigilance in the research.

I explained how the multilingual turn proposes a radical deconstruction of the idea of language(s) as isolated realities, separated by clear normative rules and descriptions based on native-like use. It approaches languages as being radically in contact with other languages, not separate or disconnected. In terms of pedagogical practices, the multilingual turn is brought about by this recognition that languages are integrated in a dynamic multilingual repertoire and not held in isolation. This legitimizes the use of pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures, as well as the development of an integrated language learning curriculum (namely for the L3 or additional languages), that fully acknowledges pupils' linguistic biographies and previous knowledge. Thus, pedagogical approaches that actively engage with linguistic and cultural diversity do not dismiss the value of language learning as a discipline at school, but instead aspire to bringing languages at school and lived multilingualism closer together. With Kramsch and Huffmaster, we would say that the multilingual turn in language education "does not mean that it is not worthwhile to study standard national languages and cultures, only that the focus can no

longer be merely on formal linguistic systems and their instantiation in monolingual conversations and monolingual texts." (2015: 134) Accordingly, what is striking in the multilingual turn is the way it challenges well-established conceptions such as "language", "code" and "norm" and how it defies monolingual ideologies in the foreign language classroom, questioning what counts as (legitimate) language and as (legitimate) linguistic practices and promoting heteroglossic practices that value students' repertoires and experiences.

Two inconsistencies emerging from the promotion of individual multilingualism were presented and discussed. The first referred to the promotion of individual multilingualism and the recognition that many curricular innovations served foremost the teaching and learning of one language (English). The second was used to discuss the way the promotion of heteroglossic practices are resisted in curricular options, either by offering a linear language learning path at mainstream schools or by adding languages in bilingual models. In both scenarios, a particular role was given to English, as being the common first foreign language at school and thus a shared resource in the additional foreign language classroom. This recognition has led us to propose a move from the monolingual TESOL perspective to a multilingual viewpoint that we reworded as TOLSE.

The challenges for the school system and for language learning brought to light by the multilingual turn are clearly pointed out by Kramsch and Huffmaster, who state:

> How can foreign language teachers take into account the changing contexts of language use for which they are preparing their students without losing the historical and cultural awareness that comes from studying one national language, literature and culture? (2015: 117)

It was not my aim to discuss or solve those challenges in this contribution. I will conclude with the need to reflect on possible ways to harmonize the ideologies and conceptual advances of the multilingual turn (reified linguistic borders, dismissing the native-speaker as a model of linguistic production, move from language as a normative object to languages in use, from isolated to integrated models of language learning, etc.) with the current curricular, disciplinary and teacher representations and acknowledged duties regarding foreign language teaching and learning. One step forward, we are convinced, would be the effective and generalized integration of pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures across the curriculum and, more specifically, in (foreign) language education.

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Linguistic landscaping

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This paper will examine the uses of linguistic landscapes as a pedagogical tool in the fields of multilingualism and foreign language teaching and learning. In line with an increasing interest in sociolinguistic research of linguistically and culturally diverse communities, linguistic landscaping emerged as a methodological paradigm for the study of multilingualism in society. In particular, the field opened up towards the study of educational spaces and schools. In that respect, linguistic landscaping evolves into an educational tool to increase students' awareness of both linguistically diverse classrooms as well as societal multilingualism as a whole. Based on recent research findings, this paper argues that LLs can contribute significantly to develop literacy skills, improve pragmatic competence, increase the possibility of incidental language learning, help in the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, and enhance sensitivity to connotational aspects of language. Furthermore, I will argue that research in linguistic landscaping opens up the potential to transform students into sociolinguists, critically reflecting on multilingual practices both in school and beyond.

Keywords: linguistic landscapes, literacy, multilingual classrooms

1. Introduction: Multilingualism in the public sphere

In line with an increasing interest in sociolinguistic research of linguistically and culturally diverse communities, linguistic landscaping emerged as a methodological paradigm for the study of multilingual communities and practices (Gorter 2013; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010; Pavlenko 2010; Shohamy et al. 2010). Initially, the primary concern of research in linguistic landscapes (hereafter, LLs) lay on the study of written text in the public sphere, gaining insights into the vitality and status of minority languages, the quantitative distribution of languages in bi- and multilingual communities as well as the visibility of foreign languages in urban contexts (Backhaus 2007). More recently however, qualitative research in LLs incorporated a distinctively ethnographic perspective, developing a more critical stance in the

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study of multilingualism in communities that also reflected in critical sociolinguistic ethnographies that incorporated but not solely relied on LLs (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010). Equally, the terrain of investigation broadened from the survey of languages displayed on street signs, shop fronts and advertising billboards to subcultural writing, the virtual LL as well as particular institutional contexts and settings. Especially the latter aspect opened up the field to study the LLs of educational spaces and schools in particular. In that respect, linguistic landscaping also has the potential to contribute to applied linguistics and pedagogy, evolving into an educational tool to increase students' awareness of both linguistically diverse classrooms as well as societal multilingualism as a whole.

Thus, this paper will revisit the evolution of linguistic landscaping as a field of sociolinguistic inquiry and the study of multilingualism in the public sphere in particular. This will be done by highlighting both the methodological approaches and ways of doing research that became characteristic of linguistic landscaping in its formative years, before incorporating alternate voices into the debate that see LLs not as quantifiable objects that *per se* relate language use in public spaces to ethnolinguistic vitality or urban multilingualism as a whole, but instead view them as discursively constructed spaces that can be approached through qualitative and largely ethnographic research. Following this introductory chapter this paper will move on to highlight current trends and developments in linguistic landscaping, focusing on a number of distinct strands in LL-analysis that have proven to be central in current research to study language and multilingualism in the public sphere. In particular, this paper will differentiate between four different thematic approaches. Here, (1) *language policy and planning*, focuses on the study of language ideologies, language change and shift as well as the vitality of minority languages in a variety of contexts both in urban centers and peripheral spaces (Blackwood 2014; Gorter et al. 2012; Salo 2012). This is followed by (2) *research addressing LLs in times of social change*, describing approaches to research LLs that draw from a diachronic perspective to explain language use in the public sphere (Pavlenko & Mullen 2015), closely examining societal power relations, cultural, historical as well as geographical contexts, and observing LLs as parts of discursively constructed material ethnographies of multilingualism (Papen 2012; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). Furthermore, this theme also incorporates more broad and superficial perspectives on LLs, viewing signs and symbols through the lens of superdiversity (Blommaert 2013) or globalization (Jaworski 2015). The third thematic area, (3) *LLs and English* however takes on an entirely different perspective on linguistic landscaping as it studies the use of foreign languages – in most cases English – pointing towards the functional domains and patterns of use of languages of wider communication (Kasanga 2012; Lawrence 2012). In this relation the paper will examine how scholars connect the

prominence of English within public spaces with sociolinguistic theories, studies in EWL as well as research in EFL.

In turn, this is closely connected to (4), *LLs in educational spaces* that will be addressed in an individual chapter. Drawing from both conceptual and methodological paradigms and theoretical foundations of the field, this chapter aims to contextualize research that engages with the benefits of linguistic landscaping from the perspective of the multilingual classroom, differentiating between two main themes in applied research in pedagogical LLs, children as social actors as well as the EFL classroom. While scopes and approaches are yet limited at present (Malinowski 2015), based on a number of studies the discussion will pin-point a number of intersections between pedagogy and linguistic landscaping, providing incentives for further applied research. In that respect, using LLs in the classroom can contribute significantly to develop literacy skills, improve pragmatic competence, increase the possibility of incidental language learning, help in the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, and enhance sensitivity to connotational aspects of language (Chern & Dooley 2014; Rowland 2012). Furthermore, in this chapter I will argue that research in linguistic landscaping opens up the potential to transform students into sociolinguists, critically reflecting on multilingual practices both in school and within their communities (Roberts et al. 2001). Taking a step back, in the concluding remarks I will revisit conceptual approaches and theoretical foundations of the field, putting them in relation to current research in pedagogical LLs as well as highlighting possible ways to further engage with linguistic landscaping within educational spaces.

2. Linguistic landscapes: The evolution of a field

When the first issue of the academic journal *Linguistic Landscapes* was published in 2015, the field already looked back to over 20 years of research of written signs in the public spheres in predominantly urban areas. Over these years, linguistic landscaping saw a considerable evolution both in relation to its scope of analysis, its methodological tools and analytical designs, as well as its theoretical foundations. Scholars in the field agree that the systematic study of LLs largely began when Landry and Bourhis published their seminal paper *Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study*, coining its name, paving the way for future studies and at the same time establishing a methodological paradigm that substantially influenced the field over the next decade:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.
> (1997:25)

On the one hand, Landry and Bourhis based their research on an empirical survey of signs in the public sphere, evaluating the perceptions of multilingualism among Francophone students in Canada. In doing so, they directly linked the vitality of languages to their representation and visibility in the public sphere, foregrounding written text as the primary unit of analysis. While the field has substantially evolved in the following years, questions of linguistic vitality and representation have remained central in LL-research and became a methodological tool of sociolinguistic enquiries on the status and visibility of languages in bi- and multilingual communities. Even before Landry and Bourhis embarked to define the field for the first time, the incentive to document written language in the public sphere was visible in research on the sociology of language, most notably when Rosenbaum et al. (1977) investigated the spread of English on a popular street in Tel Aviv, Calvet (1990) in his comparative research on written text in urban Dakar and Paris, as well as Spolsky and Cooper (1991) who included data on written language within public spaces in their research on multilingualism in Jerusalem.

Partly building on these modest beginnings in the study of urban LLs, Gorter's (2006) volume aptly named *Linguistic landscapes: A new approach to multilingualism* for the first time critically engaged with the idea to document language use in public open spaces from a sociolinguistic perspective. Firmly entrenched within the tradition to view language from an essentially Saussurean differentiation between *langue* and *parole*, the volume brought together scholars who in the years to come proved to be instrumental in defining the scope and methodologies of applied research in LLs. In this collection of articles, research in LLs became defined as a way to study minority languages *vis-à-vis* languages of wider communication along the lines of the physical representation of minority languages in the public sphere (Ben Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz & Gorter 2006), revisiting Landry and Bourhis (1997) initial paradigm that sees any given LL as the sum of manifestations of written language on signs in a particular geographical area (Cenoz & Gorter 2006). The objects of study and the questions that research in LLs ought to address were defined along the lines of societal power relations made visible through the presence (or absence) of written language on signs (Ben Rafael et al. 2006), concluding that the prominence and frequency of particular languages in relation to demographic, socio-economic and politic factors allows for conclusions on both the status and prestige of minority languages and its speakers as well as on language policies and the prominence of foreign languages within communities (Backhaus 2007). In their own contribution that investigates the frequency of use of Frisian and Basque

in Leeuwarden (Ljouwert) and San Sebastian (Donostia) in relation to national standards and international languages, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) argue that the two regional minority languages are underrepresented in the LLs of both cities based on the relative demographic strength of their speakers.

However, apart from evoking scholarly interest in the field and raising the issue of the representation of (indigenous) minority languages in predominantly urban spaces, the largest impact of Gorter's (2006) demarcation of LLs lay in their novel methodological approach that attempts to quantify ethnolinguistic vitality by essentially counting languages on signs based on a corpus of photographs, by that establishing claims on the vitality, prestige, and status of languages in multilingual environments. This distributive approach to study LLs was brought further in subsequent research, most notably in Backhaus' (2007) volume on urban multilingualism in contemporary Tokyo. By systematically collecting data in the vicinity of metro stations along the city's circle line, Backhaus highlights the multilingual character of the Japanese capital, arguing that despite the predominance of Japanese and the demographic composition that suggests a largely monolingual city, Tokyo's LLs are in fact multilingual. However, Backhaus (2007: 138–140) concludes that multilingualism is a question of the sign's format and content, claiming that transliterations and translations signal as to whether it is designed for a local or an international audience. More importantly though, the book brought up a central issue of the field, relating to fundamental questions as to how research in LLs can be methodologically framed. In that respect, Backhaus postulates a distributive approach that implies (large-scale) empirical research documenting all written language within a defined context:

> […] walking through the streets and taking photos of anything that might strike one as particularly curious, illustrative, or, worse still, 'representative' is unlikely to yield any scientifically relevant results.   (2007: 62–63)

This brought up the central question of what actually counts as criteria to select representative samples, highlighting both methodological deficits and epistemological uncertainties as main points of critique in LL-research at this point. In particular, this opened up a debate on how research in LLs can be conducted in a meaningful, coherent and reproducible way to study different aspects of multilingualism in the public sphere.

Eventually this led to the emergence of two distinct ways to conceptualize and frame LLs, an empirically oriented approach vested in research in the sociology of language and the study of minority languages and communities, as well as an ethnographically oriented dimension attempting to connect LL to both semiotics and discourse studies. While proponents of an empirical approach highlight the need to study sociolinguistic phenomena with the help of real-life data on language use

in the form of written text in public spaces, ethnographically oriented approaches consider the contextual dimension as equally important, highlighting language as a social construct and the need to study LLs from an ethnographic perspective. The attempt to reformulate methodologies and carve out theoretical foundations of LL found its expression in Jaworski and Thurlow's edited volume *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space*, highlighting the wish for a more refined ethnographically oriented perspective in the field. Departing from the initial notion that linguistic landscaping ought to provide insights into the vitality of languages, they argue for:

> […] more qualitative, ethnographically oriented studies of language in place, […] where the degree of prominence of a language in a particular site is not necessarily the most accurate indicator of the ethnolinguistic vitality of its speakers.
>
> (2010: 10–11)

This fundamentally questioned the initial notion of empirically-oriented research relating prominence and visibility to prestige and ethnolinguistic vitality. Building on Scollon and Scollon (2003) and their notion of *Discourses in Place* as well as on previous work in semiotics (Halliday 1978; Harvey 1996; Lefebvre 1991) and visual design (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996), Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) argue that urban LLs are not an amalgamation of signs and as such do not represent "an inscribed surface displayed in a public space to convey a message" (Backhaus 2007: 4), but point towards an indexical meaning of signs, calling for a perspective that shifts the focus away from a clear-cut distinction between linguistic representation and discursive context. While Jaworski and Thurlow's own work was largely criticized from within semiotics for lacking theoretical depth and substance (Gottdiener 2012), highlighting a common point of critique of LL-research, the volume nevertheless made an important contribution to the field of LL itself especially with regard to a more nuanced methodology and a move away from distributive approaches. Thus, based on Jaworski and Thurlow (2010), research in LLs shall follow the assumption that all signs can be viewed as ideological acts and as such are metadiscursive, concluding that the general distinction between top-down and bottom-up signage (Backhaus 2007; Gorter 2006; Shohamy & Waksman 2009) as well as the dichotomy between signs with informational and with symbolic value (Landry & Bourhis 1997) as postulated in earlier work cannot be upheld. Connecting to this, Coupland (2010) presents a multimodal analysis of Welsh LLs in the light of an increasing dominance and incursion of English both written and spoken, extending the scope towards other forms of linguistic representation in the public sphere that significantly extend LLs to include – among other objects – policy documents, websites, place names, and T-shirts. Discussing language choices by both public and private actors, Coupland argues that all LLs are generated from above, and in themselves "[…] conditioned by language-ideological forces and strategies that find value in

putting linguistic text into the visible environment for some particular purpose" (2010: 97), suggesting new ways of linguistic landscaping and at the same time aiming to broaden the inventory of research in LLs considerably.

The call for a change from distributive to interpretative approaches to study signs in public spaces also reverberates in Coupland and Garrett's (2010) work on the heritage of the Welsh language in Patagonia that traces how a Welsh heritage is constructed, re-imagined, and reinvented in LLs (Coupland & Garrett 2010: 32), focusing on ethnographic fieldwork as well as on a decidedly historical perspective. Highlighting both the construction of cultural difference and linguistic assimilation, they identify two analytical frames that contextualize local LLs, the colonial history frame as well as the reflexive cultural Welshness frame, pointing towards positive forms of cultural value ascribed to Welsh that emerged in recent years, most notable within the Welsh heritage frame (ibid.: 32). This is most visible within the heritage-tourism industry where Welsh became a commodity and is slowly being revitalized as a "heritagized variety" that underscores a cultural Welshness (ibid.: 32). In departing from a description of LLs and the measurement of language vitality through a distributive approach that would most likely have resulted in rather different interpretations on the status and functions of Welsh in Patagonia, Coupland and Garrett postulate a new direction in LL-research while at the same time substantially criticizing previous approaches to study multilingualism in the public sphere via linguistic landscaping:

> Arguably then, research into linguistic landscaping needs to be more sensitive to historical processes and contexts, as well as to textual nuances, and to move beyond descriptivist and distributional approaches.   (2010: 12)

In the following years, scholars have addressed this topic from various perspectives and the field moved from its formative stages to become a veritable tool for sociolinguistic inquiry, moving beyond research on ethnolinguistic vitality or language variation. As a consequence, this has resulted in a multitude of different topics, objects of inquiry, analytical frames, as well as conceptual discussions in the field that at times makes it difficult to demarcate linguistic landscaping as it branched out into various disciplines in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and beyond. However, although linguistic landscaping moved into various directions, the field remained committed to study various aspects of multilingualism in the public sphere, ranging from distributive to ethnographic approaches, from research vested in such diverse fields such as second language acquisition, critical discourse studies or variationalist linguistics to multimodal approaches that aim to explain changing patterns of language use with refined perspectives on political economies, social and political histories, societal power relations, migratory movements, tourism flows, urban geographies, or the commodity value of languages and identities.

3.   Opening up perspectives: Linguistic landscaping today

The debates that characterized LL-research in its formative years can be attributed to an impressive increase in studies of urban LLs. Scholarly interest in LL diversified with regard to analytical frameworks and -tools, with linguistic landscaping becoming an increasingly important tool of sociolinguistic inquiry, moving further towards multimodality. By now, the focus on minority languages and the effects of language policy and -planning measures in the form of visual hierarchies in the public sphere gave way to an ever growing number of topics addressing sociolinguistic questions. Currently, a number of different strands in linguistic landscaping exist, among them (1) *language policy and planning*, (2) *LLs and social change*, (3) *LLs and English*, as well as (4) *LLs in educational spaces*. Related to linguistic landscaping, research is devoted to the study of visual communication (Machin 2013) that also incorporates discussions on visual multilingualism. Furthermore, sub-branches evolved that rely on LL-research in their conceptual approaches, projecting human bodies into LLs as "skinscapes" (Peck & Stroud 2015) and unpacking the notion to sculpt future selves through tattoos or sexualized images, "linguistic soundscaping" that draws from audible data in largely urban areas of language contact (Backhaus 2015; Scarvaglieri et al. 2013), as well as – most recently – establishing relations between "linguascapes" and "smellscapes" (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), all adding to the existing spatial repertoires in linguistic landscaping with varying theoretical depth.

However, taking a step back to the central themes in current LL-research, (1) *language policy and planning* can be still regarded as one of the most far-ranging fields within LLs, incorporating research on the impact of language ideologies, oftentimes highlighting processes of language shift and change in particular geographical areas. On the one hand, research in this field investigates the vitality of language minorities especially within European contexts (Gorter et al. 2012), utilizing both distributive and ethnographic approaches to study the relation of language and power. Exemplarily this incorporates research on the status and commercial value of Gaelic on the British Isles (Kallen 2010; Moriarty 2014; Sebba 2010; Thistlethwaite & Sebba 2015), Breton and Corsican as well as Occitan in France (Blackwood 2014), regional languages in Spain (Aiestaran et al. 2010; Gorter et al. 2012; Lado 2011) and Austria (Rasinger 2014), the relationship between Flemish and French in Belgium (Janssens 2013), as well as numerous ventures into LL-peripheries such as the representation of Sami in the Arctic region (Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Salo 2012), identity constructions through language in postcolonial Timor-Leste (Taylor-Leech 2012), or the consequences of language ideologies in the post-Soviet sphere from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives (Muth 2014b; Pavlenko 2010, 2012). On the other hand, scholars utilize linguistic landscaping to

study the construction of cultural identities within communities, highlighting the forces, circumstances, and language ideologies that shape LLs (Muth 2014a), the symbolic value of languages within communities (Curtin 2015), LLs in highly contested, politicized and ideologized spaces (Shohamy & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012), as well as uncovering processes of linguistic and social marginalization within LLs (Lou 2010). Thus, linguistic landscaping in relation to language policy and planning lays emphasis not only on the distribution of languages on signs, but aims to incorporate LLs into their metacultural context and role in the (symbolic) construction of space (Coupland 2010), at times even highlighting the consequences of language policy measures as well as language shift and change within communities from a diachronic perspective (Pavlenko & Mullen 2015).

This is closely related to (2), *research addressing LLs in times of social change*, that incorporates methodologies and multimodal approaches, but at the same time is less concerned with particular language communities or groups of speakers. Scholars in the field stress the importance of a diachronic perspective and the need for an analysis of LLs over time to be able to critically understand and discuss current multilingualism and provide it with a historical perspective (Pavlenko & Mullen 2015). So far, this has proven to be a challenging endeavor. Research addressing the changing characteristics of LLs has done so under the assumption that LLs are expressions of linguistic superdiversity (Blommaert 2013), accounting for an ever increasing linguistic diversity in urban centers of the Western world, while at the same time reverting back from a far-ranging ethnographic perspective towards a more narrowly focused ethnography of signs. Here, this means to engage with signs as chronicles that document complex histories of multilingualism within a community, in Blommaert's (2013) case Berchem, a neighborhood of the Belgian city of Antwerp.

Yet studies can also depart from the notion of an ever increasing multilingualism in urban centers of the West and instead focus on the symbolic construction of place. Papen (2012) addresses this in her paper on the LLs in the Berlin neighborhood of Prenzlauer Berg, a traditionally working-class area in the former eastern part of the city that in recent years saw an influx of middle- and upper-middle class residents mainly from Western Germany. In her paper that combines anthropological fieldwork with the documentation of commercial discourses on shop fronts and in advertising *vis-à-vis* subcultural graffiti, Papen sees LLs as a place of societal contest between civil society, private enterprises, and public authority. Drawing from a similar conceptual repository, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) investigate social, economic, and physical mobility in the multilingual landscapes of Khayelitsha, a township in the Western Cape Province not far from Cape Town itself. By highlighting the ways in which the notion of public space changed since the end of apartheid as part of "a massive social transformation" (ibid.: 363) of the country, Stroud and Mpendukana argue for:

> […] the insertion of the notion of linguistic landscape into a more discursive and principled material ethnography of multilingualism, where landscape would be a resource for the study of social circulations of meaning in society, and where signage is one form of linguistic recontextualization in a chain/network of resemiotizations across (economically differentiated) technologies, artifacts and spaces. We have thus taken an approach to linguistic landscapes as sedimented products of a socially and economically determined articulation of (community) multilingual resources.
>
> (2009: 380)

Here, LLs become semioticized spaces that are re-appropriated, re-contextualized, and reimagined in the light of social change, democratization as well as economic liberalization. In that respect, multilingual Khayelitsha serves as an example of the relationship between language use on signs and the perceived value of languages, ascribing different contexts and physical locations to different languages (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009: 381–382). While the 'local' language isiXhosa primarily refers to "township contexts" and is rarely used in its standard form, English as a locally "robust resource" appeals to the largely mobile and aspiring population of the township and is found in a wide range of varieties and forms (ibid.).

On a broader scale and without an ethnographic perspective, globalization and the commercialization of world cities such as London, Hong Kong, or Taipei have contributed to yet another way to describe transforming LLs. Jaworski (2015) highlights this in his mainly quantitative research on *Globalese* as "a new visual linguistic register" (ibid.: 217), embarking to explain globalization with the inventory of linguistic landscaping, highlighting the interconnectedness between innovative use of typology and orthography (diacritics, dots, punctuation marks) within the global city. This *commodified metalanguage* "blur[s] the connection between language codes and ethno-national identities and imageries […]" (Jaworski 2015: 220), pointing towards new ways to study LLs that are not necessarily conceptualized around languages, but instead based on typology and creative language use. Yet social change can also find its expression in more explicit ways, for instance in protest movements that in recent times have been in the focus of linguistic landscaping as well. Hanauer (2015) as well as Seals (2015) document the highly transient LLs of the *Occupy* movements, pointing out the relevance of public literacy as a form of political and social participation, while Shiri (2015) investigates the co-construction of political dissent in multilingual Arabic, French, and English protest banners and signs during the 2010–2011 Tunisian revolution.

Especially the latter research relates to the third strand of current research into linguistic landscaping, (3) *LLs and English*. Linguistic landscaping has always addressed the prominence of languages other than national standards in the public sphere and already in the early 1970s, Rosenbaum et al. (1977) investigated the use of English on a shopping street in downtown Tel Aviv, while Spolsky and Cooper

(1991) documented foreign language use on signs in multilingual Jerusalem. Since these modest beginnings, research into foreign language use within LLs vastly expanded, most of the time focusing on English as the global *lingua franca*. Frequently, scholars intend to show specific functional domains of languages of wider communication and foreign languages, highlighting the use of English largely in the form of shop signs (Schlick 2002) in a variety of places from Macedonia (Dimova 2007) to Mallorca (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau 2009), from Phnom Penh (Kasanga 2012) to Tokyo (Backhaus 2007; MacGregor 2003), from Cape Town to Delhi (McCormick & Agnihotri 2009). Research in foreign languages in LLs is mostly informed by a distributive, empirically oriented approach that relies on numerical counts and that is largely descriptive, linking the prominence of English (and other foreign languages) to specific functional domains, oftentimes in conjunction with discussions of errors, code-mixing, borrowing, language variation in a broad sense, as well as the linguistic categorization of brand names. A case in point of this strand of linguistic landscaping is the research on patterns of use of English in South Korea, in which Lawrence (2012) frames English within models of English as a world language (Crystal 1997; Kachru 1985) and within sociolinguistic theories of language and social stratification (Labov 1966). Lawrence (2012: 75) departs to present a concise view on differing forms of English in the LLs, English, *Konglish* (a contact variety of Korean and English), Korean and Chinese with the help of a spatial approach that frames LLs along the lines of different geographical areas. Broadly this includes a number of socially stratified neighborhoods in the country's capital Seoul, four other South Korean municipalities, an amusement park, a beach, as well as public transportation in the form of metro stations, taxis, and bridges. Furthermore, the author distinguishes between LLs that are visible from the outside along main streets and within pedestrian areas, those visible inside shops and restaurants and those that are located further afield in small alleys not regularly frequented by tourists. Lawrence (2012: 86–88) concludes that the prominence of English frequently means a decrease in the use of Korean on signs, while at the same time it also means an increase of signs that depict *Konglish* alongside English (86–88). In addition to that, the more peripheral an area of research is located within a cityscape, the less likely it is to observe signs in languages other than Korean, a finding that corresponds to LL-research within similar settings and with comparable conceptual frameworks (Backhaus 2007; Huebner 2006). While social stratification of neighborhoods and within the various research sites as a whole does not seem to play a significant role that can be pin-pointed towards an increased or decreased use of English, the associations individuals and entrepreneurs have with regard to the global *lingua franca* do. Here they are viewed as expressions of "modernity, luxury and youth" (Lawrence 2012: 88).

While the study of foreign languages in LL-research is inextricably linked to patterns of use of English, the field of linguistic landscapes as such evolved into a methodological tool to study visible multilingualism in a variety of public places and spaces. Apart from research attempting to theorize linguistic landscaping, expand its methodological inventory and link it to sociolinguistics, social semiotics as well as social theory in a broader sense, in recent years the benefits of linguistic landscaping as a methodological tool have also been addressed in applied linguistics and the educational sciences. In fact, (4) *LLs in educational spaces* has the potential to evolve into a veritable tool to study multilingual classrooms and to increase students' awareness of both societal multilingualism as a whole and linguistically diverse classrooms in particular. As in some ways these aspects both directly and indirectly relate to applied research on foreign language education in multilingual classrooms that is the focus of this volume, I will highlight the evolution and paradigmatic approaches of this particular field of LL-research in the subsequent chapter.

4. Linguistic landscapes, education and the multilingual classroom

Proponents of linguistic landscaping have so far stressed the importance to open up spaces of learning towards linguistic landscaping as it can be regarded as a "[…] powerful tool for education", raising student's awareness for multiple layers of meanings that are visible in the public sphere (Shohamy & Waksman 2009: 362–363). Furthermore, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) argue that LLs are a valuable additional source of input in language learning while others (Rowland 2012; Sayer 2010) stress the importance of student involvement that applied research in LLs may result in. Corresponding to more recent research in multilingual LLs mainly in urban centers of the Western world, new incentives to study both within educational spaces and outside the oftentimes multilingual classroom emerged, highlighting the ways linguistic landscaping may develop in future academic debates.

As such, we may take a step back when discussing LLs in relation to the multilingual classroom, with linguistic landscaping again becoming a methodological tool for the study of text in public spaces and a way to examine forms and characteristics of multilingualism in urban landscapes. In that respect, for language learners LLs provide perspectives on visible forms of societal multilingualism (or the absence of it) as well as help to increase awareness of both linguistically diverse classrooms as well as societal multilingualism as a whole. Thus, based on recent research findings (Brown 2012; Cenoz & Gorter 2008; Chern & Dooley 2014; Dagenais et al. 2009; Malinowski 2015; Sayer 2010), I will argue that apart from raising awareness for multilingualism as a visible practice, LLs can contribute significantly to develop

literacy skills, improve pragmatic competence, increase the possibility of incidental language learning, help in the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, and enhance sensitivity to connotational aspects of language, key points that were highlighted most prominently by Rowland (2012) in his work on the pedagogical benefits of an EFL classroom project in Japan that incorporated linguistic landscaping as a student activity. While addressing all of these aspects in (foreign) language learning, linguistic landscaping opens up the potential to transform students into sociolinguists and ethnographers, critically reflecting on multilingual practices both within schools and beyond (Roberts et al. 2001). Already the seminal work on LLs by Landry and Bourhis (1997) was indeed dedicated to student's perceptions on displays of languages in public spaces and as such can be considered an early contribution to linguistic landscaping in educational spaces. Despite this early prominence, so far only a very limited number of studies that link LLs to educational spaces have been published, let alone ones that explicitly focus on second language acquisition in multilingual classrooms. To date, "[…] the majority of publications on language learning in the linguistic landscape tend to present it as an open field in which just about anything can be done and learned" (Malinowski 2015: 97), pointing towards a multitude of themes but little interconnectedness, something that in itself can prove to be rather problematic. Within these different conceptions, linguistic landscaping can draw from quantitative as well as ethnographically informed qualitative research with one paradigmatic approach not necessarily excluding the other. For a comprehensive overview I will outline a number of studies in the following in order to highlight both the diversity and limitations in investigations on the pedagogical benefits of linguistic landscaping. These include pedagogical LLs applied in two different contexts, with children as social actors, as well as in the EFL classroom.

4.1   Pedagogical LLs applied: Children as social actors

Investigating how children interact with LLs as text within multilingual environments is a central theme in pedagogical LLs, most prominently discussed by Dagenais et al. (2009) in their longitudinal LL project among elementary school children in the Canadian cities Montreal and Vancouver as well as by Brown (2012) in her ethnographic research on the revitalization of the indigenous minority language *Võro* in South-Eastern Estonia. As such their perspectives on pedagogy and LLs serve two main goals, on the one hand seeking to understand how children see and respond to local LLs and how they construct their own representations of language displayed in public spaces as well as how children value languages that are historically rooted within their communities and now "come out of hiding" (Brown 2012: 281); on the other hand the goal lies in documenting how children

read and understand multimodal texts in largely multilingual LLs (Dagenais et al. 2009: 253–254). As Dagenais et al. (2009) argue with regard to their particular research sites, both perspectives fundamentally connect to the relationship between identity and language learning (Norton 2013). Furthermore, they provide insights into the construction of multilingual identities among language learners and multilinguals within local (Montreal, Vancouver), national (Canada), as well as international contexts.

The actual study was conducted over a time frame of three years from 2005–2008, intended as what Dagenais et al. (2009) describe as 'language awareness activities'. Within the first year of the project, researchers in the project conducted fieldwork to gather insights into the LLs within close proximity of the participating schools, while in the second and third years students were asked to engage with local LLs themselves and share their impressions and interpretations with participants from the other school. While this highlights a number of different possibilities to conduct language awareness activities, exemplarily, here we may focus on an activity conducted among pupils in Vancouver. Students were given cameras and maps and assigned a specific trajectory to navigate through the schools' neighborhood, taking pictures of signs along their way and later, ascribing different categories to them. Following Dagenais et al. (2009: 265), the main goal of this activity is to shift the students' focus from the material world of taking photographs of signs towards a perspective that considers the symbolic meanings these signs communicate. Apart from that, students may reflect on both the geographical and historical contexts that shape LLs, while at the same time uncovering and critically engaging with the complex relationship between authors and readers of signs. Among others, in Vancouver these aspects became particularly salient with regard to the local indigenous communities (Dagenais et al. 2009: 265). While being marginalized and discriminated against on a societal level both economically and linguistically, indigenous languages reemerge as parts of murals that nevertheless do not represent linguistic diversity of the indigenous population of the Canadian Pacific Coast. While an unusual context in itself, within multilingual cityscapes, language learners in multilingual classrooms may take an equally critical stance on the societal marginalization of immigrant groups in relation to national standards, English, or both.

4.2   Pedagogical LLs applied: The EFL classroom

Currently a great deal of project work in pedagogical LLs is devoted to EFL-classrooms and the analysis of the social meanings of English, in fact exceeding by far work that does not have a particular connection to second language teaching or EFL in particular. However, it is viewed in contrast to local languages outside educational

spaces and contexts, primarily relating to the forms and functions of English as a *lingua franca* (Backhaus 2007; Dimova 2007; Kasanga 2012; Lawrence 2012).

This also applies to Sayer's (2010) research on LLs as a pedagogical resource that can be regarded as one of the early works in the field. Drawing from largely descriptive studies in LLs (Ben Rafael et al. 2006), research highlighting the interconnectedness between language ecology and linguistic landscaping (Hult 2009), as well as work on global English (Pennycook 2007; Phillipson 1992), Sayer departs on a small-scale project among Mexican EFL-students to "[…] establish a framework that distinguishes between intercultural and intracultural uses, as well as iconic and innovative uses of English on signs" (Sayer 2010: 143). In doing so, the author aims to provide a template that will enable learners of English within non-English speaking environments to both investigate and discuss social language, connecting "[…] the language classroom to the streets of the learners' community" (ibid.). Furthermore, the project is intended to cast students as 'language detectives', discovering what in relation to Seidlhofer (2006: 42), Sayer (2010: 146) calls the "polymorphous nature and sociolinguistic diversity of English worldwide". The setting of the project is the Southern Mexican city Oaxaca that is located in an area predominantly inhabited by an indigenous population; within this context, English is required in the tourism industry and is a mandatory subject in secondary school, yet outside of these domains few have a more than basic knowledge of the language (Sayer 2010: 143).

The project draws from a dataset of 250 photographs of signs in Oaxaca that are part of Goodman's (1986) notion of environmental print, ranging from shop signs, street names, and advertisement to T-shirts and backpacks that either contain English as part of a bi- or multilingual text, or that display English alone (Sayer 2010: 144). Based on this corpus and with the help of a qualitative content analysis (Silverman 2006), it is the student's task to identify the social and cultural meanings of English, distinguishing between 'iconic' and 'innovative' use of English. Here, 'iconic' refers to the reproduction of English in corporate logos and slogans, while 'innovative' is understood as the utilization of novel forms of English often used on bilingual signs by either individuals or small-scale businesses (Sayer 2010: 4–5). Based on the latter 'innovative' displays of English, six distinct social meanings of English in Oaxaca are identified (ibid.: 148–151), (1) *English is advanced and sophisticated*, (2) *English is fashion*, (3) *English is being cool*, (4) *English is sex(y)*, (5) *English for expressions of love*, as well as (6) *English for expressing subversive identities*. While the first four social meanings refer to commonly-held perceptions of English as a foreign language in a variety of contexts, ranging from technology, fashion, food, and the sex industry to sports, (5) and (6) refer to the expression of individual identities through English. In that respect, especially these two meanings of English have the potential for learners to critically reflect on the use of the

language as part of local resistance movements articulated through graffiti or as part of T-shirt print, highlighting English as a transnational cultural product in Pennycook's (2007) understanding (Sayer 2010: 152–153).

The pedagogical benefits of this project can be subsumed under a number of different key points students *cum* researchers can discuss both during data sampling and analysis, guided by the general question why people use English within their community in the first place. Departing from this, pupils can elaborate on the different contexts they encounter English in the public sphere. Furthermore, the dataset can be used to explore varying language forms, ranging from the use of idiomatic expressions, vocabulary (such as new loan words), as well as grammatical features that include standard as well as non-standard language (Sayer 2010: 153–154). In that respect Sayer argues that this project-template follows two main – albeit basic – goals, on the one hand to make connections between the classroom and the real world by exploring authentic texts, on the other hand it allows students to think analytically and creatively about their own sociolinguistic environment (Sayer 2010: 154), ideally turning them from learners to researchers and ethnographers (Roberts et al. 2001).

Developing the idea of pedagogical LLs and the EFL-classroom further, Rowland (2012) proposes a more refined perspective on the pedagogical benefits of linguistic landscaping. Based on previous yet scarce research in pedagogical LLs (Cenoz & Gorter 2008; Sayer 2010) and within the framework of their own LL project among Japanese second-year university students who were all English majors enrolled in an English writing class, Rowland identifies a number of potential pedagogical benefits of LL-research from a classroom perspective. These incorporate the development of students' literacy skills, the improvement of students' pragmatic competence, increasing the possibility of incidental language learning, facilitating the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, the stimulation of students' multicompetence, as well as raising students' sensitivity to connotational aspects of language (Rowland 2012: 496–497). Putting these assumptions to the test, Rowland asked his students to collect as many photographs of signs that include English as possible within one week and address the question how and why English is used on signs in Japan (ibid.: 497). Initially, the categorization of the students' LL data proved to be a challenging task, prompting the author to design a set of questions intended to help in the contextualization of the students' findings, relating to the type of sign, its location, the author(s) of the sign, its intended audience, as well as the motivation to display English. Furthermore, students were asked to discuss why English is used instead of or in addition to Japanese (Rowland 2012: 497–498). Based on the students' interpretation of their own data and based on reports each group had to write, Rowland revisits the original assumptions on the pedagogical benefits of linguistic landscaping, concluding that:

> The LL represents an important resource for teachers in this regard, especially within EFL contexts. This is because the LL is an ideologically loaded space shaped by both local and global forces and displaying a full range of communicative modalities. It exists as an authentic, dynamic, public mega-text. It serves real world purposes; it is constantly changing; and it is accessible to all. [T]he LL is interpretable from a holistic perspective, as an indicator of broad social policies and values, and from an atomistic standpoint, as a repository of individual choices and representations of society at a micro-level. Thus, teachers have a wide scope in designing LL projects to suit their various pedagogical goals, students and contexts.
> (2012: 503)

Highlighting a distinctively sociolinguistic perspective on pedagogical LLs, in particular this excerpt connects to a number of benefits Rowland observed during the project. At first, critical literacy skills may develop further by evoking a questioning stance in language learners especially with regard to discussing the reasons of the presence of English in Japanese LLs and the absence of other foreign languages, as well as by appreciating language diversity and multilingualism as a whole (Rowland 2012: 498–499). This connects to the improvement of literary skills, bringing together communicative intentions of language users with linguistic form and (societal) context that communication takes place in. Furthermore, incidental language learning was observed as well, largely through the recognition of mistakes on signs that proved to be a central point in students' reports on the local LLs in Japan (Rowland 2012: 499–500). This relates to other more recent research that explicitly focuses on the aspect of language learning through multilingual and multimodal texts in the LL (Chern & Dooley 2014). Based on a 'literary walk' through Taipei, they intended to "encourage students to capitalize on the English that is an increasingly abundant source of input in linguistic landscapes in globalized cities around the world" (Chern & Dooley 2014: 122).

However, with regard to the acquisition of multimodal literacy skills, findings not only relate to linguistic features but rather to the layout and typography of signs. In Rowland's (2012) research, students noted that certain languages are positioned more prominently than others, connecting to Scollon and Scollon (2003) and arguing that meaning-making on signs also derives from its placement in the material world (Rowland 2012: 500–501). In relation to the stimulation of students' multicompetence, the picture is rather more complex and connects to Cook's (1992) argument that multilingual speakers are not merely two monolinguals, but speakers with "a unique understanding of both their L1 and L2" (Rowland 2012: 501). In this particular project, students highlighted the oftentimes different contents of texts on bilingual Japanese and English signs, concluding that English resonates differently than Japanese among local speakers, appealing to different facets of their multicompetence; in particular, students noted that "[…] English is fresher and has

more impact than Japanese, so they [i.e. English signs, *emphasis in the original*] work effectively to warn Japanese people" (Rowland 2012: 501). Closely connected to this is the last aspect, the enhancement of students' sensitivity to connotational aspects of language. Similar to Sayer's (2010) research in Oaxaca, English has specific functions and evokes particular connotations with students pointing out a number of social meanings they would ascribe to the world's *lingua franca*. First and foremost, this includes the notion of English as a 'modern' language that, as opposed to Japanese for instance, signals 'newness', 'allure' and 'progress' as opposed to notions of tradition and age (Rowland 2012: 502). While Rowland (2012: 502) convincingly argues that especially with relation to the learning of English this aspect provides "an incredibly rich resource" for teachers, it is also a compelling argument to critically revisit multilingual LLs outside of EFL-contexts.

5.   Outlook

Following these insights on applied research in LLs among language learners and a perspective on the benefits of linguistic landscaping within educational settings, it remains a central concern to establish a conceptual link that relates recent theoretical and methodological advancements in the field to applied research in pedagogical LLs, as well as to broaden its scope, expand research sites and turn towards a more ethnographic, qualitatively focused understanding of linguistic landscapes in relation to classrooms and language learning in particular. In the previous chapters both the evolution of linguistic landscaping as a field of sociolinguistic inquiry as well as the various directions in research LL has taken since its beginnings have been outlined. Current developments in the field give reason to assume that linguistic landscaping cannot solely be associated with either the study of language vitality of minority languages within communities based on quantitative analyses or the forms, functions and patterns of use of foreign languages – most notably English – depicted on signs anymore. Also it remains to be seen whether or not new conceptualizations that include 'superdiversity' or 'globalese' (Blommaert 2013; Jaworski 2015) can be applied to linguistic landscaping outside multilingual urban centers of the Western world. Instead, linguistic landscaping as a methodological tool becomes increasingly associated with multimodal approaches to study language in society, with sociolinguistic work that takes on an increasingly ethnographic and critical perspective, highlighting the changing forms of multilingualism and its representation in the public sphere by considering a wider social, political and economic dimension.

   In that respect, previous studies of pedagogical LLs have been able to highlight the potential benefits of linguistic landscaping in order to provide students with an

awareness of multilingual practices within classrooms, schools and beyond. Then again, there is still a need to engage thoroughly with more critical approaches towards multilingualism in public spaces, aiming for longitudinal research (Pavlenko & Mullen 2015; Stroud & Mpendukana 2009), questioning multilingual practices in relation to both societal power relations and issues of economic and political representation of speakers within multilingual communities and within multilingual classrooms in particular. For language learners in multilingual classrooms this implies that linguistic landscaping can move beyond "walking down the street" (Chern & Dooley 2014) to learn English and understand its forms and functions within public spaces and focus on the languages and their speakers who constitute the classroom and who themselves embody urban multilingualism (Dagenais et al. 2009). For them, linguistic landscaping in its different conceptualizations and approaches can be a valuable tool to understand multilingualism within schools and communities, raising awareness of the presence of different languages, cultures and identities, in order to understand how they intersect and to what extent these are represented in public spaces. In turn, this also connects to the values both schools, communities and society as a whole ascribe to them.

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Identity and investment in multilingual classrooms

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This chapter examines the trajectory of Bonny Norton's research on identity and language learning, highlighting her construct of investment, developed as a sociological complement to the psychological construct of motivation (Norton 2013). An important focus of the chapter is the expanded 2015 model of identity and investment (Darvin & Norton 2015), which responds to the changing communicative landscape of an increasingly digital world, and locates investment at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology. Norton exemplifies her theories with data drawn from her collaborative research on language learning in Uganda and Iran. She concludes that the challenge for language teachers internationally is to promote learner investment in the language and literacy practices of classrooms by increasing the range of identities available to language learners.

Keywords: capital, education, identity, investment, multilingualism

1. Introduction

In the 1990s, when I developed my early theories of identity and investment, large-scale migrations were transforming the economic and cultural landscapes of many urban centers in well-resourced countries (Norton Peirce 1995). As people of different language backgrounds crossed borders to fill the labour needs of these countries, their urban centers became more multilingual and multicultural. Learning English in countries like the United Kingdom, USA, and Canada, for example, was critical in enabling migrants to integrate into their new communities and find meaningful employment. Given this situation, theories would need to address how language learning expanded both symbolic and material resources for speakers, and how language learners were able to access and participate in contexts usually dominated by native speakers.

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However, theories of identity at the time did not adequately explain the experience of such migrants, and consequently did not do justice to the findings of my research, which was conducted in Canadian classrooms and communities (Norton 2013). In the 1980s, applied linguistics scholars interested in second language identity tended to draw distinctions between social identity and cultural identity. While "social identity" was seen to reference the relationship between the individual language learner and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts (e.g., Gumperz 1982), "cultural identity" referenced the relationship between an individual and members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (e.g., Valdes 1986). While issues of social identity did not adequately address issues of power, theories of cultural identity tended to essentialize and reify identities (Atkinson 1999).

Therefore, a fresh approach was required, incorporating postcolonial and poststructuralist ideas. In my work, and that of many other language scholars, a broad range of theorists has been influential in shaping more recent research on second language identity, most notable of whom are Bakhtin (1984), Bourdieu (1984), Weedon (1987) and Lave and Wenger (1991). In Section 2, I provide further insight into these theorists, as they help to explain my own theories of identity, investment, and language learning, as discussed in Section 3. For a comprehensive account of the wide range of contemporary research on language and identity, see Preece (2016).

2.   Theoretical influences on contemporary identity research

The following theorists, while working within diverse disciplinary frameworks, are centrally concerned with both institutional and community practices that impact on learning. Such scholars are interested in the relationship between social structures and human agency, and between language practices and social power. Of primary interest to these theorists is the question whether identity can be understood as both originator and product of social interaction and institutional structures.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) takes the position that language needs to be investigated not as a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers or their speaking, but rather as situated utterances in which speakers, in dialogue with others, struggle to create meanings. For Bakhtin, the notion of the individual speaker is a fiction as he sees all speakers constructing their utterances jointly on the basis of their interaction with listeners both in historical and contemporary, actual and assumed communities. In this view, the appropriation of the words of others is a complex and conflictual process in which words are not neutral but express particular predispositions and value systems.

Pierre Bourdieu (1984) focuses on the often unequal relationships between interlocutors and the importance of power in structuring speech. He suggests that the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks and that the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships. In this view, when a person speaks, the speaker wishes not only to be understood, but also to be believed, obeyed, and respected. However, the speaker's ability to command the attention of the listener is unequally distributed because of the symbolic power relations between them. To redress the inequities between what Bourdieu calls "legitimate" and "illegitimate" speakers, he argues that an expanded definition of competence should include the "right to speech" or "the power to impose reception" (1977: 648).

The work of Christine Weedon, like that of Bakhtin and Bourdieu, is centrally concerned with the conditions under which people speak, within both institutional and community contexts. Like other poststructuralist theorists who inform her work, Weedon foregrounds the central role of language in her analysis of the relationship between the individual and the social, arguing that language not only defines institutional practices, but serves to construct our sense of ourselves and our "subjectivity" (Weedon 1987: 21). Weedon notes that the terms "subject" and "subjectivity" signify a different conception of the individual than that associated with humanist conceptions of the individual dominant in Western philosophy. While humanist conceptions of the individual presuppose that every person has an essential, unique, fixed, and coherent "core", poststructuralism depicts the individual (i.e., the subject) as diverse, contradictory, dynamic, and changing over historical time and social space.

A shift from seeing learners as individual language producers to seeing them as members of social and historically constituted communities is of much interest to anthropologists Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that what they call "situated learning" is an integral and inseparable part of social practice, as newcomers are mentored into the performance of community practices. Their notion, "legitimate peripheral participation", represents their view that communities are composed of participants who differentially engage with the practices of their community and that conditions vary with regard to features of the social context they act in, such as the ease of access to expertise, opportunities for practice, or consequences for error in practice. From this perspective, then, educational research might focus not so much on assessing individual "uptake" of particular knowledge or skills, but on the social structures in particular communities and on the variety of positionings available for learners to occupy in those communities.

Rather than seeing language learning as a gradual individual process of internalizing a neutral set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language, the work of Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Weedon, and Lave and Wenger offers applied linguists

ways to think differently about language learning. Such theory suggests that second language learners need to struggle to appropriate the voices of others; they need to learn to command the attention of their listeners; they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice; and they need to understand the practices of the communities with which they interact. Drawing on such theory, becoming a "good" language learner or teacher is seen to be a much more complicated process than earlier research had suggested (De Costa & Norton 2017).

To illustrate this point, I turn to a vignette drawn from recent research in an African context to exemplify the constructs of identity, investment, and imagined communities that I have developed in my own work over the past two decades. These ideas have been examined with much insight by Claire Kramsch (2013), and have generated a range of special issues in China (Arkoudis & Davison 2008), Europe (Bemporad 2016) and North America (De Costa & Norton 2017; Kanno & Norton 2003; Norton 1997).

I will turn thereafter to a discussion of an expanded model of investment that I have developed with Ron Darvin, which responds to changes in the communicative landscape in an increasingly digital era, and locates investment at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology (Darvin & Norton 2015). I draw on the model to enrich my analysis of collaborative research I have undertaken with a range of language learners in Uganda and Iran. Before concluding, I discuss the implications of these ideas for classroom practice, highlighting the possibilities of digital storytelling for expanding the range of identities available to language learners, and promoting learner investment in the language practices of classrooms.

3.   Identity, investment, and imagined communities: A vignette

I recently received an email from a former Ugandan graduate student, Doris Abiria, who had spent a year with her husband and two young boys at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, in 2010/2011. After returning to Uganda, Abiria wrote as follows:

> The boys are getting better. In school the teachers complain they have gone with a style they are calling Western. The teachers say the boys have an accent that they do not hear while the boys say the teachers speak English up side down [...] Paul talks to the teacher in class any time he wishes when children are expected first to listen to the teacher and talk when the teacher asks them. Now we keep checking on them frequently in school and supporting them more at home. We hope that by next year they will be okay.   (Early & Norton 2012: 195)

The experience of Paul and his brother is not atypical in our mobile world, in which global travel and international exchanges are increasingly common. However, as people move across regional and national borders, the language and literacy practices that are valued in one place are not necessarily valued in another place (Blommaert 2010). For example, an accent that is comprehensible in Canada may be less comprehensible in Uganda, and there are important differences between Canadian English and Ugandan English. At the same time, it is not only linguistic features that distinguish Paul's English from that of his peers; it is also the language practices of the classroom – who speaks, when, and how – that distinguish Paul's English from that of his peer group. While Paul was identified as a successful student in Canada, if he is to be accorded the identity of a successful student in Uganda, he needs to adjust to the variety of English considered legitimate in his Ugandan school, and he needs to adopt the language practices expected of young learners in this context.

Drawing on the work of Weedon (1987), I have argued in my research that identity is multiple, a site of struggle, and changing across time and space. It is clear from Abiria's email that Paul had a number of identities, including that of Ugandan student and Canadian student, and that these identities represented a site of struggle for him as he transitioned from one country to the other and from a Canadian to a Ugandan institution. The definition of identity I have developed is relevant to the challenges Paul faces in his Ugandan classroom: "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton 2013: 4). In navigating a new relationship to the Ugandan world, Paul is confronted with teachers' and parents' attempts to make him redefine his identity from that of "Western" student to that of "African" student. This relationship is being structured by the practices of his Ugandan classroom and community, which are being scaffolded by both teachers and parents. Paul needs to understand that his possibilities for the future are dependent, at least to some extent, on the ways in which he understands and accommodates to the practices valued in his Ugandan classroom.

I have argued that in order to claim more powerful identities from which to speak, language learners can challenge unequal power relations by reframing their relationship to others. This reframing depends, to some extent, on what I have called the learner's *investment* in the language practices of a given classroom or community. It is partly to explain a situation like Paul's that I have developed the sociological construct of "investment" as a complement to the psychological construct of "motivation". In my early research with immigrant women in Canada (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2013), I observed that existing theories of motivation in the

field of second language acquisition (SLA) were not consistent with the findings from my research. Most theories at the time assumed motivation was a character trait of the individual language learner and that learners who failed to learn the target language were not sufficiently committed to the learning process. Such theories did not do justice to the identities and experiences of the language learners in my research. For this reason, I made the case that the construct of "investment" might help to complement constructs of motivation in the field of SLA.

My construct of investment, informed by Bourdieu's (1991) theories of capital, language, and symbolic power, signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. I have noted, "if learners 'invest' in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money) which will increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (Norton 2013:6). Unlike constructs of motivation, which frequently conceive of the language learner as having a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical "personality", the construct of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction. According to Bourdieu (1991), what language and what speaker is considered "legitimate" must be understood with respect to a given "field" or social context that is often characterized by unequal struggles for meaning, access, and power.

Paul was a highly motivated student, but he was not, initially at least, invested in the language practices of his Ugandan classroom. For example, he did not wish to seek permission to contribute to class discussion, nor did he want to have to listen to the teacher before he could speak. His parents realized, however, that if Paul was to expand his possibilities for the future, he would need to invest in the language practices of the classroom, or he would run the risk of being considered a disruptive and unmotivated learner. Clearly, it may also have been possible for the teacher to adjust classroom practices in response to Paul's investments. I have argued that in addition to asking, "Is the learner motivated to learn?", a teacher could ask, "What is the learner's investment in the language practices of my classroom?". In Paul's classroom, however, as in many classrooms internationally, there was little room for the negotiation of power. Without supportive parents, Paul may have become disengaged from classroom practices, or more troubling, dropped out of school entirely.

Of central interest here is Paul's imagined identity and imagined community – or perhaps more accurately, the community Paul's parents hoped he would join in the future. In Norton (2001), I drew on my research with two adult immigrant language learners in Canada to argue that while the learners were initially actively engaged in classroom practices, the realm of their desired community extended beyond the four walls of the classroom. This imagined community was not accessible

to their respective teachers, who, unwittingly, alienated the two language learners, who then dropped out of the language class. While Benedict Anderson (1983) talks of the imagined community with respect to the nation, I am interested in a wider range of communities that might be desirable to the language learner – whether a sporting community, a network of professionals, a choir, or a group of comic book readers (Kanno & Norton 2003). An imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and helps to explain a learner's investment in the target language. Paul's parents hoped he would be part of an imagined community of successful Ugandans in the future, and sought to help him navigate the language practices of his new classroom in order to achieve a desirable identity in both the present time and his imagined future.

My research on identity and language learning, and that of an increasing number of scholars internationally (see Norton & Toohey 2011 and Norton & De Costa 2018, for reviews) is best understood in the context of a shift in the field from a predominantly psycholinguistic approach to SLA to include a greater focus on sociological and anthropological dimensions of language learning (Block 2007; Douglas Fir Group 2016). Such research is interested not only in linguistic input and output in SLA, but in the relationship between the language learner and the larger social world. It has examined the diverse social, historical, and cultural contexts in which language learning takes place and how learners negotiate and sometimes resist the diverse positions those contexts offer them. What is assumed in this research is that "language" is not only a linguistic system of words, sentences, and sounds, but also a social practice that engages the identities of learners in diverse and often contradictory ways. In this view, important questions are not only, "Can the language learner speak?" but also, "Who has the right to speak?" and "Can the language learner command the attention of listeners?".

4.   An expanded model of investment

As technological innovations continue to transform the 21st century, the question of whose voice is heard is becoming increasingly complex, with important implications for theories of language and identity (Darvin 2016). The spaces of socialization and information exchange continue to multiply, in both face-to-face and virtual worlds, locally and globally. As learners move across transnational borders, they are able to learn and use languages in exciting new ways. How they negotiate these spaces has become increasingly relevant to language education research, even as the power operating in these spaces becomes less visible. It has therefore become necessary to examine how investment in this shifting communication landscape

positions learners. In this new communicative order, how do language learners claim the right to speak?

To help address these questions, I have worked with Ron Darvin to develop an expanded model of investment that responds to the demands of a more mobile and digital world, in which language learners move in and out of online and offline contexts (Darvin & Norton 2015). This model (see Figure 1) recognizes how the skills, knowledge, and resources learners possess are valued differently in these multiple spaces. As learners are able to interact with others from diverse parts of the world who share specific interests, language learners are exposed to a range of belief systems and worldviews. To draw attention to how these ideologies operate on micro and macro levels, this model examines both communicative events and communicative practices. Institutional processes and patterns of control shape what become regular practices, but it is in specific instances or events that learners are able to question, challenge, and reposition themselves to claim the right to speak. Our model thus locates investment at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology, in order to provide a window on the ways in which structures of power work, while finding opportunities for language learners to exercise agency (Huang & Benson 2013; Miller 2014).
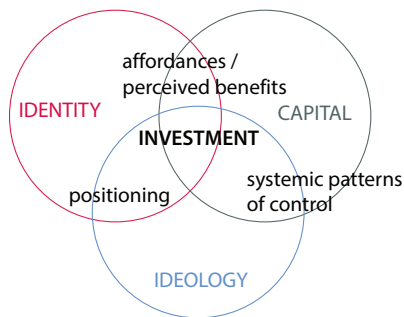
Figure 1. Darvin and Norton's 2015 Model of Investment

In our model, Darvin and I refer to *ideologies* as "dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion" (Darvin & Norton 2015: 44). Neoliberal ideology, for instance, upholds the supremacy of market forces and the pursuit of profit (Duchêne & Heller 2012). Ideological assumptions guide the choices people make until these assumptions become "common sense", and repeated actions become "practice". Hence, ideology is constructed and maintained through the imposition of power, through hegemonic consent, and the repetition of practices. In the same way, language

ideologies that privilege English, for instance, are reproduced through language policies constructed by governments, the acquiescence to such policies, and the use of English in different discourses with limited forms of resistance.

As learners navigate across online and offline spaces, ideologies collude and compete, shaping learner identities and positioning them in different ways, which complements the view of identity as multiple, changing, interactive, and a site of struggle. Further, the model recognizes that the value of a learner's economic, cultural, or social capital shifts as it travels across time and space. Its value is subject to but not completely constrained by the ideologies of different groups or fields. As Bourdieu (1991) notes, it is when different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate that they become symbolic capital. It follows that the extent to which teachers are able to recognize the value of the linguistic or cultural capital learners bring to the classroom – their prior knowledge, home literacies, and mother tongues – will impact the extent to which learners will invest in the language and literacy practices of their classrooms. This leads me then to a wider discussion of language learners internationally, and their diverse investments in language learning.

5. Language learners across global sites

Drawing on my recent collaborative research on identity and language learning in Uganda and Iran, I will illustrate the ways in which the 2015 model of investment can help to inform debates on language learning internationally. Of central interest in the model is the interplay of identity, capital, and ideology, and the conditions under which language learners invest in language and literacy practices of their classrooms. The model extends the question from my earlier theory, "To what extent are learners invested in the language and literacy practices of their classrooms and communities?" to include the following questions:

1. What are learners' *imagined identities*? How do these impact their investment in different language and literacy practices?
2. What do learners perceive as *benefits* of investment, and how can the *capital* they possess serve as *affordances for learning*?
3. What *systemic patterns of control* (policies, codes, institutions) make it difficult for learners to invest and acquire certain capital? How have prevailing *ideologies* structured learners' investments?

5.1   Adolescent English language learners in Uganda

Turning now to my long trajectory of research in the African country of Uganda, one particularly interesting research participant was Henrietta, an 18 year-old female student who participated in a study on the use of digital resources for HIV/AIDS education and enhanced English language learning (Norton et al. 2011). Henrietta lived in a rural Ugandan village that had limited electricity and no running water, with a per capita income of less than $1 a day. In the study, we brought Henrietta and her peers to an Internet café in a neighbouring town to research HIV/AIDS. By working on this task, Henrietta and other students were able to develop the skills of navigating the web to find the information they needed, while at the same time improving their English skills. During data collection, Henrietta noted that her "main interest in learning more about computers is to know how they use Internet, to communicate to people in the outside countries". She stated her belief that knowledge gained through the Internet would enhance self-knowledge, as she would learn more about herself "through sharing view with Canadian people". Her fervent desire to "join the group of knowledgeable people in the world" indexes a powerful *imagined identity* that helped structure her investment in the language and literacy practices of the digital literacy course.

Ron Darvin and I have noted, however, that Henrietta's opportunities to develop her literacy and to continually engage in transnational conversations in English may be highly restricted (Darvin & Norton 2015). Not only is Henrietta's own economic capital limited, but the technological infrastructure of her local community is poorly resourced. In this case, both her own social location and the economic position of rural Uganda constrain access to the technology necessary for Henrietta to master literacies relevant to the knowledge economy. It is for situations such as these that our model of investment incorporates what we have called *systemic patterns of control*. While Henrietta may be driven by a strong desire to learn more about computers and to connect more regularly with other people, her social location makes it very difficult for her to enter these new spaces of socialization. Even though her desire to engage in transnational conversations can be seen as a way to increase her social capital, the perceived benefit may not be sustainable.

Because discourses of globalization construct Henrietta's own conceptions of what is valuable or not, she positions herself as inadequate, as one who is not sufficiently "knowledgeable". Such data is illustrative of the relationship between *identity* and *ideologies* that privilege the global over the local, and in which the global North is seen as more knowledgeable than the global South. As Henrietta seeks to gain access to *affordances* of learning like devices and books, *systemic patterns of control* will also hinder this access. These include the limited allocation of technology budgets to local schools, and connectivity challenges in rural Uganda.

Ideologies that privilege urban vs. rural, middle vs. lower class, or male vs. female will also further limit opportunities for Henrietta to achieve her imagined identity.

In terms of linguistic capital, although she speaks English, a common language of the Internet, Henrietta's access to valued forms of English is also restricted. Interestingly, what she finds particularly appealing about the Internet is that it gives her the opportunity to "understand more about English language". As she notes, "I got communication. I have learnt the English language because the English in Internet has been very create and it has arranged properly". How others will position her as a teenage girl from rural Uganda will shape the dynamics of their interaction, and the value of her linguistic capital may be uneven, as exemplified by Blommaert's data from his young Tanzanian friend, Victoria (Blommaert 2003).

5.2 Adolescent and adult English language learners in Iran

In a very different part of the world, Mehri Haghighi and I recently conducted research on the appeal of English Language Institutes (ELIs) for Iranian adolescents and adults (Haghighi & Norton 2017), which provides further insight into identity and language learning internationally. ELIs in Iran are fee paying institutions of varying sizes, which seek to provide a more communicative language curriculum than that available in Iranian schools. School-aged language learners attend English classes at ELIs after school hours, usually from 6–8 p.m., and enjoy the flexibility of the ELI curricula. Our 2012 pilot study focussed on interviews with administrators at five ELIs in Shiraz, Iran, most of whom would agree with the following comment from one of the administrators from our data: "The students directly, after finishing school, come here and they are so tired, but they come with interest because they like it! Because the system is totally different from the public schools. Here, we have more flexible techniques and ways of teaching" (Haghighi & Norton 2017: 431).

We also found that the number of female students at ELIs is far greater than that of male students, suggesting that female students are particularly invested in the opportunities that ELIs provide. This finding is also consistent with research around the globe that suggests the learning of English may be associated with the desire for greater gender equity (Kobayashi 2002). In the context of Iran, young women have limited mobility, and going to cinemas, restaurants or coffee shops with friends is generally not an option approved by parents. For such families, English classes are a particularly desirable form of outdoor recreation and a place where young women can experience a different world.

We also learnt that Iranian students have diverse investments in learning English, including being able to find information from different sources on the Internet; continuing education abroad; getting scholarships; finding better jobs;

traveling to foreign countries; or living abroad. Their participation in English classes at ELIs is not mandatory, but they are eager to learn English and "they come with interest", as noted above. As for the adult language learners, we also found a range of investments in language learning. In one of the interviews, one administrator explained: "People like to learn English because it's an international language and it means a password for them to gain status. If they want to be somebody, to go abroad, to have new opportunities, they have got to learn the English language" (Haghighi & Norton 2017: 432). Such comments provide further evidence of the relationship between investment, identity, and capital, and support the argument that the imagined identity of a learner, whether a child, youth, adolescent, or adult, is particularly salient to investment in language learning.

6.   Identity, investment, and multilingual classroom practice

As presented above, the model of investment invites reflection on three sets of questions with regard to language learning in multilingual classrooms. The first question is as follows: *What are language learners' imagined identities, and how do these impact their investment in the language and literacy practices of their classrooms?* We learn from these studies that in contexts like Uganda and Iran students are invested in English as a lingua franca that connects them to a wider world. The imagined identity of English language learners, younger and older, is that of a global multilingual citizenry, scaffolded by English, in which people are knowledgeable about other nations, and seek collaboration across borders. The arguments presented suggest that English does not belong to native speakers of the language, but to all those who use it, whether native or non-native speaker.

Second is the question: *What are the benefits of investment, and how does the capital learners possess serve as affordances for learning?* For all the learners in the studies discussed, the benefit of learning an additional language was that it enhanced the learners' social, cultural, and economic capital, providing for a more promising future. It was not always the case, however, that the capital students already possessed served as affordances for learning. For example, it was rare to find examples in the data that provided support for the mother tongues of the language learners in the two research studies. The linguistic capital of the learners remained largely invisible, whether learners were in Uganda or Iran.

This is related to the third question: *How do systemic patterns of control and prevailing ideologies impact a learner's investment in language learning?* While most learners took the ideological position that the learning of English was highly beneficial, it is of concern that learners raised few questions about the impact of the global spread of English (Pennycook 2007), and made little reference to the

advantages of multilingualism (May 2014). For example, if English is considered the preeminent language of science and technology, what implications does this have for the construction and distribution of knowledge on a global scale? Clearly there are important implications for the identities of students worldwide, many of whom, like Henrietta, might devalue the knowledge they have if it is not validated by Anglophone networks. What is not adequately addressed in the data are the invisible mechanisms of power exercised by such systemic patterns of control as immigration policies, university admissions programs, and language testing agencies. The challenge for language teachers is to harness the capital that students already have, and use it as resources for learning. Further, teachers need to help learners identify and navigate systemic patterns of control and make visible ideological practices that limit and constrain human possibility. This challenge leads me to the implications of identity and investment research for classroom pedagogy.

There are many exciting ways in which language teachers can help learners expand the range of identities available to language learners and encourage learner investment in the language and literacy practices of their classrooms (Cummins & Early 2011; Norton & Toohey 2004). By way of illustration, Darvin and I have been exploring the possibilities offered by digital storytelling, which serves as a pedagogical extension of our model of investment (Darvin & Norton 2014). Digital stories are brief personal narratives told through images, sounds and words, and which use new media technology. They incorporate students' past and present lives in the learning process, and their hopes for the future. Children, youth, and adults can identify and reflect on pivotal moments that have shaped their life trajectories and reframe them through the creative and collaborative use of multiple media and modes. Because of connectivity and the transportability of the digital, student stories can be shared not only with local communities but also with transnational audiences (Hafner 2014; Toohey et al. 2012).

There are a number of resources online that discuss the elements of digital storytelling and its learning applications. Founded by Joe Lambert, one of the pioneers of digital storytelling, the *Center for Digital Storytelling*[1] provides examples of migrant stories and features the *Digital Storytelling Cookbook*, which discusses story elements and approaches to scripting and digitizing story elements. There is also an innovative project at University of California, Berkeley, called *Digital Underground Storytelling for Youth*,[2] or DUSTY, an after-school program where volunteers from the community help students of diverse backgrounds to create

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1. <http://storycenter.org>

2. <http://www.oaklanddusty.org>

multimedia presentations (Hull & Katz 2006). A Canadian initiative called *Scribjab*[3] is a website and iPad application for young learners to read and create digital stories using multiple languages, and was developed by Kelleen Toohey and Diane Dagenais at Simon Fraser University. The *African Storybook*[4] is another exciting project with much potential for transforming classrooms and schools in Africa. Developed by the South African organization, Saide, it is providing open-access digital stories, in African languages, English, French, and Portuguese for young learners in sub-Saharan Africa (Norton & Welch 2015). Together with Espen Stranger-Johannessen and Liam Doherty at the University of British Columbia, I am leading two related projects called Storybooks Canada and Global Storybooks, which is translating freely available digital stories from the African Storybook into multiple languages worldwide, in both text and audio format.[5]

7.   Conclusion

The trajectory of my collaborative research suggests that language learner investment is important for language learners internationally. Further, it is productive to investigate investment with respect to the constructs of identity, capital, and ideology, as this may help make visible the ways in which power relations enable or constrain language learning. The range of research discussed supports the view that investment is enhanced when the pedagogical practices of the teacher increase the range of identities available to language learners, whether face-to-face, digital, or online. To affirm learners' complex identities, classroom practices need to draw from and legitimize learners' cultural capital – their prior languages, knowledge and experience – while seeking to better understand and affirm learners' imagined identities. I have suggested that digital storytelling is one particular method that might increase learner investment in the language practices of classrooms. Through the act of constructing a story using different multimodal elements and languages, learners are given an opportunity to exercise their agency and claim their right to speak and be heard. Such findings also have important implications for language teacher identity (De Costa & Norton 2017). Drawing on research discussed in this chapter, language teacher education programs are encouraged to provide teachers with greater opportunities to explore language as both a linguistic system and a social practice. Such programs should encourage teachers to harness the social, cultural, and linguistic

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3.   <http://www.scribjab.com>

4.   <http://www.africanstorybook.org/>

5.   <http://www.storybookscanada.ca/>, <http://globalstorybooks.net/>

capital that language learners already possess, and to better understand their hopes for the future in our increasingly mobile and multilingual world.

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Empirical perspectives

Multilingualism in the foreign language classroom

The acquisition of English as an L3 from a sociocultural point of view

The perspective of multilingual learners

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The German reality of linguistic diversity and multilingualism as an outcome of internationalization, migration and globalization is finally being acknowledged by the integration, promotion and implementation of multilingualism in German educational institutions. There is however little empirical evidence on the situation of young, multilingual foreign language learners – findings of large scale and several case studies remain inconclusive to allow for a definitive modelling of third language acquisition. This chapter aims at offering insights into two current exploratory case studies of multilingual learners in primary schools and lower secondary level of education in Germany in order to examine the acquisition of English as a tertiary language from a sociocultural point of view. Following a qualitative approach these projects try to illuminate processes of third language acquisition from the learners' perspective by conducting reconstructive and narrative methods to capture language learning experiences and processes and their interplay with identity construction. In these two exploratory case studies open and age-appropriate interviews were conducted combined with non-verbal procedures. The data was analysed with the use of the documentary method. The here presented cases, which show a maximum contrast with regard to their orientation towards their foreign language classroom, suggest that there is a strong connection between FL acquisition and identity formation and that its quality is determined by the students' linguistic and cultural identity, their theory of language acquisition, their attitude towards English and other languages and their perception of FL classroom practice.

Keywords: documentary method, identity, multilingualism, student perspective

1. Introduction

Following postcolonial decades of ever-increasing migration, Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion that linguistic and cultural difference is moving from periphery to center has evolved from prophecy to truism. While applicable to any European country, this is particularly true for Germany. Internationalization and globalization, combined with increasing migration, have led to linguistic diversity and multilingualism becoming regional and individual norms. This heterogeneity is now regularly found in German schools. The integration, promotion and implementation of multilingualism in German educational institutions are thus simply an overdue acknowledgement of the current reality.

Closer scrutiny reveals that the German educational system is far from realizing this goal, and that there is even serious structural discrimination (cf. Stürzer 2014: 42). In 2012, 7.7% of all youths owned a foreign passport, but this group comprised 18.5% of students in *Hauptschule*, the lowest level of secondary education (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012; BMBF 2014). Among foreign citizens, up to 13.2% did not possess even a basic level school diploma (*Hauptschulabschluss*) in 2013 (Autorengruppen Bildungsberichterstattung 2014). While there is no direct link between nationality, ethnicity and linguistic and cultural diversity, the foreign language (FL) classroom nevertheless faces the question of how to address existing heterogeneity. This raises the question of how to best address the specific strengths and weaknesses that different kinds of multilingualism cause. This includes the issue of heritage languages in FL curricula (Krumm 1999: 46 in Hu 2003: 48) and the question of how languages and identity interrelate.

This chapter addresses these aspects by examining two issues: The first question asks how the FL acquisition of multilingual learners is related to identity formation, and what other influences are significant. This question is addressed empirically, using data from an ongoing research project. Based on the analysis of interviews with multilingual EFL learners, the learners' accounts of language acquisition and their perceptions of the interrelationship between competency and identity formation are examined. Using narrative data, this learner-oriented research seeks to reconstruct the learners' linguistic biographies and concomitant identity development in order to understand their "investment" (Norton 1997) in foreign languages. The second question addresses how the FL classroom could respond to multilingualism. Tentative conclusions that draw on the literature and our own research is proffered as a point of departure for further examination.

2. Multilingualism and language learning: English as a third language

Although the field of third language acquisition is comparatively young, the notion that third language acquisition and use is different than first or second language acquisition is widely accepted (Ahrenholz 2006; Dirim 2001; Gogolin & Roth 2007). For many learners, the first FL learnt at school, such as English, is not the second language, but rather the third or even fourth. This means that their acquisition of English is potentially very different from that of their monolingual peers. Although research on multilingualism is still emerging, scientific knowledge in this area is incomplete. Some theoretical models have been suggested (e.g. Aronin & Ó Laoire 2004; Hammarberg 2001; Herdina & Jessner 2002; Hufeisen 1998; Hufeisen & Marx 2007; Meißner 2004; Williams & Hammarberg 1998; etc.), but substantial empirical evidence is scarce, and practical concepts are still pending. For the German educational system, for example, the question whether (early) FL learning is an excessive demand or a special learning opportunity for multilingual learners is still debated (Elsner 2010). This is largely because there is little empirical evidence on the situation of young, multilingual, FL learners. Inconclusive findings that result from few large-scale and several case studies (for an overview Keßler & Paulick 2010) do not allow for definitive modelling of third language acquisition, let alone for educational concepts fostering it effectively in the FL classroom.

Two large-scale studies on multilingual learners of English in primary education, i.e. KESS 4 from Hamburg (Bos & Pietsch 2006; Börner 2009) and EVENING from North Rhine-Westphalia (Engel et al. 2009) compare the performance of students with German as their first language to those with German as a second language. The results reveal that, while multilingual learners do not exhibit homogenous performance in English, they do possess a heightened metalinguistic awareness. This is reflected in previous studies that connect multilingualism to enhanced metalinguistic competencies and (meta-)cognitive processes, which facilitate further language acquisition and learning (cf. Bialystok 2005; Cenoz 2009; Cenoz & Valencia 1994; Hufeisen 2000; Mißler 1999; Sanz 2000).

The DESI study on FL education at the secondary level assessed the language performance of older students in English and German at German schools (Hesse & Göbel 2009: 282). It yielded the following results: (1) Overall German scores among non-native speakers of German were significantly lower than among their monolingual German peers (Hesse & Göbel 2009: 286). (2) Multilingual students (German plus at least one other language, i.e. simultaneous multilinguals) perform poorer than monolingual German students in German. (3) Multilingual learners perform higher in English than their monolingual peers, if socio-economic factors are controlled, and (4) Classrooms with multilingual learners perform better than classrooms with only monolingual ones (ibid.). The study therefore concluded

that, in English, multilingual learning environments generally yield higher performances, corroborating earlier findings from Cummins (1993). It concluded that the German educational system typically fails to utilize the potential of multilingual learners, as it fails to provide support to those with unfavorable socioeconomic conditions (Hesse & Göbel 2009: 286).

2.1   The psycholinguistic perspective of multilingualism

From a psycholinguistic perspective, third language acquisition can be understood as a series of complex cognitive, metacognitive, and affective processes. The multilingual system consists of several interwoven language systems (LS1/LS2/LS3/LS4 etc.). The stability of these systems is linked to the individual's ability and willingness to maintain and use the language; these in turn are informed by perceived communicative needs. Past language learning experiences and metalinguistic awareness influence the ongoing language learning processes (Hufeisen 1998; Kemp 2001). A catalytic effect of the different system components involved was identified in research on third language acquisition of experienced learners learning typologically close languages (Cenoz 2003).

Thus multilingual proficiencies are defined as dynamic interactions between psycholinguistic systems (LS1/LS2/LS3/LS4, LSn) resulting in a "multilingual factor" (M-Factor/M-Effect). This M-factor refers to all effects that differ in quality from the monolingual system. It is a more highly developed metalinguistic awareness which multilingual learners possess that has emerged as a key variable to account for the specificity of third language competence and acquisition. This refers "to learners' ability to think of language and of perceiving language, including the ability to separate meanings and forms, discriminat[e among] language components, identify ambiguity and understand the use of grammatical forms and structures" (De Angelis 2007: 121). This means that multilingual individuals possess both specific explicit and implicit knowledge about language and its acquisition.

Herdina and Jessner (2002) attempt to illustrate this complexity with the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism, which captures the specific systematic nature of all individual factors. They assume that mainly affective factors and subjective attitudes, along with (meta-)cognitive skills, play a crucial role. Therefore, high variability and individuality must be taken into account. According to Jessner, the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism can predict the multilingual system development based on various factors involved (Herdina & Jessner 2002). Whereas this model effectively describes the dynamic interaction between the complex language systems, and the relevant (meta-)cognitive and emotional effects, it does not capture the effects of the different languages for the individual's identity construction.

Nor does it sufficiently consider the socio-cultural context – including the FL classroom – of the multilingual individual. Since existing research in FL- and L3-acquisition (cf. Norton 2013) and our own data show that these factors play a crucial role, we turn to concepts that account for these factors.

2.2   The sociocultural perspective: Multilingualism and identity

Whereas psycholinguistic approaches focus on the impact of multiple language systems on learners' metalinguistic knowledge, and quantitative studies locate socio-economic variables decisive to third language acquisition, there is increasing evidence that the learners' relations to themselves, their social surroundings and their languages, i.e. their identity, are important. Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu (2006) found evidence that an unfavorable perception of heritage or family languages and a one-sided focus on German as the official or majority language can put learners under pressure. This is also foregrounded by Hesse, Göbel and Hartig (2008: 210), who conclude from the DESI study that language learners' multilingual biographies require further research to account for their acquisition of English as an L3/L4.

This can be achieved through sociocultural approaches to language acquisition. "In this view, every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation" (Norton 1997: 410). Sociocultural research thus assumes that language competence acquisition is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but a complex interaction of languages, speakers, identities and social relations (e.g. Kramsch 2000, 2009; Krumm 2009: 235; Norton & McKinney 2011; Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000).

A crucial question of language acquisition is how, when, and under which circumstances a learner interacts with other target language users to obtain input and generate output. From a sociocultural standpoint, this degree of target language involvement is determined by the contribution this interaction makes to the learner's identity construction. The resulting relationship between learner and language(s) has been defined as the learner's "*investment* to signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton 1997: 411; italics original). This desire creates a "commitment to learning the L2, the level of commitment being tied to [the learners'] perceptions of their relationship to the social world" (Barkhuizen 2004: 565).

Multilingual learners can position themselves in different ways in this regard. On the one hand, they can assume an active role and dynamically shape their own identity. As language learning is always linked to the image of a certain language community and a resulting self-concept (Küster 2013: 146), learners construct so-called imagined communities. These can be understood as the learner's – however appropriate or distorted – constructions of the target language speakers' collective identity that s/he relates to. Our case studies illustrate the role the aforementioned imagined communities play in multilingual learners' investment in English as an L3. On the other hand, learners can assume a passive stance as the object of their identity formation. Here, the attributions of others (e.g. processes of othering) define the learner's identity and social position and "can serve to enable or constrain the range of identities that language learners can negotiate in their classrooms and communities" (Norton 1997: 412). The case studies show how multilingual learners' perception of the power relations in their English-as-an-L3-classrooms influence identity formation and language acquisition.

3. The role of foreign language education

This leads to the role of the FL classroom. FL education has undergone a significant shift from form-oriented language teaching to communication-and-learner-oriented language learning. If, in this paradigm, learners and their resources and needs are foregrounded, a linguistically and culturally plural setting seems natural and necessary (Hu 2008). The shift from a didactic emphasis of form-oriented language teaching to a functional view, which foregrounded teaching intercultural and communicative competences, also identifies multilingual learners as cultural and linguistic resources. Consequently, the FL classroom should benefit from the linguistic and cultural wealth of experience multilingual learners contribute. Often, however, the learners' multilingual backgrounds are ignored. Neglecting heritage and family languages seems problematic considering the close link between language and identity. There is no easy solution, however, to change this situation. As identity is constituted by narratives (e.g. Hallet 2013), narrative activities, such as reading multilingual picture books (e.g. Bündgens & Elsner in this volume) or writing activities (cf. Norton in this volume), might provide opportunities for holistic and reflective engagement among multilingual learners (cf. Blell 2013; Hallet 2013; Küster 2013).

Empirical evidence is still scarce, though, and the question remains how multilinguals experience FL classrooms as allowing or suppressing their involvement and contributing to their identity construction. From this point of departure, our study explores (1) how multilingual learners construct their identities as multilinguals,

(2) how they conceptualize their language acquisition, (3) how they perceive their identities and language acquisition to be interrelated, and (4) what sense they make of their FL-classroom experience. As far as the TEFL classroom is concerned, three levels are relevant. On the macro-level, i.e. the educational system, the question is whether single language FL-classrooms are still appropriate or whether multi-language-classrooms or other alternatives are needed. On the micro-level, i.e. the individual classroom, we need to find out what kind of teaching strategies (i.e. communicative vs. form-orientated teaching), activities (e.g. linguistic landscaping, literature) or principles (e.g. complex Task Based Language Learning vs. stepwise skills-training) are favorable or detrimental to creating multilingually inclusive FL-classrooms. There are possibly no universal answers to these questions, except that best practice depends on social context and therefore lies on the meso-level, i.e. the individual school and its surrounding community. On the meso-level, the question is how school development and teachers' professionalization can contribute to making FL-classrooms multilingually sensitive.

4. The project

In order to take into account sociocultural insights of language acquisition being a highly individual but socio-culturally embedded and identity-relevant process, we utilize a reconstructive methodology to illuminate processes of third language acquisition from the learners' perspective. This reconstructive and narrative approach can capture language learning experiences and processes and their interplay with identity construction (cf. Krumm 2013; Müller-Hartmann 2013; Schocker 2013; Würffel 2013). We believe that analyzing language biographies as empirical narratives can explain the crucial role that a learner's subjective experience plays in this interplay. As Krumm puts it:

> Statements about the significance of various languages for the learner's construction of identity require further exploration by studying their language biographies; that is, an analysis of the affected individuals, when trying to establish connections between social and institutional factors and individual language development.
>
> (Krumm 2013: 125, translated)

The results from such research could contribute to a deeper understanding of multiple language acquisition, shed light on identity construction in relation to multiple language acquisition, examine the link between language and identity, and provide insights into the significance learners attribute to the FL classroom. This project aims to investigate perspectives of multilingual learners in the lower secondary level of education (Sekundarstufe I) and in primary/elementary schools (Grundschule).

4.1   Research design

In order to investigate the perspectives of multilingual students, we use a reconstructive, qualitative approach. Through exploratory case studies, language learning biographies that provide access to implicit, "atheoretical", as well as explicit communicative knowledge can be reconstructed, because respondents narrate, describe, explain and evaluate their personal and linguistic experiences (Bonnet 2012: 291). Open, age-appropriate interviews (Fuhs 2012; Reinders 2012; Trautmann 2010), facilitate the empirical reconstruction of the affective and cognitive deep structures of the students' actions or practice. Additionally, non-verbal procedures, like the "Sprachenportrait" (Krumm 2001), were introduced to elicit extended statements on personal language acquisition experiences.

To analyse the verbal data, we use the Documentary Method (DM) (cf. Bohnsack, Pfaff & Weller 2010; Bonnet 2012), which is epistemologically based on the sociology of knowledge and assumes that humans act on the basis of their implicit knowledge, referred to as atheoretic knowledge. Individuals are not necessarily aware of this kind of knowledge, but it can be reconstructed through the interpretation of verbal or interactional data, yielding an individual's frame of orientation. This frame can be reconstructed from empirical data, often from narrative or episodic interviews, using a four-step process involving thematic sequencing, formulating interpretation, subsequent reflective interpretation identifying textual deep structures, and generating types through case-comparison. In this study, we apply a recent variation of the method to create relevant case dimensions and establish their relationship to one another (cf. Nohl 2013).

4.2   Case studies

In the following we present two cases with maximum contrast. The first case is nine-year-old Luisa. The transcript was subjected to minute analysis, which led to the first version of the current five-dimensional model. Further cases were analysed to add to and refine the model. We first present Luisa in considerable detail in order to demonstrate the method of analysis. After that, we discuss the case of thirteen-year-old Katarina and compare it to Luisa, partly taking a pseudo-longitudinal perspective. This allows us to suggest age related mutual influences between identity construction and third language acquisition. All interviews were held in German. Relevant passages from the transcripts were translated to English for this chapter.

4.2.1 *Case 1: Luisa*

The interview with nine-year-old Luisa took place at her bilingual primary school (German/Spanish). Luisa was born in Germany and grew up with two languages – her German father speaks German to her and her mother, who was born in Spain, speaks Spanish to her. Luisa lives in an academic household, and her school was classified as having advantaged social conditions.

4.2.1.1 *Language experience outside the classroom (German and Spanish)*

L: *Speaking <u>Spanish</u> and <u>German</u> is just like (1) <u>home</u> for me- when I'm speaking Spanish in Spain I feel elsewhere- well, as to the language I feel like home. But I also ha- have a bit of a <u>German</u> accent and that is why some do not understand me because I speak <u>incomprehensibly</u> //mhm//I don't know it, the order, but for <u>me</u> it's just like (2) <u>home</u> and then //mhm//but when it comes to <u>seeing</u> everything is totally <u>different</u>. There it's just like in <u>Spain</u>. But from spea=king I would understand everything. (…) In that case it's like German °for me°. (87–97)*

This sequence shows Luisa's strong orientation towards the subjective meaning of her languages and their identity-defining function. The personal mode, generated by Luisa's frequent use of the personal pronouns "I" and "me", creates a room of subjective experience. Within this frame, two horizons can be reconstructed, which turn out to be important in regard to Luisa's languages, Spanish and German: (1) her affective attitude and (2) her perceived linguistic competence. With respect to both aspects, Luisa attributes her languages the same emotional significance, expressed by the metaphor "home". This equivalence is indicative of Luisa's self-perception as a multilingual individual.

The classification of Spanish as part of her identity enters a state of crisis when Luisa talks to Spaniards who do not understand her – Luisa experiences a feeling of being "elsewhere". This experience disrupts her notion of possessing language competence and results in the negative assessment of her Spanish speech production. At the level of her implicit knowledge, Luisa conceptualizes her deficits as a transfer-effect of her multilingualism by ascribing her Spanish "a bit of a German accent".

Reflecting interpretation emphasizes Luisa's searching movements of this passage (switching from talking about emotions to competence and back), suggesting that these two perspectives on language influence each other. As Luisa has experienced that native speakers do not understand her Spanish (level of language competence), she becomes insecure in terms of her linguistic identity (affective level). The Spanish language, which she outlines as part of her identity ("home"), is part of a country in which Luisa feels "elsewhere" and where some people do not understand

her. Luisa's depiction "when it comes to seeing everything is totally different" can be read as evidence of her identity position becoming insecure, which leads to her demarcation of the geographical place Spain and the separation of the language and the whole of the Spanish culture. To secure her Spanish-speaking identity, Luisa refers to the competences she perceives positively; she understands Spanish as well as German, therefore both languages can give her a feeling of "home".

4.2.1.2   *Linguistic-cultural self-concept*

I: *Tell me, are you <u>happy</u> about mastering so: many languages?*

L: *Yes= but I would like to master <u>even</u> more la:nguages <u>like really many</u> like ve==ry very many. <u>Greek</u> Nnn-Italian <u>like</u> really fluently Fre===nch I would like //mhm// yes:: I would simply be able to speak @all languages of the world. That would be really grea=t@.*

I: *And <u>why</u> is this so important to you?*

L: *Because I can (1) also with my <u>friends</u> or because I then can have more <u>friends</u> and ask them when we will <u>meet</u> I can simply (1) communicate with everyone when I have problems in a different country, simply inquiring and not always hem and haw or somehow: (1) <u>Yes</u>.*

I: *This means, has there somehow <u>been</u> a situation in which you were <u>really</u> happy=, in which you recognized „Oh wow, it is <u>great</u> to °master° so many languages? "°Do you remember a concrete situation?°*

L: *(1) Yes= when I met <u>two::</u> friends, there I was <u>really</u> glad about mastering <u>Spanish</u>, because then we could arrange to meet (…) and this was all because I speak Spanish. (318–337)*

Formulating interpretation highlights that Luisa wishes to speak all languages in the world – her explicit statement documents her universal and outward orientation. Reflecting interpretation amplifies this reading: Luisa's accentuation ("like really many"), her repeated use of and emphasis on the adverb "very" ("ve==ry very many") as well as her laughter can be read as expressions of emotional relevance – speaking many languages is a desirable goal for Luisa.

Considering the implicit level of this sequence, it appears that Luisa's general interest in languages derives from her individual experience gained by using German, but especially Spanish. Her consistent use of the personal pronouns "I" and "we" frames her initially theoretical remark and indicates the personal relevance which Luisa attributes to the ability of speaking (different) languages: If Luisa leaves her daily (mostly German-speaking) routine and travels to a different country, she will need other languages to interact successfully. In this sphere, Luisa has gained positive as well as negative experience by using Spanish; she only implies the negative occurrences in this section by using the colloquial idiom "hem and haw".

Within this passage Luisa also reports a positive incident in great detail, which appears to have significant influence on her relation to the Spanish language. While speaking German routinely allows her unrestricted communication with other German speaking people, she experiences a language barrier when travelling to Spain (cf. relation to languages) and thus perceives the value of (the Spanish) language as the essential instrument of interpersonal communication. The unlimited exchange with others cannot be taken for granted, but within her narration, Luisa experiences her competence in the Spanish language as sufficient and understands it as a key to connecting to other people: every language opens up new relationships and thus experience. Her previous experience of finding Spanish friends shapes Luisa's self-perception in terms of her Spanish competence and allows her to experience the added value of her multilingualism.

4.2.1.3 Self-concept with respect to English

I: *Imagine you have an accident and you fall on your <u>head</u> and after that you only speak <u>one</u> language //mhm//but you are allowed to choose °<u>which</u> language it is°. Which one would you choose?*

L: *<u>English</u>.*

I: *Oh that is interesting. <u>Why?</u>*

L: *Because <u>English</u> is (1) the language which everyone speaks and if I am able to speak it I can communicate with everyone, the:n- because not everyone speaks <u>German</u>, that is a very <u>uncommon</u> language <u>and</u> when I am able to speak <u>English</u>- well, I would also like to speak <u>uncommon</u> languages, but if I master English (1) I can- if I have <u>problems</u>, communicate with someone and I can <u>travel more</u> because there I can speak English and then I can go to countries which I wanted to go to for a <u>long</u> time for example to <u>America</u> or something. (359–373)*

Luisa's answer is a clear statement. The immediacy and the accentuation of her one-word-answer create a notion of an unequivocal decision. The explanation that follows can be located on the level of communicative knowledge, on which Luisa deals with the English language by using general statements. She conceptualizes English as a lingua franca, a "language which everyone speaks" and positions herself as its user. By maintaining a constant reference to herself (use of the personal pronoun "I") and using the indicative conditional clause rather than the subjunctive II ("when I am able to speak English"), she indicates a highly probable scenario of her personal future. This suggests that the ability to speak English is an element or requirement for Luisa's future life and that for her it is indispensable and obvious that she will be able to speak English. Therefore, this interview passage highlights Luisa's positive and future-oriented perspective on the English language as a universal language, which will help her dissolve all barriers of language.

4.2.1.4   *Experience of the foreign language classroom*

I: *First of all I would like to ask you to take an imaginary trip (L: Okay), that you beam yourself into your classroom and that you think of a typical English lesson of which you are allowed to tell me about now.*

L: *Oh== bo==ri===ng. //mhm//*

I: *Why is this boring?*

L: *Just- just some things are boring (I: Okay, tell me about it) because we repea==t some things constantly. I kno==w this is just so that we learn it, bu==t repeating things constantly (1) is (1) just boring, as I sai:d.*

I: *Can you give me an example?*

L: *Yes== showing ways. We have done that so many times in a row, or sometimes even the same page and then I am thinking „Gosh! Mrs Niemayer, why do we have to do that again? We have done that by now."*

I: *And why do you think this is boring?*

L: *((breathing in deeply)) Because I want more things- well, I would like to see something new, because I a=lso think if you- books, that is- because sometimes I take a look at the book °secretly° when we are (1) supposed to learn (1), then I sometimes look at it secretly, turn o==ver a bit and when I- when I- when, when we constantly do the same page, the=n- because we do- there are a=lso ga==mes and when we are actually doing the games I think this is boring because the game- always doing the same then it's like writing the same wo==rd all the time. (669–693)*

Both paralinguistic features (elongation and stress) as well as individual words ("boring", "constantly") depict Luisa's English classroom as a monotonous place. By subsequently changing to a generalizing mode ("repeating things constantly (1) is (1) just boring") she opens up a subjunctive space of experience which involves other learners. Thus, Luisa positions herself as a part of a collective ("we") which is subjected to a tedious teaching method (learning by repeating). That Luisa has the considerable desire to change this situation is documented in her direct and emotional connoted speech with regard to her teacher: "Gosh! Mrs Niemayer, why do we have to do that again?" However, Luisa does not tell Mrs Niemayer in real life – her EFL classroom is not an environment in which Luisa expresses her thoughts and therefore does not have any influence on her teacher's lesson planning. Rather, Luisa accepts her role as part of the group on the surface, but subverts this by clandestinely creating a self-determined space, which allows her to meet her need for novel English input. So Luisa does something else, "when we are (1) supposed to learn (1)". On both semantic ("supposed to") and paralinguistic (breaks) level, this utterance suggests that Luisa perceives learning as an exterior obligation but not

as an expedient activity. In other words, Luisa has the impression that she does not acquire knowledge in her English lessons.

The passage indicates the discrepancy between Luisa's actual desire to acquire English and the lack of her English classes to enable this. Consequently, she develops a clandestine practice of generating her own language input to foster implicit learning while officially taking part in a classroom practice that stages the explicit 'learning' of English in which she does not believe. Therefore, it is rather a frame of orientation of implicit language acquisition than explicit learning that turns out to be Luisa's leading orientation with regard to her classroom activities.

4.2.1.5 *Central orientations with regard to third language acquisition*

I: *Imagine <u>both</u> people, <u>yourself</u> and my <u>grandmother</u>, but that is just an example, therefore people who already master a lot of languages and people who master only <u>one</u> language. Who of the two can learn English more efficient?*

L: *I believe the one with the several la==nguages. Because languages also have a special connection to each other- <u>well</u>: Spanish has a <u>con</u>- a <u>ve==ry</u> (1) <u>strong</u> <u>connection</u> to- to (1) <u>Italian</u> although a <u>weaker</u> but also a connection to <u>English</u>. And <u>Ge==rman</u> has a <u>tiny little</u> connection to English and as I master <u>both</u> languages, I already have a bit <u>bigger</u> connection to <u>English</u> and think English is easier for me concerning the pronunciation and stuff:: and that- I am gla==d about that. (878–888)*

Once again Luisa does not need time to consider her answer, which indicates that she has already thought about the outcome of multilingualism. Furthermore, her use of the adjective "special" suggests that the connection between languages is fascinating to Luisa and that she has an awareness of and great interest in language phenomena. She presents her line of argumentation, the "special connection" between languages, as an objective fact. The order (from 'very strong' to 'tiny little'), set by Luisa, gives an indication that the "connection" between the languages does not solely refer to linguistic factors, as the Germanic languages English and German are objectively closer than English and the Romance language Spanish. Thus, Luisa could believe the connection between Spanish and English is stronger than the one between German and English because she experiences both languages as foreign languages within a school context (formal Spanish lessons in her bilingual school). It can therefore be assumed, that the term "connection" is used by Luisa in terms of differing specifications. This is also indicated by the fact that Luisa awards herself a "connection" to the target language English – therefore she bases this junction on her characteristics as a multilingual individual.

4.2.1.6 *The acquisition of English as an L3 from Luisa's point of view – The interacting conditions of Luisa's multilingual biography*

The reconstruction of Luisa's language biography has shown that the development of her identity depends mainly on her experience gained through language use. On the basis of her daily routine of speaking predominantly German, Luisa has built up positive relations to her first languages German and Spanish, which are characterized by Luisa's self-determination in using them. Because of the continuous and unstructured contact, Luisa has been able to become acquainted with her languages almost effortlessly. The analysis has also pointed out that Luisa's linguistic orientation corresponds to her concept of cultural affiliation: while the German language itself and her competence in this language enable Luisa to feel at home in Germany, she has experienced foreignness on a cultural level, as well as a lack of her Spanish competence while staying in Spain. These experiences lead to Luisa's negotiation of the essential meaning of (her) languages and are therefore part of her process of identity construction. Within this process, Luisa attributes an ambivalent character to the Spanish language, which she accepts, because she is deeply rooted in German. Thus, it appears that while German is the basic language for Luisa, Spanish (as an additional language) allows her to build relevant relationships to Spanish-speaking people and thereby to experience the additive and expansive value of her multilingualism. This experience contributes to the positive self-perception as a multilingual individual which she presents during the interview. One may therefore conclude that the acquisition of languages is part of Luisa's process of identity formation. In the course of this, Luisa attributes a special relevance to the English language in its function as a lingua franca: For Luisa, English is the most important medium of her self-realisation as an internationally active person and therefore part of her future construction of identity. The global significance she ascribed to the English language influences Luisa's construction of meaning to a great extent.

It is far from surprising that Luisa perceives the institutional contact with English as an instructive, monotonous exposure to explicit learning content which does not fit her personal pace of learning. This negative experience can be summarized as explicit content presented to her in an unauthentic way. Against this backdrop, Luisa's delimitation of the concept 'learning' emerges: The acquisition of her first languages constitutes the implicit alternative to the formalized methods and repetitive practice, which Luisa experiences within the foreign language classroom. The English class, which addresses the students as an amorphous collective, offers rare opportunities for Luisa to meet her desire for extensive input. For this reason, the student constructs her own self-determined individuality in relation to her English acquisition: while the class is supposed to 'learn' transmissively, Luisa

deals with the English language on her own. On the surface, however, Luisa accepts her imposed part as a passive recipient of lesson content. It remains an open question to what extent this seeming acceptance of institutional routines (while tacitly undermining them) will become habitual, and whether she will give up her subversive practices, in doing so accepting the institutional conventions of school.

Luisa's individual actions document her two orientations in relation to the institutional acquisition of the English language: On the one hand, she is oriented towards her personality-related and universal self-perception, in the context of which speaking the English language is an essential component. Her clear understanding of this leads to her autonomous search for new input. On the other hand, she is oriented towards her role as a student who wants to distinguish herself through interaction with teachers. To ensure that this is the case, Luisa conceals her independent acquisition and presents herself as a 'learner' from the outside. Within this internally contradictive frame of orientation, Luisa's multilingual roots and resources are strong enough to withstand her negative perception of the didactic methods and even to utilise the classroom to gain metalinguistic experiences. While acquiring the English language, Luisa realizes that her multilingualism engenders features which facilitate language acquisition. This is documented by the "connection" to the target language English, which Luisa awards herself. That Luisa can benefit from her multiple language acquisition and the resultant competences, in order to be a successful student and language learner, in turn leads to a feeling of pleasure. Her positive attitude towards her multilingualism, which she brought and constantly brings to school from her everyday life, seems to compensate her negative experiences within the classroom.

4.2.2 *Case 2: Katarina*

Katarina is a 13-year-old-student from a public secondary school (Gymnasium). Katarina was born in Germany. Both her parents speak Russian as their first language and work in different fields of the educational sector. They live separately and share the custody of their daughter. Katarina mainly grew up with her mother with whom she spoke Russian in her early childhood. In order for Katarina to become more fluent in German, her mother decided to speak solely German with her daughter after Katarina turned seven. Although Katarina's father practices Russian with her once in a while, they mostly communicate in German with each other. For reasons of page limitation we will focus on three dimensions, namely Katarina's language experience outside the classroom, her English-speaking self-concept, and her experience of the foreign language classroom. These dimensions relate directly to aspects of third language acquisition and show an interesting contrast to the case of Luisa.

4.2.2.1 *Language experience outside the classroom (German and Russian)*

I: *But it is difficult for you. Okay. very good. (2) you said (.) German is (.) for you like (.) an upright posture or through German you get an upright posture; can you explain that? a bit?*

K: *Well it's just this way of expression; I notice = it with all the other languages that = I (.) well let's say (1) (somewhere) are two mother tongue speakers? and I talk to this I mean the example from yesterday. and in German I don't have that. in German I can participate in German I understand //mhm//that (.) and in German (1) I can contribute and let's say I don't feel stupid in German; // mhm//if I speak German, but speaking in other languages? (2) I feel like the tiny mouse? (.) that = uhm (1) somehow uhm can express nothing, and (1) I believe if someone is listening to me; (1) in Russian, in English; French then I still wouldn't really be able to express at all, (1) uhm people think well in that way maybe a little ditzy and that's how I perceive myself in the language because = I can't; well because I (.) can't come out of my shell in that language //mhm//put forward ideas. (130–154)*

In this sequence, Katarina's strong positive orientation towards her second language, German, in contrast to her conflicting orientation towards her first language, Russian, becomes evident and challenges her identity as a native speaker of Russian.

Within the frame of her subjective experience and self-perception, which is documented by the frequent use of the first personal pronoun 'I' in connection to verbs of perception and verbs of opinion (I notice, I feel, I believe), she generates two contrasting horizons: on the one hand, an anxiety and self-consciousness rooted in her self-perceived weak linguistic competence in other languages including Russian, and on the other hand, her self-confidence in German. Working on the non-verbal method of the *Sprachenportrait* she uses the metaphor of an "upright posture" when speaking German. With her elaboration on this metaphor, she generates a contrasting horizon by comparing this to her negative experience when speaking other languages. Furthermore, initially exemplifying her point on a general level with two random mother tongue speakers, she continues by recalling the experience with her mother and grandmother. Thereby she uses the specific situation with her Russian-speaking family as a prototype of any kind of encounter with native speakers of languages in which she does not feel fully proficient.

Although Russian is Katarina's first language, her self-perceived proficiency level in the language has decreased to an extent in which she does not consider herself part of the imagined community of native Russian speakers anymore, even though she considers Russian her actual mother tongue. In everyday interactions,

however, the Russian language loses its role of a mother tongue and is categorized as one of her foreign languages alongside English and French.

By describing her feelings when speaking German ("not stupid") and Russian ("like a tiny mouse") Katarina connects the attribute of shyness with the attribute of stupidity. In these situations she adopts an external perspective, documented by the phrases "one is listening" and "one thinks" and expresses her anxiety that the interlocutor could judge her as not having the mental capacity to express herself properly.

Katarina's neglect of her first language (due to infrequency of use and the function of German in her daily life) has evolved to an extent that makes her feel uncomfortable speaking it. Furthermore, because she is accustomed to being eloquent in German, she is also self-conscious about how she delivers her thoughts in other languages. The expression "to come out of my shell" shows that she perceives language as a tool to mediate her thoughts and personality. In Russian, English, and French however, she feels locked up and restricted. With a deficient linguistic proficiency, she is not able to contribute actively by putting "forward ideas", and to deliver an image which meets her own standards. The sequence demonstrates that, in contrast to Luisa, Katarina's self-perception as a multilingual is somewhat restricted due to her critical self-awareness of her linguistic shortcomings in her first language.

4.2.2.2 *Self-concept with respect to English*

K: *Okay. uhm (1) <u>English</u> also occurs in the <u>arms</u> and here, so it = is something °in betwee-° I don't <u>know</u>. (1) English and French were very <u>difficult</u> for me because they are <u>languages</u> which I (.) don't have a <u>special</u> connection to?*

I: *Okay?*

K: *Well I mean they're just taught to me at <u>school</u>? a::nd (1)*

I: *But English, is- is that also in the <u>heart</u>? or is it only in the shoulders;*

K: *<u>Yes</u> exactly.*

I: *Okay*

K: *Uhm well (.) <u>no</u>; it is not in the <u>heart</u>, but it belongs to the shoulder? //mhm//okay I'll just draw that inside here so that it is clearer, ° a::nd, so (1) I really notice the better my English gets? The more English I can speak with someone the <u>prouder</u> I feel and that helps, I mean I don't know, in this way (1) languages help me to have more self-confidence as well; the <u>way of expression</u>, how I can express myself. (2) a::nd uhm (.) it just occurs in the arms, because (2) in English I fin- (1) well (3) I actually just have it there*

I: *You do (.) a lot okay:: has it (.) are you very active in your arms with English; do you maybe <u>write</u> in English o::r is it a*

K: <u>No</u>, but I <u>like</u> the English <u>language</u>, therefore //mhm//and I've been <u>learning</u> it for a <u>long</u> time and (1) I believe that uh the English language will be very important for me later, because I mean the <u>whole</u> world is already starting; well many (1) speak English and during the <u>holidays</u> it's important and maybe also later for my <u>job</u> //mhm//that's why it also occurs in the arms. (89–113)

By elaborating on its localization in the *Sprachenportrait*, Katarina reveals a pragmatic and extrinsic orientation towards the English language. On a performative level, she begins with a general remark that English and French were difficult for her to learn and addresses her problematic experience in the acquisition of both languages. Doing that in the past tense, however, implies that she may have overcome these difficulties. Her comment that these languages are "just taught" to her at school, expressed in the passive voice, shows that her relation to English and French is first and foremost based on obligation. She portrays herself as a passive receiver of language instruction, which is mainly restricted to the classroom.

On the other hand, the localization in the shoulder symbolizes positive experiences in which she noticed a progress of her language competences. She illustrates it by creating a quantitative and qualitative chain of cause and effect: the better her English, the more she can speak with others, and the prouder she feels. Subsequently, she generalizes her experience with the English language, and concludes that languages in general help her to gain self-confidence. By adding "the way of expression" to her correlation, she indicates that her perception of successful language use is not only based on getting meaning across, but also on how she expresses herself, which again reveals the high standards she sets for herself.

Naming her reasons for the localization in the arms is accompanied by searching movements and on-and-off-utterances so that the interviewer hastily offers explanations for Katarina. She objects to these proposals and begins with an expression of sympathy for the English language ("I like the English language"). Her subsequent reference to the long period of time that she has spent learning English implicitly indicates a familiarization with learning English. For Katarina, the importance of the language lies in its global use, but is not triggered by a personal incentive. Her slight exaggeration that the "whole world is already starting" to speak English and her emphasis of the adjective "whole" implies that for her, learning English is an externally imposed obligation.

Katarina perceives English as an expedient for travelling and achieving good job prospects, which she symbolizes by localizing the language in the arms of the *Sprachenportrait*. She accepts the fact, and takes it for granted, that she has to learn English at school because of its global role. Her positive statements about English might therefore as well be considered an attempt to meet the assumed expectations of her interviewer. On the other hand, she outlines positive experiences of successful

language use, which are, however, referred to language use in general, and not to the use of English in particular. In contrast to Luisa, who ascribes the global role of English a high personal and emotional importance as medium of self-realization, Katarina, as a pragmatic person, recognizes its global role and therefore accepts it as a necessary component of institutional education.

4.2.2.3   *Experience of the foreign language classroom*

I: *Okay. uhm (1) would you also learn English if you didn't have to learn English (.) as far as the school is concerned,*

K: *(2) well generally speaking I would say yes? The only problem would be, well I mean (2) I believe I can't learn a foreign language without a really good teacher, so; (2) of course I would say now yes; I would learn Spanish, if we assume we had that in school, but to put that into practice is of course much more difficult.; (1) but I think generally speaking I can say yes.*

I: *Mhm and do you like to learn English?*

K: *Yes (1) we don't have such a good teacher at the moment, but (1) it is fun for me anyway, and I believe that means something. So I don't really like the language, only the class.*

I: *Okay and (1) yes you said that you preferred the previous class (.)? what exactly was different in that class.*

K: *Uhm it was more @structured@*

I: *Okay?*

K: *Yes so you actually had (2) uhm I @@ kind of like it to know roughly what the teacher will actually do in the following lessons, and the teacher had the old one really worked through the book, (2) structured everything possible then then (.) didn't do all exercises, but in a way more or less in chronological order, and my teacher now, I don't know if she always really prepares herself for class? (1) then in any case it's, well, I mean; (1) I don't like it. (949–970)*

The sequence documents Katarina's strong orientation towards learning in a classroom setting and highlights again her rather distanced and merely pragmatic orientation towards English itself. Reflected on the syntactic level by her frequent use of conditional clauses, her willingness to learn English, if it was not a facultative subject at school, appears somewhat limited. Furthermore, she again expands her proposition by speaking of foreign languages in general and connects them with the need of a qualified teacher.

The example with Spanish emphasizes Katarina's strong dependency on learning a foreign language in an institutional setting. At the same time, she depicts herself as an experienced and therefore demanding and critical learner. In the course of her school career she had the chance to witness and compare different teacher

personalities and teaching styles ("we don't have such a good teacher at the moment") and developed a clear opinion of good and bad teaching. Even though her current teacher does not meet her standards, she admits that she is still satisfied with the class. In this sequence, she also explicitly expresses her rather negative orientation towards the English language for the first time and contradicts her aforementioned statements.

Katarina's personal preferences as a learner lie in the possibility to anticipate and prepare the subject matter of the class in advance. Working according to the chronology of the textbook is, in Katarina's eyes, an indication of a well-structured lesson. A teacher who does not follow the sequence of tasks suggested by the textbook indicates an unprepared teacher. Her remarks show that she has adapted to institutional learning and to classroom practices to a great extent. Even though learning English seemed to have caused some difficulties in the beginning, she managed to overcome these difficulties by focusing mainly on what is being assessed and relevant for the context of the class. Preparing units of the textbook in advance is a strategy she developed in this context.

Katarina adapted to institutional learning and structured classroom practices. With a strong focus on assessment and classroom procedures, she learns English mainly for institutional rewards rather than for personal interest i.e. to enhance her communicative skills outside the classroom.

4.2.3   *Case comparison*

Looking at the overall sample of our project, we have reason to believe that the cases Luisa and Katarina are of maximum contrast. Consequently, their features could turn out to be essential features of basic social types. Therefore, the following case comparison and the tentative conclusions drawn from it can be considered tentative but empirically rooted hypotheses concerning our entire study – not more, but not less either.

Luisa represents a type of language learner whose (perceived additive) multilingualism is an integrative part of her identity and for whom connecting with other cultures is an essential driving force of her life. As she considers English necessary for this, she accepts this language and strives for its acquisition. She also possesses a strongly positive – although critical – self-concept with respect to her language competence, which makes her keen on enhancing her linguistic abilities. All this results in an expansive multilingualism that does not resonate with her foreign language classroom at all. She considers her classroom boring, tedious, repetitive, unchallenging and useless to make any significant contribution to her language competence. This leads to a subversive practice, clandestinely undermining the official progression and institutional frame.

Katarina, on the other hand, represents a type of language learner whose (perceived subtractive) multilingualism has lead to a process of first language attrition. Where Luisa draws a robust linguistic self-concept from her successful multiple language acquisition, Katarina's perceived lack of language competence has created significantly negative experiences. Where Luisa's expansive and bold attitude towards language makes her reject organised and repetitive classrooms, this is exactly what provides Katarina with the security she needs for her acquisition of English. She therefore seems to profit from well prepared and clearly structured lessons where Luisa would prefer using the target language in authentic contexts. As both of them share a more or less positive perception of English as a useful language which makes sense to be able to speak, it is even more significant that Luisa focuses on the language and her mastery of it, whereas Katarina is much more oriented towards grades and institutional rewards.

There is one aspect, however, that undermines this clearly drawn line between the two cases. On closer inspection, Luisa also possesses at least a partial orientation towards a positive external evaluation of her performance. While she organizes her own informal learning, she still depends on her formal language competence being officially acknowledged. This, however, is done within the formal frame that is at odds with her own acquisition oriented language learning. Therefore, the question may well be whether Luisa's preferential informal acquisition oriented practice, which already shows strong traces of extensive learner autonomy, can survive the constant onslaught of formal learning. Or, to put it differently: Would it be possible that the formal TEFL instruction will press Luisa into the institutional mould that will suppress her informal learning and force her onto Katarina's path? We have reason to believe that Luisa's orientation is robust. And we must not forget that structured TEFL instruction makes a contribution to Katarina's foreign language learning. Therefore, we will leave the case comparison here and turn to the overall conclusion of this paper, finally revisiting our research questions.

5.   Conclusions

As we have shown, previous studies indicate the potentials of multilingualism for individual learners as well as for entire learner groups. However, these studies have focused predominantly on the psycholinguistic perspective and have largely ignored the sociocultural perspective and the role of FL education in supporting this. Looking specifically at the learner beliefs on multilingualism, this study has examined the acquisition of English as a tertiary language from a sociocultural point of view. On the basis of episodic interviews that were analyzed using the documentary method of interpretation, this acquisition process was reconstructed from

the learner's perspective. Our first research question asks how foreign language acquisition of multilingual learners is related to their identity formation, and what other influences are significant. Our study suggests there is a strong connection between FL acquisition and identity formation and that its quality is determined by the students' linguistic and cultural identity, their theory of language acquisition, their attitude towards English and other languages and their perception of FL classroom practice. Our data leads us to assume that a strong multilingual and cultural identity, and additive bilingualism lead to an expansive approach to language acquisition in which the knowledge of the importance of English is transferred into a positive attitude and investment almost independently of institutional rewards in the educational system. This, however, leads to strong frictions with a transmissive, homogenizing and form-focussed FL classroom that does not acknowledge students' multilingualism. Our data also leads us to assume that a fragile and uncertain multilingual and cultural identity and subtractive bilingualism lead to a defensive approach to language acquisition in which the knowledge of the importance of English is only transferred into acquiring English within the institutional framework of formal learning. This framework is necessary, because its routines provide the stability required and its institutional rewards are the major source of motivation. This brings about a fit between the student and a transmissive, homogenizing and form-focussed FL classroom, which the student even depends on for his/her language acquisition.

This leads us to the question as to how the FL classroom could respond to multilingualism. Our study beyond the two cases presented here suggests that existing classroom practice does not acknowledge students' multilingualism and linguistic and cultural identity. While the expansive type needs to develop subversive techniques to generate the language input s/he requires against this non-acknowledging classroom routine, the defensive type depends on this very non-acknowledging normality. It is clear that a communicative classroom acknowledging and welcoming multilingual and multicultural identity would be ideal for the expansive type, because it would support and sustain his/her expansive features. The question, however, is, in how far this is true for the defensive type. Has the non-acknowledging classroom routine made them the defensive learners they are, and would a different classroom stimulate their potential. Or is the non-acknowledging classroom exactly what they need because it provides stability and institutional rewards? It is this question that we will explore when further analyzing our data.

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Affordances of multilingual learning situations

Possibilities and constraints for foreign language classrooms

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Against the background of technological development and linguistic diversity in our society, a multilingual software application for classroom usage, including digital picture-books in different languages, has been developed in the context of an EU-funded project called MuViT. This product has been adapted for a research study called LIKE (Elsner, Buendgens-Kosten & Hardy 2014) which focuses on the question how mono- and multilingual learners of English at primary and early secondary school level make use of different languages (L1, L2, L3) while working with a computer-based story in pairs. So far 50 dyads have been tested and observed during their work with the stories. In this paper, the relevant design decisions regarding the use of the multilingual digital storybooks and its implementation in a quasi-experimental setting will be discussed, focusing on the affordances they provide from the perspective of the researchers. In a second step, the focus will move to how pupils make use of the multilingual affordances offered by the learning environment (software and peer to peer situation). Case analyses drawn from the sample will be presented with regard to pupils' receptive code-switching behavior. On the basis of a sequential qualitative analysis, we will describe in which way the use of different languages may contribute to or rather interfere with processes of foreign language learning. This analysis will point out the potential and limits of multilingual language learning environments (learning material and multilingual pair-/group work) with regard to foreign language learning and allow for methodological implications for the use of multilingual learning material and pair-/group work arrangements.

Keywords: language acquisition, language awareness, multilingualism, multilingual picture books, computer-assisted language learning

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1. Introduction

A few years ago, one of the bigger newspapers in Frankfurt Main, Germany titled "Welcome to Babylon at the Main River",[1] pointing at the exceedingly polyglot situation in a city that is located right in the heart of Germany. While Frankfurt, as an international center of banking, might be even more polyglot than many other cities and towns, the basic premise holds across the country. But not only (recent) immigrants, heritage speakers and users of other minority languages (such as Sorbian, Danish, Frisian or German Sign Language), make the typical German classroom multilingual. After all, foreign language instruction starts in elementary school, in some states as early as first grade. This multilingual reality needs to be reflected in research on language learning. Conteh and Meier (2014) depict the "multilingual turn" in the discourses and concepts immanent in many of today's societies which has – right after the cognitive turn or the digital turn – also entered research, policy and practice in the field of language education. In many classrooms today, not only in Germany, learners and teachers face the challenge and the opportunity of dealing with diverse linguistic and cultural experiences as well as different linguistic resources that each one of them contributes to the learning situation. Not only educators and learners themselves, but also researchers and policy makers are called upon to develop strategies and practical teaching ideas for classrooms catering to the European tenet of a multilingual society in which all the languages that are being spoken by any individual are tolerated, appreciated, retained and actively promoted (e.g. European Commission 2012).

Against this background, a variety of multilingual approaches have been tested and experimented with in a few pilot projects or in small scale studies (see Meier 2014 for an overview), however, as Gabriela Meier points out, "these have remained the exception and there have been very few integrated multilingual efforts in mainstream education" (2014: 137). Especially for foreign language classrooms, sound suggestions for an integrative multilingual approach that makes active use of students' prior language knowledge and their language learning experience in order to activate language awareness and initiate multilingual learning processes, are rare to find (for an overview of different attempts see Lohe & Elsner 2014; Meier 2014). One reason for this rather slow progress might be the common assumption that students' L1s, especially when linguistically distant to English, do not play any significant role when it comes to learning English. In other words, many language educators believe that the first language, especially if it is not the majority language, is not of any relevance when it comes to foreign language learning and

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1. *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 22 December 2014.

does thus need not be integrated in the learning process (e.g. Kollmeyer 2007). A second reason for this neglect of students' L1s might be found in the widespread assumption that plurilingual learners are able to make useful linguistic connections between the languages that they speak and the foreign language that they learn in school on their own. As a consequence, educators believe that there is no need for specific multilingual instruction, simply because the learners are experienced language learners already (Elsner 2010). A third reason for this obvious lack of applicable multilingual approaches for the EFL classroom might be the fact that as of now, there is no research-based evidence for the assumption that the integration of learners' first languages into foreign language classrooms does have any positive impact on the learners' language progress.

Evidence from multilingual settings such as Canada suggests that the appreciation and integration of pupils' first languages supports pupils' identity formation (e.g. Cummins 2005), however, there is no convincing data giving evidence that plurilingual language learners will benefit from a learning environment that affords the use of multiple languages. One way to create such an environment is by utilizing multilingual texts. Dual books, a specific type of multilingual texts, either in print or in digital formats, have received quite a lot of research interest, though a large proportion of this research focuses on (multilingual) literacy development, primarily in second language learning setting, rather than language learning per se (e.g. Hélot 2011; Naqvi et al. 2012; Sneddon 2009). Concerning language learning more specifically, there has been research on identity (Cummins 2005, focussing on the creation, rather than the reading, of multilingual texts), and on language awareness or metalinguistic awareness (e.g. Lohe & Elsner 2014; Helmes 2013; Naqvi et al. 2012, as eliciting method: Wildeman et al. 2016). The development of linguistic skill (such as vocabulary, grammar, etc.) or the role of multilingual texts for comprehension, remains understudied.

This is the point of departure for the project LIKE (Meaning of the LI for the development of communicative competencies in the English language) which provides the context and data for the following discussion.

2. Project LIKE

2.1 Research setting and design

In the LIKE research project, we offer 9- to 12-year-olds (on average 10.0 years) a language learning environment based on a trilingual Turkish-German-English picture-audio-storybook ("MuViT", Elsner 2011) on a computer. Learners can read the story on their own or activate an audio version by pressing the play-button on

each page. The languages of the programme can be switched any time by clicking one of the flags on the upper left corner. The story chosen for our investigation is called *Ruben and the magic stones* and consists of 25 pages, including four pages with prompts to summarize, talk about or reflect on the story. Children in our setting work together in three different language dyad constellations: monolingual German/German pairs, mixed pairs with one monolingual German and one bilingual Turkish/German child, and pairs with two bilingual (Turkish/German) children. Following an experimental 2 x 3 design (see Table 1), the experimental group is offered the trilingual version of the stories, whereas the control group is only offered the monolingual English version of the story.

Table 1. Experimental design

	Dyad type 1: two monolingual children	Dyad type 2: one monolingual, one bilingual child	Dyad type 3: two bilingual children
Experimental group: trilingual treatment			
Control group: monolingual treatment			

Learners read the books in pairs, and are encouraged to help each other with understanding the story. There is no requirement to talk in English, learners can choose both the language of the story (if in the experimental condition, as only this group had access to the trilingual version of the story) and the language of communication. Other than in earlier definitions of code-switching, e.g. by Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977: 5) who describe code-switching as the "use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction", in our project we define code-switching as "the receptive and productive use of and alternation between two or more linguistic varieties in discourse situations, including interaction with others and texts." (Elsner & Lohe 2013). In other words, in this project, we explicitly include interactions not only with people, but also with texts, as well as the *receptive* dimension of code-switching, a practice that is enabled through multilingual texts. The study aims to include 180 primary and early secondary school pupils, distributed evenly across dyad types and experimental/control group.

2.2 Measures and sample

Pupils' negotiation processes with their partners and their activities on the computer screen are recorded via screen-capturing video and a webcam video recording

showing the children working together. An audio recorder tool serves as back-up (see Figure 1).
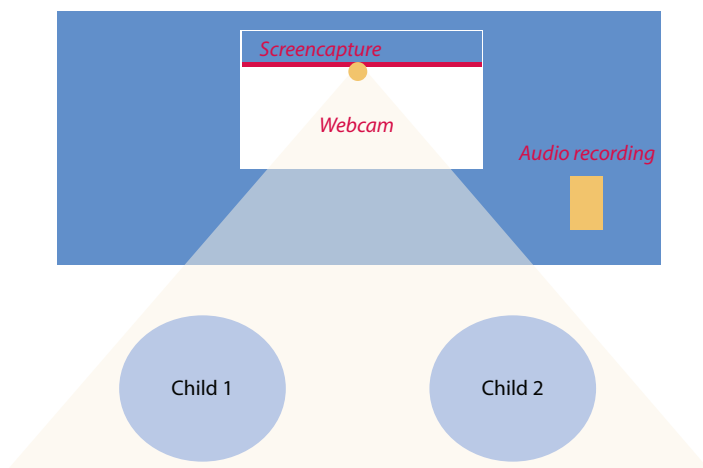
Figure 1. Experimental setup (dyad-level)

An integrated logfile tracks all interactions with the software (pages viewed, languages chosen, audio segments played, text on/off). Additional measures, i.e. vocabulary pretest, vocabulary/text recall/comprehension posttest, key demographic data (age, gender, books at home as approximation of SES (Lehrmann & Lenkeit n.d.: 39; Schnepf 2004: 18ff.)), English reading and listening comprehension (Groot-Wilken et al. 2013; Engel et al. 2009), German reading comprehension (ELFE, Lehnhard & Schneider 2006), Turkish reading comprehension (translated version of ELFE, adapted from ELFE by El-Khechen et al. 2012), language awareness, items concerning experience with the MuViT software), were collected. The data analyzed and discussed in this report derive from the observations and tests of three dyads.

2.3   Research focus of LIKE – Research focus of this paper

The study as a whole focuses on the relationship between salience of use of multilingual resources, code-choice/code alternation, negotiation of meaning and form, and the development of communicative competence (for details on the specific research questions see Elsner et al. 2015). The study described in this paper aims at establishing whether and how young English learners – both plurilingual (Turkish and German) and monolingual (German) – make use of the affordances provided by the LIKE learning environment (Elsner et al. 2014). For this we will, in a first step, describe the multilingual affordances of the learning situation as intended

by the researchers of this study and then, in a second step, analyze three cases in order to illustrate how the multilingual affordances are actually made use of by different learners.

2.3.1 *Multilingual affordances of the LIKE research setting –*
The researchers' perspective

The term *affordances* was coined by American psychologist James Gibson (1979), who defines affordances as offers or opportunities for action, which are held ready by one's surroundings, a particular situation or an object, for a subject.

According to Gibson's theory, affordances exist relative to the action capabilities of particular actors, but independent of their ability to perceive these action opportunities. E.g. a computer touchscreen may offer an action possibility for humans but not for birds because humans possess the physical property of employing their hands, nevertheless, it may not necessarily be perceived as and acted on as an affordance by every human being.

As opposed to Gibson's understanding of affordances, Norman (1988) defines an affordance as something of both actual and perceived properties of an object. Norman explains:

> the term affordance refers to the perceived and actual properties of the thing, primarily those fundamental properties that determine just how the thing could possibly be used. […] Affordances provide strong clues to the operations of things. Plates are for pushing. Knobs are for turning. Slots are for inserting things into. Balls are for throwing or bouncing. When affordances are taken advantage of, the user knows what to do just by looking: no picture, label, or instruction needed.
>
> (Norman 1988: 9)

Gibson's and Norman's understanding of affordances have found much resonance in the research domain of human learning processes. Segalowitz (2001: 15) for example notes that "affordances […] are important for learning, because it is only by being able to perceive affordances that an organism is able to navigate its way around the environment successfully".

Against this background the study described in this paper wants to find out how the multilingual affordances of the LIKE learning situation are made use of and made sense of by different learners, specifically in the context of comprehension-focused practices. It complements the more quantitative approach reported in Elsner et al. (2015) and Bündgens-Kosten & Elsner (2014), in which logfile analyses served as primary data, supplemented by video data. From the researchers' perspective the LIKE setting affords learners' making use of different languages on a receptive and on a productive level, as will be detailed in the following.

2.3.2 *Affordances of the multilingual software*

When talking about the affordances of the software used in LIKE it is convenient to treat – in a first step – affordances on the level of input and output, of buttons and reactions to buttons, of combinations of dynamic and static information and the means to access these, in other words, to first describe the 'physical' environment.
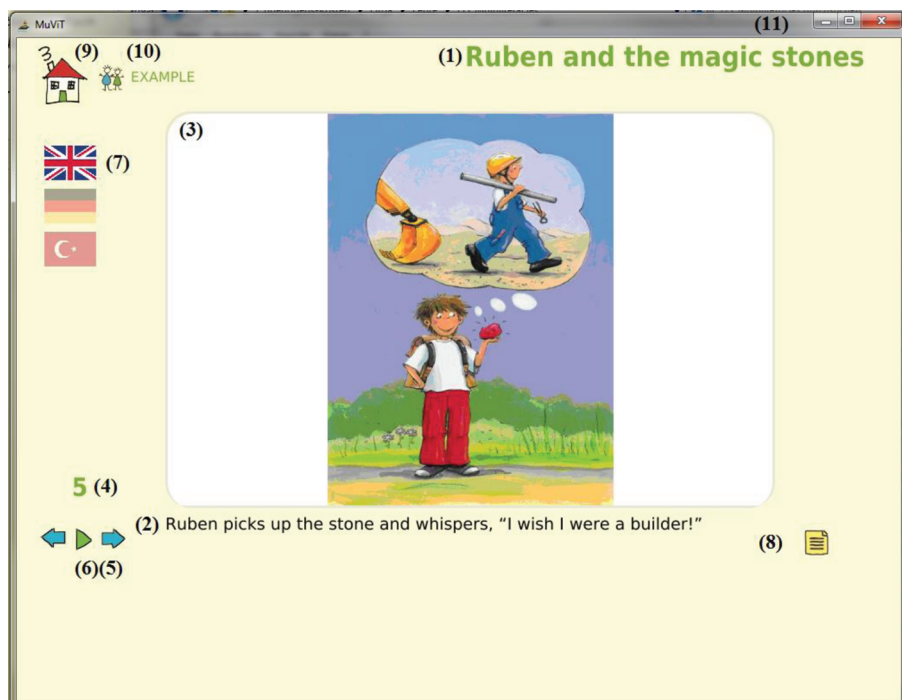
Figure 2. Example of the MuViT Screen [numbers added for reference]

The MuViT software comes with a range of affordances that it shares, to some degree, with books. On the screen, a mixture of information that would pertain to a book's cover, and a book's individual pages, are presented. We are given (1) the title to read, (2) the text to read, (3) the image to peruse, (4) while page numbers indicate where we are in the story. And as a screen does not have the haptic properties that allow for literally turning a page, there are (5) two blue arrows that can be clicked to move forward and backward in the story. Each time an arrow is clicked, the story moves to the preceding or following page, requiring multiple clicks to move to pages further ahead/behind. For the additional affordances, we have to

leave the book metaphor.[2] The green triangle (6) is the audio button, which will play the audio file saved for the current language-page combination. When the file is played, the audio button turns into a pause button. In this version of MuViT, the audio file represents the exact text of (2), spoken by a narrator and voice actors for all roles (Ruben, mother, boss, colleague). With (7) the language flags, the current language can be chosen, allowing instant switches from any language provided to any other language. In the control group, the software version used has only one flag – the British flag – making switching languages impossible, serving merely as information about what language is currently active. The image of a yellow page (8) is the hide text/unhide text button, which can deactivate the text (2). The home button (9) allows learners to go back to the home screen, where additional stories – which are not used for the experiment – can be accessed. The (10) user information can be entered when starting the software, and is used by the experimenters to label the groups, rather than by learners themselves. There are three buttons (11) that are not supposed to be used by learners within the experimental setting – the minimize button, the maximize button, and the close program button provided by the operating system used. Still, just like many other objects on the screen (including e.g. loudspeaker settings, start menu, screen clock), they provide affordances and information sources available to learners. The same is true of the physical setup that surrounds the software: The software is on a laptop computer which has a screen that can be moved up and down, a touchpad and an external mouse that can be used to move the cursor and click buttons, a keyboard that can (even if it should not) be accessed. While, in the experiment, we provide learners with information about how to use the software and its affordances, we do not provide any guidance on those physical aspects. The screen angle (which impacts video recording) and the audio settings are, by default, manipulated by the experimenters, although students sometimes spontaneously access these, too. Among these affordances, only (5), (6), (7) and (8) are 'clickable' and explicitly addressed in the instructions. (9) and (11) are clickable, but not addressed, implying that they should not be used.

2.3.3   *Affordances of the multilingual setting*
The affordances of the software are realized in a specific setting, the setting of two children working together at a shared computer. As two children work together with the software, they do not merely function as co-users of the software. They

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2.   Note that even in those more book-like affordances, book affordances have not been simply copied into a new medium. For example, changing pages could have been realized by a more 'organic' page turning, by a pulling of the right side of the screen to the left and a vice versa movement, as it is often done in pdf-based publications such as catalogues, or reading apps on touch-screen devices.

are part of each other's social environment, constituting each other's audience and each other's resource. Students need to reach a basic agreement on how to proceed through the story, even if this 'agreement' is nothing but the result of a wild rush to grab the mouse first. The other person can hinder or provide access to specific software affordances.

But the other child is not just a means through which one can access a specific affordance, the presence of the other child helps to create affordances. By providing an audience, the presence of the second child can turn the software affordance "presence of story text" into the potential to "explain the story to your partner". A child can always use (2) to read the text aloud, but only the second child creates an audience *to whom* the text can be read.[3] In that sense, (2) text is not an affordance, but a (virtual) object that has affordances – reading-silent-ability and reading-aloud-ability on its own, reading-to-ability, explain-ability when combined with another child, hide-ability by means of (8) the hide/unhide text button, follow-along-ability when combined with (6) the audio function.

At the same time, this setting also brings further affordances into play, affordances the other child itself provides as part of the social environment. The other child is a wealth of linguistic resources, which are not created by the software, but rather forefronted or primed by the software and the challenges it poses. Generally, students talk while working with MuViT. The overall setting – especially when the trilingual software is used – creates an environment friendly to multilingual practices, or at least friendlier to multilingual practices than many other classroom-like contexts. Students use German, English and Turkish (in this order of frequency), with sprinklings of other languages (e.g. one dyad showcased their very limited Japanese skills).

They also have a wealth of background knowledge (multiliteracies) that helps them to interpret the information stored within the image. Their knowledge about stories and storytelling helps them to interpret the story, and to make predictions about how it may continue. Their knowledge about school as an organization and institution, and the logic of tests also support their work with their story, e.g. by suggesting to them which ways to use the software might be appropriate. This allows them to theorize about the purpose of working with the software, and to interpret how the vocabulary pretest may relate to the story at hand.

The children, bringing similar or dissimilar linguistic and non-linguistic resources into play, can become dictionaries, interpreters or rule enforcers, to name just a few, for each other. A (7) change language button is not what makes a bilingual

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3.   Unless one wants to include the researchers as audience. Some children occasionally perform for the audio recording device or video camera, but this playful behavior is usually very short-lived, and the recording devices seem to be completely ignored afterwards.

child a language expert, but it can make their linguistic expertise become visible, and provide an environment in which students can position themselves or be positioned by their partner as experts or non-experts.

3. Case analysis

In this section, we will use sequential analysis of extracts from dyad interactions to demonstrate the range of ways the software functionalities are used. We selected videos of maximally different patterns of use. The focus in selecting videos, and within videos in selecting sequences/scenes for analysis, lies in selecting affordances tied to comprehension-related practices. Other, very interesting, dyads that would be suited to show primarily practices surrounding language awareness or identity work are not included. No claim is made that these dyads represent 'typical' cases rather that the choice of dyads helps to understand the breadth of use, specifically of the "language change" function.

As basis of analysis, a compound video of webcam (showing the learners) and screencapturing was used. This provided maximal information about the interactions between learners and with the software, including non-linguistic interaction such as facial expression, deixis, etc. A second audio recording (mp3 recorders positioned next to the laptops) was used whenever audio quality of the video was not satisfactory. All analysis was done using the Multimedia-Browser functionalities of MAXQDA11. Partial transcripts were created for the purpose of this paper, but did not serve as basis for analysis themselves (Transcript signs are provided in the appendix).

At LIKE, all dyads are referred to by animal names, specifically rodents (for 4th graders), reptiles (for 5th graders) and felines (pilot data). The children within these dyads are referred to as "L" (for left child on the video screen) and "R" (for right child on the video screen).

3.1 Case 1: Viscacha Rat (non-comprehension and microswitches)

Viscacha rat is a dyad consisting of two bilingual children, a 9-year-old boy ("Left") and a 9-year-old girl ("Right"). L indicated the lowest level of "books at home", up to 25, R the mid-level number of up to 100.

Their German reading skills (ELFE – Lenhard and Schneider 2006) are on the 58.5th percentile (L)/9.3th percentile (R) for word reading, 63.6th/47.1th percentile for sentence reading, and 58th/23.7th percentile for text reading for their grade level.

Both participated in the Turkish reading test, where L scored 10, R 3 points, from a maximum of 15. Both attend Turkish classes at school. While L estimates his Turkish speaking, comprehension and reading skills to be very good, R describes hers as good.

As the story can both be read and listened to, strong listening comprehension and strong reading comprehension in English are both advantageous for story comprehension. In the EVENING English test, L scored 31 points (14 in listening comprehension, 17 in reading comprehension), and R 27 (12 in listening comprehension, 15 in reading comprehension). The maximum possible score was 50 (28 in listening comprehension, 22 in reading comprehension).

In the vocabulary pretest, which tests words from the story, L scored 7 points (around average for the overall sample), R scored 0 points from a maximum of 30 (10 items with up to 3 points per item). It must be assumed, therefore, that there is potential for them to acquire vocabulary from the story.

Viscacha rat's work with the software is strongly comprehension focused. Right from the start, the children attempt to translate the text and comment on the plot. They work with good focus until the end of the story. After the experimenter suggests they have time to reread the story,[4] they go back through the story, but are visibly disengaged. The following discussion will focus on two segments that demonstrate the role the German text version plays for this dyad in achieving comprehension of English words and English text segments, focusing on (a) page 11 ("breakfast table") and (b) page 13 ("via radio"). Translations of the German text segments are provided in curly brackets.

3.1.1   *Scene 1: Breakfast table*

1   [Page 11 is open in English. L is leaning toward the screen, R is repeatedly
2   moving her upper body closer and then further from the screen.]
3   MuViT: [audio version] The next morning Ruben doesn't want to go to school
4   again. At the breakfast table
5   R: [whispers incomprehensibly]
6   L: [nods]

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4. This was a case of suboptimal instruction. Students, in this experimental design, can be asked if they want to spend more time on the story if they signal they are 'finished' even though the maximum time of 25 minutes had not yet been reached. In this case, the instructor first joked with the children that they could read all pages in all languages, before correcting herself that of course they could read it all in English, or switch languages, based just on their preferences. This might have left the children with the impression that one of these behaviors was mandatory. Indeed, after the instructor had left, they discussed amongst themselves whether they had to read the story in English, or to look at each page in each language.

7   MuViT: he asks his mum, "Do I really have to go to school today?"
8   "Yes," his mother replies, "just like any other day."
9   R: [whispers, but getting louder] [incomprehensible] auf Deutsch guck {watch
10 in German}.[giggles] Oder auf Türkisch. {or in Turkish}
11 L: Uhm. [L switches page 11 to German] [L reads the texts, following with the
12 mouse pointer along the text, R leans towards the screen] Ich {I} hat Ruben
13 wieder keine Lust auf die Schule. Am Frühstückstisch fragt er seine Mutter:
14 Muss ich heute wirklich zur Schule gehen? Ja, sagt seine Mutter, so wie jeden
15 Tag. {[reading the German text version, but skipping over the first words "Am
16 nächsten Morgen"/"The next morning"] Ruben doesn't want to go to school
17 again. At the breakfast table he asks his mum, "Do I really have to go to school
18 today?" "Yes," his mother replies, "just like any other day."} [Moves mouse
19 pointer to Turkish flag, but does not click]
20 R: Ahhhh. [R leans away from the screen] [incomprehensible] [R leans toward
21 the screen] [switch to English]
22 L: Ich wußte gar nicht, daß Breakfast {I didn't know at all that breakfast}
23 R: Was heißt das? {What does that mean?}
24 L: Keine Ahnung {no idea}
25 R: Warte [switch to German] Frühstückstisch. {breakfast table}
26 L: Ahhhh! Jetzt weiß ich das. {Oh! Now I know that.]
27 R: Auf ehm ah Ding{On uhm ehm thing}
28 [switch to English, forward to page 12, backward to 11, switch to Turkish]
29 [They start to read, L follows the text with the mouse cursor.]
30 R: Uhm. [incomprehensible] [leans back in her chair]
31 [switch to English, forward to page 12]

R's playful attitude (moving her upper body more than usually, holding a hand in front of her face, grinning broadly, interrupting her statement with a giggle) plus the total lack of any non-comprehension marker at the beginning of the transcript suggest that the switch from English to German (lines 9–11) was motivated by fun-fueled interest in the other versions of the story, rather than by a comprehension-related need. Once they have switched, L takes the German version as serious as the English version, carefully reading it aloud, moving along the text with the mouse pointer (lines 11–18). The position of the mouse on the Turkish flag suggests that an offer to switch to Turkish is being made – but it is not taken up, the dyad returns to the English version. After having read the text in German, L comments in line 22 on a non-comprehension experienced with the English version. "Breakfast" is a word from the vocabulary pretest, usually delivered several days before the MuViT session – L might have noticed "breakfast" in the story

because he had not known the word in the pretest. While the mouse is not visible, it is probably that R now takes mouse control (R has access to the laptop touchpad while L has access to the external mouse), and switches back to German. By looking at the German text, R arrives at the translation "Frühstückstisch" (line 25), which both find satisfactory (even though it is, of course, not fully satisfactory from an English teacher's perspective), as signaled by L's comment in line 26, and by their subsequent continuation of the story (moving to the next page).

This sequence can be interpreted as a negotiation sequence according to Varonis and Gass (1985): Lines 22–24 establish shared non-comprehension (indicator), the switch to German and the conclusion "Frühstückstisch" are a response (line 25), and line 26–28 are explicit and implicit reactions to response.

Interestingly, the fun-oriented switch (called "open switch", cf. Bündgens-Kosten & Elsner 2014) to German created an environment in which negotiation of meaning happened (called "focused micro-switch", cf. Bündgens-Kosten & Elsner 2014), resulting in a changed response behavior for L on the posttest ("Früstückstisch", misspelt version of the German 'breakfast table'), when compared to the pretest vocabulary test (left blank). While the translation provided is not perfect, it is a first approximation of the dictionary-listed meaning.

3.1.2   *Scene 2: via radio*

1   [Page 13 is open in English]
2   R: [incomprehensible] da drücken {press there} [incomprehensible]
3   L: [follows the English text with the mouse pointer while translating it piece by
4   piece; both children are leaning towards the screen] Mayday! Mayday! [.]
5   Mayday Mayday [.] [L glances at R] ein Sturm Ruben sagt via Radio.
6   {[in atypical syntax] a storm Ruben says via radio} [incomprehensible, with
7   rising intonation] [Switch to German] Der sagt: Meldet Ruben über Funk. Ok.
8   {He says: [quote from German version of the text] Ruben reports via radio}
9   [switch to English] I wish I were at the school. Ich warte gleich[?] {I wait
10   soon[?]} [switch to German] Ich wünsche ich wäre in der Schule. {I wish I were
11   at school}
12   [L and R start smiling broadly]
13   L: Ahh! [both move their upper bodies, sit more dynamically, and not quite as
14   close to the screen]
15   R: [at the same time] [incomprehensible] Ja weil {yes because} [..] [hand
16   gesture: circling hand = looking for the right word] Gewitter! {thunderstorm!}
17   [forward to page 14]

L is attempting a translation of the English text. He (presumably he has mouse control) moves the mouse pointer along the text, while doing a mostly word-by word translation in non-standard German syntax. When he translates "via radio" as "via Radio" (line 5), this translation does not seem to satisfy him – in German, *Radio* refers to the one-way audio-only mass medium, not to two-way communication tools, which are referred to as *Funk*. A switch to German supplies him with the alternative translation "über Funk" (lines 7–8). Satisfied, he continues with the rest of the text, trying to translate the text himself (line 9) – again with limited success – then using the translation. Movement of their upper bodies away from the screen signals that they now reduce their focus on the on-screen text, their smiles signal satisfaction about the achieved translation or achieved comprehension, as does the satisfied "Ahh" from line 13. R chimes in (lines 15–16) by providing an interpretation: "Ja weil {yes because} [..] [hand gesture: circling hand = looking for the right word] Gewitter! {thunderstorm!}", implying [Ruben wishes he were at school] *because* [of the] *thunderstorm*. Having completed the translation attempt and discussed the key content, they move on to the next screen.

It is difficult to say if a perception of non-comprehension lies at the basis of the translation attempt, or if attempting to translate is a reading strategy just like reading aloud or speaking in parallel with the audio, i.e. not tied to comprehension per se. They do not signal non-comprehension before commencing translation. But while L is translating, he discovers gaps in his translation ability. He realizes that his translation of "via radio" is inappropriate, and he is challenged by "I wish I were at school". Here, most likely, the words per se are known, but the overall construction might have been challenging. The two switches from English to German might be considered part of a miniature self-negotiation scene, in which L expresses a need for negotiation (indicator), takes the steps needed to alleviate the comprehension problem (response-like), but both L and R provide reactions to the response.

From a pedagogic perspective, it is relevant to see that Viscacha rat seem to enjoy overcoming their challenges. Both in this sequence and in the sequence discussed above, the outcome of negotiation of meaning is not frustration – they signal the end of their negotiation sequences via broad smiles, a relaxed posture, and by continuing to work through the story.

3.2 Case 2: Pericote (different languages, different uses)

Pericote are two monolingual children, a ten-year-old girl (L) and a ten-year-old boy (R). The boy indicated the mid-level number of "books at home", up to 100, the girl the top number of up 'more than 250'. Their German reading skills (ELFE) are on the 65.9th percentile (R)/81th percentile (L) for word reading, 30th/83.5th

percentile for sentence reading, and 58th/50.7th percentile for text reading for their grade level. In the EVENING English test, R scored 38 points (20 in listening comprehension, 18 in reading comprehension), while L scored 31 (16 in listening comprehension, 15 in reading comprehension). In the vocabulary pretest, which tests words from the story, R got 2 points, L got 3 points.

Pericote is a group characterized by repeated self-comparison with other dyads (especially by L), and many indicators of stress, especially on the side of R. Pericote practices macroswitches (cf. Bündgens-Kosten & Elsner 2014): They read the story in English, then again completely in German, then again completely in Turkish. Their behavior during these three phases, though – what they do with the story (including audio, text, image) – differs notably.

Their work with the English version is strongly comprehension focused. There are multiple attempts to negotiate meaning, though without the use of receptive code-switching (changing languages by clicking the flags). They may, for example, ask their partner directly, or try to work out non-comprehension themselves. Scene 3 is an example of this – and also demonstrates how for this dyad, not only their own dyad and computer are relevant, but other group's activities also impact their work.

3.2.1   *Scene 3: Thunderstorm*

1   [The dyad is working with page 10 (prompt 2). Another dyad in the room is
2   listening to page 13 in EN.]
3   MuViT: [other dyad's computer] "Mayday, mayday a thunderstorm!" Ruben
4   says via radio
5   R: [whispers] Thunderstone? Thunderstone heißt doch Donnerstein.
6   {But Thunderstone means 'thunder-stone' [nonsensical word in German]}
7   [No uptake. Work with MuViT continues, focus is now back to the dyad's own
8   computer. They work through pages 10, 11, 12, then change to page 13, too]
9   MuViT: "Mayday, Mayday a thunderstorm," Rubens says via radio. "I wish I
10 were at school!"
11 L: [incomprehensible, overlapping with MuViT audio]
12 R: [overlapping with L and MuViT] ThunderSTORM! Nicht Thunderstone
13 {ThunderSTORM! Not Thunderstone}
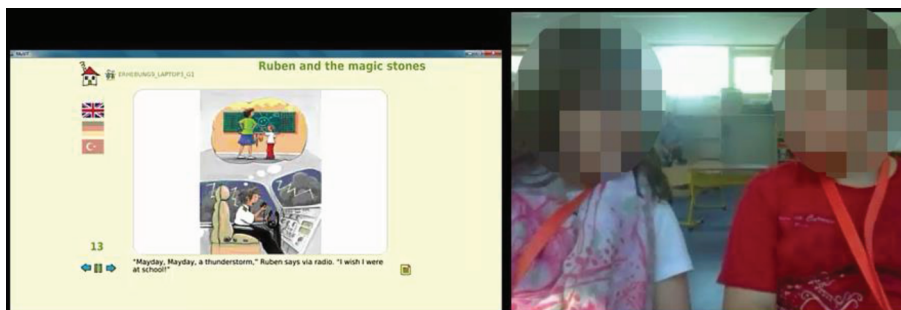
Figure 3. Pericote working on page 13

R encounters the word *thunderstorm* in the story – specifically in the audio played by another group that is ahead by a few pages – and attempts to translate it morpheme by morpheme. R has translated "thunder" correctly as "Donner", but has misunderstood "storm" as "stone", leading to a nonsensical translation: while "thunderstone" may fit the overall context of magic stones prevalent in the story's plot, this seems to be somehow weird to R. As he was just overhearing another group's audio, he has no access to the wider context of this text segment, no access to the written text, and no access to the accompanying image. His non-comprehension is signaled (lines 5–6) but receives no uptake. Nearly a minute and a half later, though, he finally has access to the audio and the written text, and now he is able to self-correct himself, contrasting his original mis-hearing of *thunderstone* with the correct one of *thunderstorm* (line 12). He is noticeably satisfied – and the translation of *thunderstorm* as *Donnnersturm*, while not the dictionary-listed version (which would be *Gewitter*), makes sense in the context of the story – and fits the image that he can now see (see Figure 3). Here, the additional affordances – hearing the audio again, reading (silently) the text, seeing the image – contributed to his comprehension.

Not all negotiation sequences end satisfactorily (in that the students believe they comprehend the text) and/or felicitously (in that the understanding that they arrived at is equivalent against an expert's understanding, or, in other words, 'correct' when measured to an objective, external standard). In no case do the children switch languages to help their comprehension problems.

While listening to the German version, the focus is on the overall plot of the story. The children discuss what they have understood by retelling plot elements. Scene 4 demonstrates how listening to the German version improves their comprehension.

3.2.2   *Scene 4: "Ah"*

1   [The dyad is looking at page 11 (breakfast scene) in German.]
2   R: Ah ich weiß, [switch to page 12] ich versteh die Geschichte. {Ah, I know,
3   I understand the story.}
4   L: Ich auch. {Me too.}
5   MuViT: Ruben läuft zur Schule. Auf dem Weg findet er einen grünen Stein.
6   Ruben hebt den Stein auf und flüstert: Ich wünschte, ich wäre ein Pilot.
7   {German MuViT Version of: "Ruben walks to school. On his way he finds a
8   green stone. Ruben picks up the stone and whispers, "I wish I were a pilot!"}
9   L: Wenn er [?zur Schule gehn] dann hebt er diesen Stein auf
10 [incomprehensible]. {When he [?goes to school] then he picks up that stone
11 [incomprehensible]
12 R: [shakes head]
13 R: Nein. {No.} [uses hand-palm-up-moving-up-and-down gesture to stress his
14 point] Die Steine macht [incomprehensible] Schule. Hast Du verstanden? Und
15 wenn er dann Pilot undsoweiter ist, dann sagt er wieder Ich wünschte ich
16 WÄRE in der Schule {The stones make [incomprehensible] school. Do you
17 understand? And when he then is a pilot etcetera, then he says again I wish I
18 WERE at school.}.
19 L: [broad smile] Ach so. {Ah OK} [gesture: moving the hand in a half circle to
20 the other side] Erst wünscht er er wäre Pilot, {First he wishes he were a pilot}
21 [reversing the gesture – moving hand back] dann wär er in der Schule.
22 {than that he were at school} [laughs]
23 R: Und irgendwann freut er sich dann auf die Schule. {At at some point he is
24 looking forward to school.}
25 [Muvit plays audio for page 13, R points at the screen with a satisfied smile.]

While they had not previously signaled non-comprehension regarding the overall plot, while working with the German version they succeed in reconstructing elements they seem not to have understood in their entirety before. R's "Ah" (line 2) and L's smile at the end of the discussion (line 21) indicate that they are satisfied with having made sense of the story now. Here, the German version supplies R with the material he needs to understand the story better, and the discussion with R in turn supports the comprehension of L.

Working with the Turkish version seems to be focused on identity work rather than on comprehension.

The children start laughing as soon as they switch to the Turkish version – a frequently observed reaction with both monolingual and bilingual children in this sample. Laughter can indicate many different things, such as surprise or

embarrassment, and is not easily interpreted without further clues. In some dyads, laughter accompanies most of the work with the Turkish version. Pericote, though, only laugh at the beginning.

For R it is important to stress that he can comprehend the Turkish version.[5] He had stated at the very beginning of the work with the story that he knew a little Turkish. Now he needs to defend this claim against L. On the one hand, he does this by explaining to L that he understands the Turkish version, and by discounting her argument that he only does because he just listened to the German version. On the other hand, he uses different means to signal his claimed expert status. For example, he responds – in German – to a Turkish prompt in the story. His lip movements indicate that he reads/repeats segments of the Turkish text. L, on the other hand, who did not claim knowledge of Turkish, shows no such activities.

It becomes clear that the different language versions have a different function for the dyad, especially in the order in which they access them here. Their work with the English version was focused on understanding individual words and understanding what to do, e.g. at the prompts which interrupt the story with requests that the students help each other or discuss aspects of the story. The German version was the basis on which they talked about the story as a whole, about the plot as a bigger unit. The Turkish version, which was not used for any comprehension-related work, served as an environment in which identities in regard to language skills and language use could be negotiated.

3.3   Case 3: Pectinator (avoiding the challenge)

Pectinator is a dyad consisting of two bilingual children, a ten year old boy (R) and a ten year old girl (L). Both indicate the lowest level of "books at home", up to 25. Their German reading skills (ELFE) are on the 72.7th (R)/54.6th percentile (L) for word reading, 38.3th/47.1th percentile for sentence reading, and 3.4th/50.7th percentile for text reading for their grade level. Both participated in a Turkish reading test, where R scored 9, L 10 points – both solid results compared to the overall sample. L, but not R, attends Turkish classes at school. They describe most of their Turkish skills as very good, except R who considers his reading skills as merely good. In the EVENING English test, R scored 27 points (14 in listening

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5.   In the pretest data, he had indicated that he never uses Turkish with parents or siblings, never reads books or magazines in Turkish, but that he "occasionally" uses Turkish with friends. He indicated his Turkish speaking skills as "none", and his Turkish comprehension skills as "none", with reading skills in Turkish as "not good". On the basis of this response pattern he was identified as a monolingual speaker of German, although he may have some Turkish skills from interactions with friends.

comprehension, 13 in reading comprehension), and L 36 (17 in listening comprehension, 19 in reading comprehension). In the vocabulary pretest, which tests words from the story, R got 3 points, L got 8 points. It must be assumed, therefore, that there is potential for them to learn from the story.

Pectinator start off by reading aloud every page, taking turns, in a very sober, serious fashion. Only after an experimenter reminds them of the option of using audio they use this function. At that point, their whole attitude changes: when the audio starts to play, they move very close to the screen and giggle, their previous serious facial expression gone. Up to the point covered in the following sequence, they had only used the English version, focusing on reading it aloud or listening to it, rather than on more comprehension-related activities such as translating, summarizing or discussing it.

3.3.1   *Scene 5: "Was sollen wir jetzt tun?"*

1   [They are on page 9, English version (audio function playing)]
2   L: Die machen alle auf Deutsch! {They are all doing it in German!}
3   [no response from R.]
4   [forward to page 10]
5   MuViT: Do you remember? What happened in the story? What is missing?
6   L: [while MuViT is playing] OK. Hmmm. [mouse pointer moves around in the
7   image that is part of the task, see Figure 4]
8   R: [points toward the screen, incomprehensible] Deutsch.{German}
9   [switch to German]
10   L: So. {So.}
11   MuViT: Erinnert Ihr Euch? [children giggling] Was ist in der Geschichte
12   passiert? Was fehlt? {German MuViT Version of: "Do you remember
13   What happened in the story? What is missing?"}
14   L: Wie was genau was sollen wir jetzt tun? {What exactly are we ougth to do?}
15   [continue to page 11]

The statement that "everybody is doing it in German" [the children can perceive the actions of the other co-present dyads in the room] is the first time the German version has been discussed while working with the story. Up to this point, no non-comprehension has been signalled. When, on the next slide (line 5), a task is presented – marked by vivid green question marks as part of the image, and a change in speaker – it becomes clear the students do not know what to do. L moves the mouse pointer around, but seems not to know what to do. R suggests the switch to German (line 8). The reaction is positive – the children giggle – but they realize that the translation has not yet answered their question – they know what the sentence
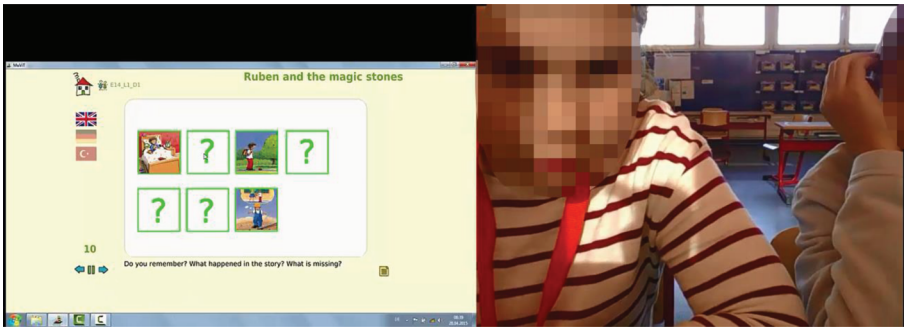
Figure 4. Pectinator at page 10

means but not what they ought to do. No further discussion happens, the children just continue with the story – in German. Only at the very end, after having consumed the rest of the story in German, will the children start experimenting with different affordances in order to pass the time, and, among other things, try the Turkish version of the text.

As a consequence of this macroswitch to German, pages 11–21 have not been read/listened to in English, contrary to the instructions provided ("read every page in English"), and this even though no non-comprehension was signaled except in the sequence discussed above. One can see, though, that from the switch to German on, their way to work with the story has changed slightly. While their standard *modus operandi* remains to just read the (German) text aloud, they also occasionally comment on the plot of the story, and start to work through prompts, which they did not do while using the English version. When using the German version, their approach is recognizably more comprehension-focused than it was when they were using the English version, even though the German version must be easier for them. It can be assumed, therefore, that the English version proved to be so overwhelming to the students that they had no strategies or no willingness to approach it with a comprehension-focus. Rather, they resorted to reading practice, a valuable English skill and a legitimate way to interact with texts in the classroom. When they realized that using the German version would also be a socially acceptable choice, they made the choice to switch to German for good, allowing them to include more comprehension-focused practices.

4.   Discussion

In these sequences, we could see that changes in language serve a range of functions for the dyads. Occasionally, the switch to German is constructed in the dyad as a response to non-comprehension. In other cases, the switch had not originally been framed as related to non-comprehension (they are not focused micro-switches, cf. Bündgens-Kosten & Elsner 2014), but children engage in meaning-focused and comprehension-focused exchanges based upon the German text version. In the sequences discussed here, Turkish played an important role, but one that is not related to deal with non-comprehension.

From a language teaching perspective, we might consider some of the approaches to be more helpful for story comprehension and vocabulary acquisition than others. For example, the pattern identified as focused microswitches (changing language as a response to a non-comprehension indicator, resolving the non-comprehension, returning to the original language version, as seen above in Viscacha rat's breakfast table sequence), fits existing literature on negotiation of meaning (cf. e.g. Varonis & Gass 1985), a process recognized for its potential to aid with comprehensible input, with noticing, and with modified output (Long 1983; Long et al. 1998; Pica 1994). Ongoing quantitative work will shed more light on whether the interactional patterns of dyads in this study correspond to the assumption of a relationship between degree of negotiation and comprehension as well as vocabulary acquisition.

This study also demonstrated how assumptions about appropriate use of the software and its language change function impacted learner behaviour. The – for most learners – unusual opportunity to change the input language in an English language learning context did leave some learners uncertain of what kind of behavior was acceptable, an uncertainty that the instructions did not completely resolve. Many dyads paid close attention to the usage patterns of co-present dyads (see e.g. Pectinator) and some explicitly discussed potential norms for language choice. The social setting of the classroom with its rules and expectations impacts not only if a real affordance is perceived – it also impacts if a perceived affordance is used. A learner might recognize the potential of the language change affordance, but opt against using it if this appears to him or her to be prohibited by the norms of the social environment. Explicit instruction in receptive code-switching strategies – derived from ongoing research – may reduce uncertainty, and improve the chances of beneficial learning effects.

This analysis demonstrates that multilingual books, in combination with negotiation of meaning, have the potential to support comprehension and word acquisition. This potential does not mean, though, that using multilingual books is superior to using monolingual English books. Negotiation of meaning is supported

by the additional language versions, but even the ability to instantly switch between language versions does not guarantee a correct interpretation. Language awareness – especially on the syntactic level (understanding that in different languages, words can be in different positions within a sentence) and on the morphological level (understanding that what is one word in one language may be multiple words in another language) – is essential if receptive code-switching is to yield a correct interpretation of unknown words.

Also, it has to be acknowledged that adding more languages is likely to increase the overall cognitive load associated with reading these stories. The benefits of additional languages (in supporting comprehension, in supporting word acquisition, in providing an environment that may support the development of language awareness and allows for identity work) must be measured against the extra effort required and the risks of distraction associated with providing more ways to interact with the text. A concluding evaluation will therefore have to build on a comparison between dyads working with the multilingual storybook, and those working with the monolingual version.

While in this selection of cases, comprehension-related work was associated with the German, not the Turkish text version, ongoing analysis of the video data will show if this applies to all dyads.

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Appendix

The transcripts contain all utterances by the children, and all audio played via MuViT. Details about screen content, mouse movement, body language, facial expression have been included when needed to follow the analysis.

Transcription signs

L/R:	the Left/Right child
[.] [..] [...]	pauses of 1/2/3 seconds length
[]	additional remarks
{}	German translation supplied at point of transcription, sometimes including comment on linguistic etc. peculiarities
CAPITALIZATION:	Strong stress
[?text] /?text:	uncertain transcription

L1 effects in the early L3 acquisition of vocabulary and grammar

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This chapter explores cross-linguistic influences in the lexical and grammatical acquisition of L3 English among child L2 learners of German with a variety of L1 backgrounds. For lexical development, we find interrelations in vocabulary size between L1, L2 and English lexicons. For grammar, a sentence repetition task does not show any differences between learner groups. Instead, all learners transfer German word order to English, irrespective of the properties of the L1 grammar. We discuss these findings in the context of current formal approaches to transfer in L3 acquisition and sketch some implications for foreign language teaching in a multilingual classroom.

Keywords: cross-linguistic influence, grammar, heritage speakers, third language acquisition, young learners, vocabulary

1. Introduction

When acquiring a third language (L3), language learners can draw on either or both of their previously acquired languages, and, hence, the L1 as well as the L2 can exert cross-linguistic influence in multilingual speakers (e.g. De Angelis 2007; Rothman et al. 2013). In this respect, L3 learners are different from L2 learners who only have the L1 as a potential source of transfer. In consequence, the source of cross-linguistic influence has been at the center of research on L3 acquisition. Cross-linguistic transfer in L3 acquisition has mainly been studied with respect to L3 phonology (e.g. Cabrelli Amaro 2016), the L3 lexicon (e.g. Jarvis 2016) and L3 grammar (e.g. González Alonso et al. 2016). Most of these studies have investigated adult L3 acquisition, with particular emphasis on the question how an early-acquired L1 and a late-learnt L2 may interact in the development of a

late-learnt L3. In contrast, research on early-acquired languages in child L3 acquisition is scarce to date (e.g. Unsworth 2013).

In this chapter, we explore the dynamics of cross-linguistic influence in lexical and grammatical development of L3 English among child L2 learners of German with a variety of L1 backgrounds. We adopt a broad definition of L3 acquisition as the acquisition of a non-native language by learners who either have acquired or are acquiring two or more other languages, irrespective of whether acquisition of the first two languages has been simultaneous or consecutive (e.g. Cenoz 2003). Specifically, we report findings from a study testing 200 primary school students in Germany who learn English as a foreign language in a classroom setting.[1] Of these, 116 students grew up with one or several languages other than or in addition to German at home. In consequence, we label them child L3 learners of English.

We consider the interrelations between vocabulary knowledge in the L1, the L2 and the L3 in both receptive and productive measures of vocabulary. In addition, we probe the degree to which grammatical differences and similarities between the L1s and English among the child L3 learners affect syntactic comprehension in English. Finally, we compare their performance in English vocabulary and grammar with the performance of child L2 learners of English, whose only first language is German.

This chapter affords two novel insights into multilingual child development: (a) It directly compares cross-linguistic lexical and grammatical interactions in multilingual acquisition for the same set of learners, and (b) it extends the applicability of current models of cross-linguistic influence in adult L3 acquisition to child learners.

The chapter is organized as follows. In Section 2, we review the evidence on cross-linguistic interactions in the multilingual lexicon and grammar with a particular focus on child learners. We also discuss current models of transfer in L3 lexical and grammatical acquisition and review the extent to which these models apply to child L3 acquisition. In the third section, we outline our research question and present our hypotheses. Section 4 presents the study and its results, which we discuss in Section 5. We close the chapter by discussing the implications of the present study for teaching English as an L3 in multilingual foreign language classrooms.

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2. Cross-linguistic interactions in multilingual acquisition

2.1 The multilingual lexicon

The lexicon of multilinguals differs in several respects from the lexicon of monolingual speakers. It comprises translation equivalents, i.e., forms referring to the same concepts by different labels across languages, and cognate words, i.e., lexical entries that share word form and meaning representations across more than one language. In addition, it contains words that are unique to one language, either because the corresponding concept is not lexicalized analogously in the other language(s) or the multilingual speaker has not yet acquired the lexicalizations in all the languages. In consequence, multilingual lexicons can differ (a) in size across languages, (b) in how they are interconnected or accessed in production and comprehension, and (c) in how lexical knowledge from one language can influence lexical performance in the other language(s). We review each of these factors in turn.

2.1.1 *Vocabulary size*

Standardized assessments of productive and receptive vocabulary knowledge in bilingual children reveal that vocabulary size in each language is typically smaller than in monolingual children (e.g. Pearson et al. 1997). These differences persist from early childhood into the teens (Bialystok et al. 2010), but they become smaller as exposure to both languages increases (Gathercole et al. 2013). However, when vocabulary size is measured in both languages, overall vocabulary size across languages in young bilingual children is comparable to monolingual scores (e.g. De Houwer et al. 2014; Hoff et al. 2012; Mancilla-Martinez et al. 2011; Marchman & Martinez-Sussman 2002). These patterns reflect the distributed nature of input in bilingual acquisition. At the same time, vocabulary development in bilingual children proceeds independently across the two languages in that bilingual children show no correlation between productive or receptive vocabulary scores across languages (for review, De Houwer 2009). As children reach their mid-teens, weak correlations between vocabulary sizes in both languages emerge (Gathercole et al. 2013).

While these findings are well-established for bilingual children, little is known about vocabulary development in multilingual acquisition. Investigations of lexical acquisition in child multilingualism are largely limited to case studies (for review, Unsworth 2013), and studies on interactions in vocabulary size across languages are available only for adult L3 learners. For a group of L1 Hungarian, L2 Romanian students of English, Szabo (2016) finds significant correlations between vocabulary size in Romanian and English, arguing that L2 and L3 vocabulary are linked (see

also Molnar 2010). Unfortunately, neither study correlates L1, L2 and L3 vocabulary sizes to measure interdependencies across all languages.

2.1.2 *Non-selective lexical access*

Such interrelations have been explored in psycholinguistic research on the multilingual lexicon. Studies find evidence of across-language activation, i.e. non-language selective access at the lexical and the sublexical level, across learner age and proficiency levels (van Hell & Tanner 2012). At the lexical level, bilinguals evince faster responses in reaction time tasks, e.g., lexical decision for cognate words, indicating that representations from both languages are accessed or that these representations are interconnected (for review, see Dijkstra 2005). These findings are complemented by slower reaction times for interlingual homographs, where the inhibition of competing conceptual information requires additional processing effort. Psycholinguistic studies on the multilingual lexicon in adult trilinguals show that cognate facilitation extends across all three languages (Goral et al. 2006; Lemhöfer et al. 2004; Poarch & van Hell 2012). Children learning an L2 or L3 in primary or early secondary school also evince cognate facilitation and homograph inhibition effects in comprehension (Brenders et al. 2011) and in production (Poarch & van Hell 2012). In fact, cross-linguistic lexical activation is in evidence even for 2–3-year-old successive bilingual children from the onset of early L2 acquisition (von Holzen & Mani 2012). In a study comparing bilingual, trilingual and child L2 learners at primary school age (Poarch & van Hell 2012), cognate facilitation in picture naming was limited to the (non-dominant) L2 for the child L2 learners. In contrast, more balanced simultaneous German-English bilinguals and trilinguals who acquired English as the third language in childhood also showed a cognate facilitation effect in their dominant language, i.e., German. These findings suggest that interactivity in the multilingual lexicon may be more limited for unbalanced child L2 learners in that cross-linguistic effects remain unidirectional from the dominant to the less dominant language.

2.1.3 *Cross-linguistic lexical influence*

To address the question whether cross-linguistic influence (CLI) in multilinguals is specific or predominantly restricted to one of the languages previously acquired, research on L3 acquisition has considered lexical intrusions from other languages in L3 production (for review, see Ecke 2015; Jarvis 2016). In a case study on an L1 English-L2 German L3 adult learner of Swedish, Williams and Hammarberg (1998) report that lexical switches during Swedish production occurred into both the L1 and the L2, yet they differed in quality. Whereas switches into the L1 were mainly

intentional, switching into the L2 was predominantly unintentional. The authors argue that L2 and L3 are co-activated, while the L1 can be inhibited. However, this finding can also be explained by the order of acquisition or a foreign-language effect (Dewaele 1998). Further, (perceived) language distance affects CLI in that more closely related languages at the lexical form level lend themselves more to transfer than less related languages (e.g. Cenoz 2001; Jarvis 2000; Ringbom 2001). Moreover, high proficiency in the L2 seems to favor cross-linguistic influence (Ringbom 2001; yet see De Angelis 2005). Finally, these factors can interact in that, e.g., language proximity plays out especially at lower proficiency levels in the L3 (Bardel & Lindqvist 2007).

Nearly all evidence about CLI in lexical production comes from adult learners, and little is known whether multilingual children display comparable patterns of cross-linguistic lexical influence. Sánchez (2015) studied eleven-year-old Spanish/Catalan bilingual children who acquired German in primary school and were then exposed to English as of the end of primary school. The study focussed on blends, i.e., cross-linguistically fused word forms (e.g. German-English: *geeated,* i.e. English verb stem and German participle inflection) which are frequently produced by bilingual children (e.g. Tracy & Gawlitzek-Maiwald 2005). In a corpus-study of written production from 93 learners at different stages of (beginning) English proficiency, blends in English came exclusively from German. Sánchez argues that lemma co-activation takes place only between the L3 and the L2, either because of the (psycho-)typological proximity between German and English or due to a foreign language effect, i.e., the privileged interaction of non-native languages.

In this regard, the findings from child multilinguals support the observation from adult L3 learners that (perceived) language distance is the dominant factor in lexical CLI, while L2 status, proficiency and usage frequency of the respective languages are further factors that affect patterns of CLI in lexical production (Ecke 2015). According to the Parasitic model of L3 lexical acquisition (Hall & Ecke 2003), L3 learners initially map novel L3 words onto L1 or L2 lexical items by virtue of form overlap and adopt its distributional characteristics (i.e., the frame) and its conceptual representation. L3 words can be parasitic upon L1 or L2 lexical items at the form, frame or conceptual level, allowing for multiple cross-linguistic mappings.

In sum, there is robust evidence from vocabulary assessment, psycholinguistic experiments and production studies that the L2 and the L3 lexicons interact in multilingual acquisition, in particular if L2 and L3 are typologically related. In contrast, the L1 lexicon seems to exert a lesser role in the L3. In the present study, we examine interrelations in vocabulary size between the L1, the L2 and the L3 among child L3 learners of English.

2.2   Grammatical transfer in child and adult L3 learners

Simultaneous bilingual children develop the grammars of each language they acquire largely autonomously, and cross-linguistic influence is restricted to particular linguistic contexts (e.g. Serratrice 2013). It appears to extend into core grammatical areas only if one of the languages is considerably more dominant (e.g. Döpke 1998). In contrast, child L2 learners who start acquiring the L2 between the ages of 3 and 8 show initial L1 transfer by producing L1 word order options in the L2 (e.g. Haberzettl 2005; Haznedar 1997).

For instructed L1 German child L2 learners of English, Lenzing (2013) finds that learners mostly produce formulaic sequences at the end of the first year of English instruction spanning two hours per week. At the end of the second year, productive syntactic structure emerges for most learners in that they produce SVO orders and simple questions. She argues that there is no systematic evidence of L1 transfer, since structures suggestive of transfer from German, e.g., verb-first questions (*Have you a book?*) have also been reported for learners whose L1s do not allow these question types. For L3 learners of English, Özdemir (2006) reports in multiple case studies that L1 Turkish child L3 learners of English with German as the L2 display comparable word order patterns after eight months of English exposure as their L1 German classmates learning English as an L2. In the framework of Processability Theory (Pienemann 1998), Wanders (2006) examined four L1 Swedish and six L1 German L2 learners of English and five L1 Turkish-L2 German L3 learners of English who had varied lengths of exposure to English, ranging from seven months to four years and attended regular or German-English bilingual schools. She finds comparable developmental stages for all groups and concludes that transfer is not implicated in the child L2/3 acquisition of English. However, none of the above studies systematically considers the option of L2 transfer from German to the L3 (see also Bohnacker 2006, for adult L2 learners). Young instructed L2 learners of English transfer German word order to English in written and oral production (e.g. Kaltenbacher 2001; Weigl 1999). Likewise, Sağın-Şimşek (2006) reports in oral and written production that 14-year old L1 Turkish heritage speakers in Germany who had been learning English for three years patterned like L1 German learners in transferring German verb-second word order (e.g., *At first was a man on the stage then two other man*) and periphrastic verb constructions to English (e.g., […] *he will in one or two years married*). In contrast, age and proficiency-matched L1 Turkish learners of English in Turkey transferred grammatical properties of Turkish, e.g., SOV order, to English. In written production, L1 Spanish/Basque bilinguals who were child L3 learners of German and acquired English as an L4 also transferred German periphrastic verb constructions to English and differed from a matched group of Spanish/Basque L2 learners of English (Sánchez 2011).

Grammatical transfer from German to English was magnified at lower English proficiency levels, especially when proficiency in German was comparatively high (Sánchez & Bardel 2017).

In sum, previous studies observed comparable development in L2 and L3 English as well as cross-linguistic grammatical transfer from German to English. In view of such transfer, we next discuss whether and how formal linguistic models of cross-linguistic transfer in adult L3 acquisition can be applied to child L3 learners.

Initial state models of transfer in L3 acquisition argue that a full copy of either the L1 or the L2 grammar is recruited as the initial grammar for the emerging L3. Several studies put forth the notion of privileged L1 transfer (Hermas 2010; Jin 2009; Na Ranong & Leung 2009). Although the notion of L1 transfer has not been formalized in a model as such, the studies attesting L1 influence in L3 acquisition relate L1 effects to the sequence of acquisition, with the L1 constituting the default language from which transfer originates. In contrast, the L2 status factor model (Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2011) identifies the L2 as the default source of grammatical transfer as it is the previously acquired non-native or foreign language. The model couches the privileged role of the L2 in maturational terms of the neurocognitive Declarative/Procedural model (Ullman 2005). For adult L2 and L3 learners, the L2 status factor model assumes that both the L2 and the L3 are stored in a different (declarative) memory system compared to the L1 which is situated in procedural memory (Bardel & Falk 2012). Hence, neurocognitive constraints render the L2 the only source of transfer in initial L3 acquisition before L3 learners potentially proceduralize the L3 grammar at higher proficiency levels. Both models conceptualize transfer at the initial state of L3 acquisition as determined by the sequence of acquisition of the previous languages. Finally, the Typological Primacy model (TPM; Rothman 2015) conceives of cross-linguistic transfer as driven by structural similarity between languages, which in turn is determined by similarities in lexis, phonology, functional morphology and syntax. Once the beginning L3 learner encounters L3 input, the language processing system identifies the most similar language and adopts its entire grammar to accommodate the L3 input. The L1 transfer approach and the TPM are applicable both to child and adult L3 acquisition, while the L2 status factor model makes predictions for adult L2/3 learners but does not apply to child L3 learners who acquire all languages in the same age range.

In addition to these models which argue for wholesale transfer of either the L1 or the L2 grammar at the initial state, several other models propose that transfer is property-specific originating either from the L1 or the L2 throughout L3 development. The first of these models, the Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM) by Flynn et al. (2004) conceives of transfer as selective and exclusively facilitative. Throughout L3 development, the CEM claims that learners take recourse to L1

or L2 properties provided these are analogous or highly similar to L3 properties. These are supposed to act to facilitate L3 acquisition. The CEM cannot account for non-facilitative transfer in L3 acquisition (e.g. Falk & Bardel 2011; Sánchez 2011), and it does not spell out the mechanisms by which a learner determines linguistic similarity and potential facilitation (for discussion, see Rothman 2015). More recently, two models have argued for property-specific transfer which may be non-facilitative. The Linguistic Proximity Model (Westergaard et al. 2016) and the Scalpel model (Slabakova 2016) both argue that specific aspects of the L1 or the L2 transfer into the L3 depending on structural similarity. According to the Linguistic Proximity model, the learner decides for each grammatical phenomenon which language provides the closest analogue. For the Scalpel model, it is also structural similarity that mandates transfer, yet other factors, such as processing complexity, transparency and frequency of properties in the input as well as relative usage patterns of the languages may interfere in how similarity between the L3 and L1/2 properties is assessed. However, neither model specifies the mechanisms by which structural similarity is evaluated and how factors are weighted for the recruitment of either the L1 or the L2 grammar. In consequence, they do not allow for principled predictions about the scope of transfer in L3 acquisition (see González Alonso & Rothman 2016, for discussion).

In sum, different models point to the importance of typological difference, cross-linguistic formal similarity and proficiency for grammatical transfer in beginning L3 acquisition. In the present study, we investigate the degree to which models of adult L3 acquisition extend to child L3 acquisition.

3. Research question and hypotheses

We address the research question of how L1 and L2 affect the L3 acquisition of English among child learners in an instructional setting. We focus on vocabulary size and grammatical transfer and investigate the following two hypotheses:

1. Based on previous research on cross-linguistic lexical interactions in adult trilinguals, we predict both L1 and L2 vocabulary to affect vocabulary size in child L3 English.
2. Based on previous findings that child L3 learners of English with German as an L2 do not differ from L1 German learners of English in acquisition, we expect grammatical transfer to originate from German rather than the L1s.

For vocabulary, we assess receptive and productive vocabulary size across languages. For grammar, we employ a sentence-repetition task in English that investigates

central grammatical phenomena that differ across English, German and the various L1s of the child L3 learners of English. In this way, we examine whether transfer from L1 or L2 is wholesale or specific to certain grammatical phenomena.

4. The present study

4.1 Participants

Overall, six public primary schools in south-west Germany participated in the project. In all schools, English was taught as a foreign language starting from first grade for two hours a week. The sample consisted of 200 students at the end of grade 3 (95 female), of whom 88 were child L1 learners of German (44%) and 112 were child L2 learners of German (56%). The ages of the students ranged from 94 to 135 months, and the child L2 learners of German had a mean length of exposure to German of 8;4 years (Table 1).

Table 1. Participants

	full sample			bilingual			monolingual		
	M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Age in months	111.24	5.93	198	112.03	6.09	111	110.24	5.59	87
Length of exposure to German in months				99.95	24.64	88			

We defined all students who had acquired an additional language other than or in addition to German productively and/or receptively before their first contact with English as child L3 learners of English. The child L3 group comprised a wide range of the L1s: Afghan, Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Chinese, French, Greek, Italian, Croatian, Kurdish, Persian, Polish, Roma, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish, Hungarian and Vietnamese. The largest subgroups were L1 speakers of Turkish (n = 40), Kurdish (n = 11), Albanian (n = 10) and Italian (n = 8). The proportion of child L2 learners varied between the individual schools, ranging from 22% to 87% (mean = 0.56; sd = 0.27).

4.2 Materials and methods

We tested lexical knowledge in English, German and the non-German L1s of the child L2 learners. For lexical knowledge in English, the British Picture and Vocabulary Scale (BPVS3; Dunn et al. 2009) was administered in a group setting

at the end of grade 3 to measure receptive vocabulary. Based on pilot tests, we used sets 1–6 for the present study. To measure productive vocabulary, a category fluency task (adapted from Delis et al. 2001) was used. In this task, students named as many items as possible belonging to a semantic category ("animals", "food") within one minute. Category fluency was assessed in German and the L1s, using different semantic categories.

For grammatical knowledge, we opted for a sentence-repetition task since production abilities after three years of English instruction are quite limited and mostly involve formulaic utterances (Lenzing 2013). Sentence-repetition tasks in monolingual and bilingual children tap into grammatical competence, because sentence repetition feeds through the grammar-based production system (e.g. Marinis & Armon-Lotem 2015). We designed a sentence-repetition task focusing on four morphosyntactic structures, namely, word order (SVO vs Verb-Second and SOV (1)), the position of the verb in relation to the adverb (verb raising, (2)), subject omission (3) and article omission (4). Sentences either had the target English structure (a) or displayed non-target realizations of the respective structure (see b and c).

(1) a.   Now the girl plays the game.   (SVO)
    b. *Now plays the girl the game.   (Verb-Second)
    c. *Now the girl the game plays.   (SOV)

(2) a.   The man often cleans the window.   (ADV-V)
    b. *The man cleans often the window.   (V-ADV)

(3) a.   Now she carries the bag.
    b. *Now Ø carries the bag.

(4) a.   Now the man eats the bread.
    b. *Now Ø man eats Ø bread.

For each condition, two lists were created with six items per condition.

4.3   Control variables

In addition, a number of cognitive and social background measures were assessed. To measure phonological awareness, we administered phoneme deletion and phoneme manipulation tasks (following Weber et al. 2007). To assess non-verbal cognitive skills, we used Part 1 of the "Grundintelligenztest Skala 2 – Revision" (CFT 20-R; Weiß 2006). Working memory was measured using forward and backward digit span tasks (adapted from HAWIK-IV; Petermann & Petermann 2008). We used the scores from phoneme manipulation and forward digit span as measures of phonological awareness and working memory, respectively. In addition, executive

control was assessed in a Simon task (Simon 1969). Social, family, linguistic and other background variables were collected in a detailed parent questionnaire. The questionnaire covered the language history of the child as well as the socioeconomic conditions and the migration history of the family. Following Ganzeboom et al. (1992), we compiled a hierarchical score for socioeconomic status of the parents (ISEI) on the basis of parents' highest level of education, net household income and educational profiles of professions and professional groups.

4.4   Procedure

Parents gave written consent for their children to participate in the study. Students were tested individually in a quiet room for the sentence-repetition task, the category fluency tasks, the digit span and phoneme awareness tasks. Tasks were paper-and-pencil based, except for the sentence-repetition task which was administered on laptop computers using the software E-Prime (Schneider et al. 2002). In the sentence-repetition task, students were seated in front of a computer and equipped with headphones. They were first presented with two pictures on a screen which were named. Afterwards, they heard a complete stimulus sentence associated with those items. Then, students had to repeat the stimulus item. Each student repeated 60 items, including six practice and 54 test items. The repeated stimulus sentences were recorded, transcribed and then coded. Similarly, all spoken responses were recorded, transcribed and then coded in the category fluency tasks, the digit span and the phoneme awareness tasks.

Both the BPVS and the CFT-20R were administered in group settings in the classroom during regular lessons. For the BPVS, we created laminated books containing four pictures on every page. The students were orally presented with a vocabulary item and had to match it to one of the four pictures on an answer sheet. For the CFT-20R, students were given task books as well as answer sheets and had to complete the tasks in four blocks with set time limits. Individual test sessions took between 30 and 45 minutes, and each session was audio-recorded in full.

4.5   Analysis

For all measures, raw test scores were computed according to the manuals of the respective tests. For the category fluency tasks, all responses were transcribed and coded for semantic category. For the L1s, native speakers of the respective L1s transcribed and coded the data and provided literal German translations for each item.

On top of language-specific vocabulary scores, we computed cross-linguistic vocabulary scores for the child L3 learners of English by aggregating the scores for

category fluency in the L1 and German. Since category fluency was assessed for the same categories in the L1 and German, we could establish the overall vocabulary size for these categories distributed across L1 and L2. First, we added the scores for L1 and German to form a total vocabulary score (TVS). Second, we followed Marchman et al. (2010) in computing a total conceptual vocabulary score (TCV) by adding the number of different concepts named in the L1 and German. In other words, translation equivalents (e.g., *Hund – dog*) were counted only once.

For the sentence-repetition task, we computed difference scores by subtracting accurate repetitions of the non-target structures (1–4 b and c) from accurate repetitions of the target structures (1–4a). A positive score indicates that students were better at repeating target than non-target structures, and a negative score indicates greater accuracy on non-target structures. In the analysis of the sentence repetition task, we considered the realization of the structures under investigation in the respective L1s of the child L3 learners of English. All L1s were categorized with respect to the four target structures: word order, verb raising, use of definite articles, and subject realization. In a first step, the World Atlas of Language Structures Online (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) was used. Additionally, for every background language, reference grammars were consulted. For categorization, converging evidence from two sources was required for each structure in each language. When multiple written sources could not be found, native speakers were consulted in individual cases.

4.6   Results

4.6.1   *Group comparisons*
We first report the overall group means and group comparisons on all vocabulary and grammar measures (Table 2).

For vocabulary, Table 2 shows that child L3 learners attained lower scores in English receptive vocabulary than child L2 learners, while their scores for productive vocabulary were comparable. For German vocabulary, child L3 learners had lower scores than child L2 learners, which reflects the fact that German is the second or other language for the former but the first and only language for the latter. Once L1 vocabulary is taken into account for the child L3 learners, these differences disappear: The mean Total Conceptual Vocabulary (TCV) is statistically indistinguishable between child L2 and L3 learners, showing that lexical-conceptual knowledge is distributed across languages. For grammar, the child L2 and L3 groups performed comparably on article usage and subject realization, while the child L3 group obtained lower scores for SVO and verb raising.

Table 2. Descriptives: Mean, standard deviation (in parentheses); T-tests child L3 learners vs. child L2 learners, effect size

		Full sample	Child L3 learners	Child L2 learners	T-Tests	d_{Cohen}
Vocabulary	Receptive English (BPVS3)	39.75 (6.56)	38.28 (6.79)	41.61 (5.76)	t(198) = −3.684, p < .001	.490
	Category Fluency English	8.11 (5.38)	7.58 (5.50)	8.78 (5.18)	t(198) = −1.576, p = .117	.224
	Category Fluency German	15.63 (6.35)	13.90 (6.07)	17.82 (6.05)	t(198) = −4.534, p < .001	.646
	Category Fluency L1	12.05 (7.86)	7.51 (5.90)	17.82 (6.05)	t(198) = −12.136, p < .001	1.782
	Total Vocabulary Score (TVS)	19.83 (8.53)	21.41 (9.80)	17.82 (6.05)	t(188.3) = 3.184, p = .002	−.426
	Total Conceptual Vocabulary (TCV)	18.05 (7.13)	18.23 (7.85)	17.82 (6.13)	t(198.0) = 0.419, p = .676	−.057
Grammar	SVO	−0.84 (1.65)	−1.05 (1.90)	−0.57 (1.23)	t(191.4) = −2.182, p = .030	.293
	Verb raising	−2.38 (2.11)	−2.71 (2.10)	−1.97 (2.06)	t(198) = −2.490, p = .014	.355
	Articles	0.93 (2.86)	0.69 (2.97)	1.24 (2.70)	t(198) = −1.356, p = .177	.193
	Subject realization	−0.49 (1.25)	−0.50 (1.36)	−0.48 (1.09)	t(198) = −0.128, p = .899	.016
Cognitive factors	Basic cognitive skills (CFT)	101.50 (14.98)	97.72 (14.38)	106.40 (14.38)	t(193) = −4.180, p < .001	.604
	Working memory (ZNV)	7.79 (1.71)	7.54 (1.54)	8.11 (1.87)	t(167.2) = −2.347, p = .020	.337
	Phonological awareness	0.56 (0.36)	0.47 (0.37)	0.66 (0.33)	t(194.3) = −3.856, p < .001	.538
	Executive control (Simon-Task)	66.81 (46.88)	69.91 (49.76)	62.85 (42.88)	t(198) = 1.057, p = .292	−.151
Social factors	SES of parents (highest ISEI)	49.43 (10.11)	45.73 (9.75)	53.59 (8.87)	t(153) = −5.230, p < .001	.841
	Education of parents (years in school)	11.52 (1.65)	11.08 (1.66)	12.00 (1.50)	t(153) = −3.603, p < .001	.574
	Net household income	3785.56 (2023.08)	3212.56 (1839.77)	4429.20 (2037.72)	t(153) = −3.906, p < .001	.629

Note. Child L3 learners: L3 = English, L2 = German, L1 = other. Child L2 learners: L1 = German, L2 = English. For all means, higher values denote better test performance.

In addition, Table 2 shows that the child L3 group had significantly lower scores in many cognitive measures as well as in social variables than their monolingual classmates. In the following, we focus on differences across L1, L2 and L3 within the child L3 learners in vocabulary and grammar, controlling for cognitive and social factors as covariates in between-group comparisons.

4.6.2 *English vocabulary*

We first turn to receptive vocabulary size in English as measured in the BPVS3. In a first step, we explored interrelations between vocabulary size across languages. Table 3 shows the results of a linear regression analysis for English receptive vocabulary with the predictors category fluency in German, category fluency in the L1 as well as the composite L1 + L2 measures, the TCV. For the child L3 group, Table 3 shows that both L1 and L2 vocabulary correlate significantly with L3 vocabulary. L1 vocabulary shows stronger effects on English vocabulary than L2 German vocabulary, and it accounts for more variance in English vocabulary (R^2 = .122 vs R^2 = .044). The composite measure of L1 and L2 vocabulary, the TCV, has the highest regression coefficient. In addition, the model with the TCV as a single predictor explains more shared variance (R^2 = .138) than the model with L1 and L2 fluency added as separate predictors (R^2 = .127).

Table 3. Regressions: English vocabulary: BPVS

	BPVS				
	Child L2 group	**Child L3 group**			
Category Fluency German	.160	.229*		.121	
Category Fluency L1			.360***	.319**	
Total Conceptual Vocabulary					.382***
N	88	112	112	112	112
$R^2_{corr.}$	.014	.044	.122	.127	.138

Stand. Regression coefficient ß
+ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 4 displays the relations in vocabulary size for productive vocabulary in English as measured in the English category fluency task. Similar to the observation for receptive English vocabulary, L1 vocabulary accounts for more variance than L2 vocabulary, and the TCV shows the strongest correlation with English vocabulary, and it explains the largest amount of shared variance.

In a second step, we explored the extent to which the effects of the TCV on receptive and productive English vocabulary size are moderated by cognitive and social background variables. In a mixed linear regression controlling for school as

Table 4. Regressions: English vocabulary: Category fluency English

	Category Fluency English				
	Child L2 group	Child L3 group			
Category Fluency German	.252*	.327***		.203*	
Category Fluency L1			.433***	.364***	
Total Conceptual Vocabulary					.480***
N	88	112	112	112	112
$R^2_{corr.}$	.053	.099	.180	.210	.224

Stand. Regression coefficient ß

+ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

a main factor, we added group (child L2 vs L3 learners) and cognitive and social factors as additional predictors (Table 5).

Table 5. Mixed linear regression: English vocabulary, controlled for school

	BPVS		Category Fluency English	
Parameter	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Fixed effects				
constant term	39.59 *** (1.22)	40.05*** (0.97)	7.90*** (0.96)	8.19*** (0.80)
Total Conceptual Vocabulary[a]	1.53*** (0.41)	1.54** (0.45)	1.77* (0.53)	1.95* (0.50)
Group (child L2 vs L3)		0.29 (0.52)		0.45 (0.45)
Basic cognitive skills (CFT)[a]		1.39 (0.68)		0.24 (0.45)
Phonological awareness[a]		0.13 (0.77)		0.64 (0.70)
Working memory[a]		−0.24 (0.45)		0.04 (0.37)
Executive control (Simon Task)[a]		−0.85 (0.72)		0.15 (0.39)
SES[a]		0.15 (0.69)		0.61 (0.59)
Education[a]		0.69 (0.66)		0.10 (0.56)
N	200	149[b]	200	149[b]

Notation: unstand. Estimates, standard error in parentheses/controlled for random effects/type of covariance: variance components

[a] standardized

[b] only cases with information from the parents, missing values ML-estimated with EM-algorithm

+ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Both for receptive and productive English vocabulary, the Total Conceptual Vocabulary (TCV) remained the strongest and only significant predictor when additional background variables were taken into account. In sum, child L3 learners showed interrelations between L1, German and English vocabulary, with the

strongest relations for the combined L1 + L2 measure for conceptual knowledge (TCV). The effects of the combined L1 and L2 vocabulary on L3 vocabulary remained significant even when considering additional background variables.

4.6.3   English grammar

As described above, we grouped the L3 learners according to the properties in their L1 for each of the grammatical properties investigated in the sentence-repetition task. Once the groups had been established, we checked whether they were compatible in terms of the cognitive and social factors listed in Table 2. There were no significant differences for the groups formed on the basis of word order and subject realization. The groups formed according to L1 differences in verb-raising and article realization showed significant differences in some cognitive and social variables. The child L3 learners with *verb raising L1s* had significant advantages in phonological awareness (t(87) = 2.061, p = .042) and SES (t(62) = 1.999, p = .050) compared to the L1 group without verb raising. In consequence, we excluded all participants from the group *without verb raising* in the *L1* for whom the values of these two factors exceeded the mean + /− 1.5 SD of the respective factors in the group *with verb raising in the L1.* The resulting group of students *without verb raising in the L1* (n = 45) showed no significant differences in the covariates compared with the group *with verb raising in the L1* (n = 18; all ps > .200). For articles, the groups *with* (n = 22) and *without articles* (n = 90) showed significant differences in phonological awareness (t(109) = 2.110, p = .037). Following the same procedure, we created matched groups of child learners with L1s *without articles* (n = 68) and with *articles* (n = 22; all ps > .103).

In a next step, we assessed whether these groups differed in linguistic performance in L1, L2 and English, as measured in the category fluency tasks. Table 6 shows the results of the comparisons. For all groupings, the L3 groups were statistically indistinguishable from one another. Hence, the child L3 groups were matched on all measures, so that any differential performance in the sentence-repetition task can be related to L1 differences, rather than being due to other aspects of variation.

For the sentence-repetition task, Table 7 gives the group means as the difference between accurate repetitions of the English target structure (e.g. SVO) and accurate repetitions of the non-target structure (e.g. SOV or V2, respectively). A positive score means that the group is more accurate on the target structure than the non-target structure. Conversely, a negative score indicates that the group is more accurate on the non-target structure. Table 7 shows that the scores are in the positive range for all groups for word order and article usage. The scores for subject realization are slightly in the negative range, while the score for verb raising is negative. This pattern suggests that verb raising presented difficulty for all groups,

Table 6. Descriptives: Sentence-repetition task: Mean, standard deviation (in parantheses); T-tests L3 groups

	Cat. Flu. German	Cat. Flu. English	Cat. Flu. L1	T-Tests (between groups) 1st row: Cat. Flu. German 2nd row: Cat. Flu. English 3rd row: Cat. Flu. L1.
L3 groups				
L1 word order: SVO (n = 70)	14.49 (5.81)	8.36 (6.09)	7.73 (6.42)	t(109) = 1.303, p = .195
L1 word order: SOV (n = 41)	12.93 (6.53)	6.27 (4.15)	7.27 (4.94)	t(109) = 1.946, p = .054
				t(109) = 0.395, p = .693
L1: no verb raising (n = 45)	12.76 (6.84)	7.84 (6.23)	7.80 (6.88)	t(61) = −0.075, p = .940
L1: verb raising (n = 18)	12.89 (4.96)	8.61 (4.74)	6.72 (3.71)	t(61) = −0.469, p = .640
				t(61) = 0.627, p = .533
L1: articles (n = 22)	14.50 (5.85)	9.00 (6.16)	7.55 (7.30)	t(88) = 0.509, p = .612
L1: no articles (n = 68)	13.71 (6.51)	7.47 (5.66)	7.53 (5.84)	t(88) = 1.079, p = .284
				t(88) = 0.011, p = .992
L1: overt subjects (n = 10)	13.40 (6.20)	9.50 (8.18)	6.80 (5.65)	t(110) = −0.273, p = .786
L1: null subjects (n = 102)	13.95 (6.09)	7.39 (5.19)	7.58 (5.94)	t(110) = 1.158, p = .249
				t(110) = −0.397, p = .692

Note. All means are difference scores (accurate target repetitions minus accurate non-target repetitions).

followed by the expression of pronominal subjects. In contrast, the groups had more target-like performance on SVO word order and articles.

To assess whether the child L3 groups differ in their performance on English grammar depending on the L1 realization of grammatical properties, we first contrasted their performance in the sentence repetition task in pairwise comparisons (Table 7). There were no significant group differences for any of the constructions (all ps > .34). In order to check whether the L3 groups differ from the performance of the L2 learners with German as the L1, we subsequently ran pairwise comparisons with the child L2 learners. For word order and subjects, neither group differed significantly from the child L2 learners. For verb raising, there was a significant difference between the group whose L1s do not have verb raising and the child L2 learners, with the child L2 learners achieving higher mean scores. For articles, we found a (marginally) significant difference between the group whose L1s do not instantiate articles and the child L2 learners, again with the child L2 learners reaching higher scores. However, the child L2 group and the child L3 groups were not matched on background variables (see Table 2), so that the more accurate performance of the child L2 group could partially result from between-group differences in non-linguistic factors.

Table 7. Group differences in sentence repetition task: Mean, standard deviation (in parentheses); T-tests, effect size: Significant differences bolded

| | Child L2 learners | Child L3 learners | | T-Tests: 1st row: L1 like English vs. unlike 2nd row: Child L2 vs. L1 like E. 3rd row: Child L2 vs. L1 unlike E. | d_{Cohen} |
		L1 like English	L1 unlike English		
Word Order SVO-Word Order SOV	0.32 (1.18)	0.63 (1.45)	0.37 (1.36)	t(109) = 0.945, p = .347 t(132.03) = −1.452, p = .1495	
N	88	70	41	t(127) = −0.204, p = .839	
Word Order SVO-Word Order V2	0.30 (1.33)	0.49 (1.64)	0.24 (1.79)	t(109) = 0.726, p = .470 t(131.67) = −0.786, p = .433	
N	88	70	41	t(61.52) = 0.165, p = .870	
Verb raising	−1.97 (2.06)	−2.80 (2.06)	−2.61 (2.35)	t(61) = −0.315, p = .754 **t(131) = 2.205, p = .029**	−.403
N	88	45	18	t(104) = 1.179, p = .241	
Articles	1.24 (2.70)	1.09 (3.48)	0.41 (2.67)	t(88) = 0.960, p = .340 t(108) = 0.216, p = .829	
N	88	22	68	**t(154) = 1.907, p = .058**	−.309
N	−0.48 (1.09)	−0.40 (1.07)	−0.51 (1.39)	t(110) = 0.242, p = .809 t(96) = −0.212, p = .832	
N	88	10	102	t(188) = 0.177, p = .860	

Note. All means are difference scores (accurate target repetitions minus accurate non-target repetitions).

In sum, for the matched child L3 groups, there were no significant differences on any of the grammatical phenomena investigated in the sentence-repetition task depending on whether the L1 realized the phenomenon like or unlike English. Further, we could not find differences between the child L3 groups and the child L2 group, with the exception of verb raising and (marginally) articles, where the child L2 group scored more highly than individual L3 groups.

5.   Discussion

The present chapter investigated the extent to which the L1 exerts a role in the vocabulary and grammar acquisition of 200 L2 and L3 child learners of English in a primary school context. We compared L2 and L3 learners to identifiy effects of the L1 versus the L2 in child L3 learners.

For vocabulary, this study hypothesized that vocabulary size in both the L1 and in L2 German accounts for variation in L3 English vocabulary. Productive vocabulary size was assessed in category fluency tasks in the L1, German and English. Receptive English vocabulary size was measured with a standardized vocabulary test. Both for productive and for receptive L3 English vocabulary, the sizes of the L1 as well as the L2 lexicon were significantly correlated with the L3 lexicon. Of note, L1 vocabulary showed higher correlations and explained a larger amount of variance in English vocabulary than L2 (German) vocabulary. This pattern of relative impacts of L1 and L2 vocabulary on L3 vocabulary was similar within productive vocabulary measures as well as across productive and receptive vocabulary measures. In consequence, the correspondences between L1, L2 and L3 vocabulary reflect systematic cross-linguistic relations, rather than being due to similarities in the tasks or overlap in the semantic categories elicited in the fluency task. In these respects, the child L3 learners differ from simultaneous bilingual children who typically do not exhibit cross-linguistic relations in vocabulary size (Gathercole et al. 2013).

As the regression analyzes in Tables 3 and 4 bear out, though, the Total Conceptual Vocabulary (TCV) score as a composite L1 & L2 measure of distributed lexical (conceptual) knowledge accounted for more variance in L3 English vocabulary than L1 or L2 vocabulary did separately. In this regard, the child L3 learners in this study demonstrated relations between vocabulary measures across all languages which were acquired consecutively. These observed relations are in accordance with models of multilingual lexical acquisition like the Parasitic Model (Hall & Ecke 2003), according to which access to L3 words initially proceeds via lexical representations of previously learnt languages. In this respect, child L3 learners appear to be comparable to adult L3 learners in that the L3 lexicon builds on all previous languages in consecutive language acquisition. These findings are also in line with psycholinguistic research on the trilingual mental lexicon that reports cross-linguistic facilitation across all languages (Brenders et al. 2011; Lemhöfer et al. 2004; Poarch & van Hell 2012), and the present results align with research on adult L3 acquisition that shows L2-L3 relations in vocabulary size (e.g. Szabo 2016).

With regard to differential L1 and L2 effects on the L3 English lexicon, it will be necessary to complement the findings on vocabulary size with error data from language production. Findings from adult L3 learners (Ecke 2015) and from child

L3/4 learners of English (Sánchez 2015) suggest that typological relatedness predominantly accounts for lexical transfer in an L3, although proficiency differences in L1, L2 and L3 may modulate effects of cross-linguisitc interference (e.g. Bardel & Lindqvist 2007). Against this backdrop, it will be instructive to study lexical intrusions from the L1 and the L2 in the L3 of the child L3 learners and to investigate how relative proficiency in L1 and L2 interacts with the source of transfer. Production data from these learners have been collected and will afford further insights into the dynamics of cross-linguistic lexical interactions.

As for L1 influences in grammar acquisition, the results from the sentence repetition task suggest a very limited degree of L1 transfer in the acquisition of major grammatical areas of English syntax. When comparing the child L3 learners broken down into subgroups with L1s that either correspond or do not correspond to English in terms of the specific grammatical phenomena tested, there were no statistically significant group differences in the performance in the sentence repetition task. This null finding suggests that the L1 does not systematically affect the child L3 development of English grammar. Moreover, when comparing the subgroups of child L3 learners to the child L2 learners of English, there were no systematic between-group differences. In particular with respect to properties for which English and German differ (SVO and verb raising), the child L3 learners whose L1s pattern with English did not show any advantage. Rather, for verb raising, all groups had scores in the negative range, indicating that they transfer verb raising from German to English. This finding suggests that transfer obtains wholesale from German into English, irrespective of L1 differences. In fact, the child L3 groups whose L1 does not realize verb raising performed worse than the child L2 group, even though German differs from English in verb raising. The only area in which suggestive L1 effects surfaced was article usage. The L3 group whose L1s do not have articles performed less accurately on articles in English than the child L2 learners. However, the perfomance of two matched child L3 groups was statistically indistinguishable, such that we cannot unambiguously relate lower performance of the child L3 group *vis à vis* the German group to L1 properties. By and large, these findings echo previous studies on child L3 acquisition of English that show analogous development between L1 German and L2 German child learners of English (Özdemir 2006; Wanders 2006). In particular, they align with studies reporting transfer from German in child L3 learners of English (Sağın-Şimşek 2006; Sánchez 2011).

In the context of the models of L3 grammar acquisition reviewed in Section 2, the present findings are incompatible with approaches that assign a privileged role to the L1 in L3 acquisition (e.g. Hermas 2010). There was no indication in any of the four grammatical phenomena under investigation that child L3 learners performed differently in the L3 depending on the realization of L1 properties. Further, the findings do not lend support to the Cumulative Enhancement Model

(e.g. Flynn et al. 2004) which would predict child L3 learners to benefit from the L1 grammar for phenomena where the L2 German is different from English. Such a constellation holds for both SVO word order and verb raising; yet, the groups of L3 learners with SVO and verb-in-situ L1s did not perform differently from the L3 groups for which both the L1 and the L2 are different from English. The results further do not support models arguing for selective transfer at the level of individual grammatical phenomena, as predicted by the Linguistic Proximity or the Scalpel models (Slabakova, 2016; Westergaard et al. 2016). For none of the constructions did we find differential performance among child L3 learners depending on the L1 realization of the grammatical property under consideration.

In line with our second hypothesis, the performance similarities of the child L3 groups with the (native German) child L2 learners suggest that L3 learners of English resorted to their L2 German grammar in the sentence-repetition task. As such, the pattern of findings is compatible with the assumptions of the Typological Primacy model (e.g. Rothman 2015), according to which German grammar transfers at the L3 initial state. Wholesale transfer from German could equally be accounted for by the L2 status factor model. Note, though, that the L2 status factor is argued to derive from maturational constraints forcing the L3 to be accommodated in the same neurocognitive system as a late-learnt L2 (Bardel & Falk 2012). For child learners, the L2 status factor should thus not apply, because typological considerations rather than age constraints mandate the adoption of the German grammar in English. However, the child L3 learners were also more proficient in German, as the comparison of the productive vocabulary scores in L1 and German indicates (Table 2). For adult L3 learners, Jaensch (2009) reports that a higher degree of L2 proficiency leads to greater L2 transfer in a developing L3 grammar. As in the present study, the L2s and L3s were English and German in Jaensch (2009), so that it is an open question whether effects of typological proximity and proficiency are separate or additive.

In sum, the present study finds a high degree of interdependence across all languages in the developing L3 lexicon and transfer from German in initial stages of L3 grammar acquisition. With a view to the role of the L1, the comparison of lexical and grammatical development suggests that the L1 is more relevant in lexical than in grammatical domains in the child L3 acquisition of English. For vocabulary, even though the strongest effects came from the combined conceptual knowledge across L1 and L2, the L1 was a stronger individual predictor for L3 vocabulary than L2 vocabulary size. This pattern suggests a crucial role of the L1 lexicon for conceptual knowledge that becomes relevant for further language acquisition in child learners, even if the L1 is typologically dissimilar from similar L2s and L3s. For these language combinations, L1 effects in grammar are much more limited. This asymmetry between lexical and grammatical L1 effects in child L3 acquisition

resembles developmental patterns in child bilingual and adult L2 acquisition (e.g. De Houwer 2009; van Hout et al. 2003) as well as child and adult L2 processing (e.g. Frenck-Mestre & Pynte 1997; Hopp 2016; Lemmerth & Hopp submitted), in which cross-linguistic lexical interactions between L1 and L2 are more pronounced than syntactic transfer or coactivation.

Finally, the present study has implications for teaching foreign languages in multilingual classrooms. The results for vocabulary suggest that teachers can build on the non-selective multilingual lexicon by integrating L1s and L2s in vocabulary exercises and affording opportunities for learners to use the L1 and the L2 as hosts for parasitic L3 vocabulary acquisition. In structural domains of grammar, the scope of L1 involvement seems to be more limited. In the present study, there is little evidence to suggest that recourse to grammatical properties of heritage languages is called for in the teaching of English as an L3, provided the L2 exhibits greater similarity to the L3 than the respective L1s. At the same time, the students in this study had not received teaching that involved (systematic) cross-linguistic comparisons of English with the L1. In consequence, they may have been unaware of grammatical correspondences between their L1 and English in that they did not notice cross-linguistic (dis-)similarities (e.g. Schmidt 1993). Teaching approaches that include reference to the L1s in focus-on-form activities may therefore hold promise to yield facilitative L1 effects in L3 acquisition.

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"One day a father and his son going fishing on the Lake"

A study on the use of the progressive aspect of monolingual and bilingual learners of English

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The development towards an ever more multilingual society has an influence on the awareness of (multiple) language acquisition, the need for mastering foreign languages and the fact that nowadays, school children within one class do not come from just one but a number of societies and have differing linguistic backgrounds. This study aims to present evidence that there is a difference in the performance of English between monolingual and bilingual learners. Additionally, as a minor sub-section, it calls attention to resulting consequences for language instruction in multilingual classrooms. The scope of the investigation is the progressive aspect: monolingual and bilingual 12 and 16-year-old school children wrote an English text based on a picture story. This corpus, together with social background information of the participants, is the basis of the analysis.

Keywords: bilingualism, heritage language, language acquisition, multilingualism, progressive aspect

1. Introduction

The rapid development towards an ever more multilingual society has considerable influence on the awareness of (multiple) language acquisition and the need for mastering foreign languages. It is truly not the case that only monolingual speakers of German live in Germany nowadays; the country has become a place that is characterized by language diversity and multilingualism (Meyer 2008). People from everywhere can leave their home countries and are able to go to Germany (and other countries, in this respect) for various reasons: searching for a job, family reunion, social/political problems in the country of origin, etc. This affects various areas – one certainly is the acquisition of foreign languages. Due to the

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aforementioned processes of globalization, it has become inevitable not only to master one's own native tongue but to additionally speak various other languages. Both developments interfere and create a complex situation: monolinguals and bilinguals, or even multilinguals, study foreign languages in mixed groups. This is especially relevant in secondary schools: native German students learn English as their second language together with bilingual or multilingual children, for whom English is the third language or an additional foreign language.

Hamburg will serve as an example here: in 2011, over 40% of children and young adults had a migration background (Pohlan et al. 2012). Because of the ongoing migration movement, this number is presumably much higher today. Very often, this indicates that children with a migration background grow up in Germany, learn German, and go to German schools; but in addition to German, they use another language, their heritage language, at home with their family.

Even without considering the linguistic background of the children, the situation in schools is already heterogeneous: children of all kinds of socio-economic backgrounds go to one school or even one school class. In addition to this, they come from different cultures and speak various languages. Teachers now face the problem of creating an adequate learning environment for everyone. The question that arises is whether it makes a difference if English is the first foreign language or an additional foreign language. If it does, the instruction of English and other foreign languages in schools has to include strategies that incorporate not only the German perspective but promote other foreign languages and their grammatical systems as well. This could result in a higher success rate for all learners of English, both monolingual German learners and multilingual learners.

When talking about bilingual or multilingual children, one has to keep in mind that they do not all share the same set of languages. People with numerous nationalities have come and are still coming to Germany; according to *Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration* in 2012, the largest groups came from Turkey, Poland, Russia, and Kazakhstan. Different heritage languages might have deviating effects on the acquisition of English as an additional foreign language because of differing typological similarity or distance (cf. Rothman 2010). Even though the previously mentioned countries make up a huge proportion, not everyone comes from this limited number. In 2006, it was stated that the number of countries that people who live in Germany had originally come from was approximately 150 (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* 2007). Again, this is a number that is likely to be much higher nowadays. This gives us an idea of how complex and heterogeneous the situation in Hamburg and Germany is in general.

As a result, research in the area of language acquisition, more specifically second, third, and multiple language acquisition, along with studies about bilingualism

and multilingualism is constantly increasing and becoming more valued. Several scholars investigate multilingual behavior; they found striking differences between second and third or additional language acquisition (cf. De Angelis 2007; Siemund 2018). It remains, however, questionable whether bi- or multilingualism is an advantage or maybe even a disadvantage, various studies show differing results (cf. Gogolin & Neumann 2009). No definite answer has been given so far. Reasons are that language acquisition and knowing a language include manifold layers and different aspects, and because various interfering factors such as social background, age when the language of the environment was acquired, etc. have to be considered as well (cf. Cenoz 2013). This is a cautious explanation for the, at first sight, contradicting outcomes of former studies. However, regardless of being seen as an advantage or disadvantage, there surely is a difference in the acquisition process to be expected. Using this knowledge and focusing on the specific needs the individual learners have could result in a higher success rate for learning foreign languages.

Due to its obvious relevance and the need for further research in this area, the current project aims to explore the role of transfer from the heritage language and/or German, the language of the environment, when acquiring a third language, here English, in comparison with monolingual German, Turkish, and Russian learners of English, focusing on the acquisition or rather the use of the progressive aspect.

It is almost impossible to look at the acquisition process in natural surroundings, especially with the large group that is to be examined in this study. Therefore, a different approach was chosen: the analysis of written texts produced by students. Hence, we look at the result of language instruction or, to put it differently, at the performance of the learners of English.

The data comes mainly from a project carried out at the University of Hamburg, English LiMA Panel Study (E-LiPS), conducted from 2009 until 2013.[1] School children with different language backgrounds at the age of 12 and 16 were given tasks in English. The group of participants consists of Russian-German, Turkish-German, and Vietnamese-German children learning English, additionally to German, Russian, and Turkish monolinguals learning English, as well as English native speakers as a control group.

This paper mainly focuses on the acquisition and use of the progressive aspect based on written texts produced by these children. The following research questions will be addressed in the ongoing discussion:

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1. Are there differences in the texts produced by monolingual learners of English and multilingual learners of English?
2. Do both subgroups (12-year-old and 16-year-old students) of each language group show a similar development, i.e. an improvement in their English skills with increasing age?
3. How does the type of school these children go to affect the results?
4. How do the different tense and aspect systems of one's native language(s) influence the acquisition and use of tense and aspect, especially the progressive aspect, in English?
5. Are both the heritage language and German, the language of the environment, sources of (positive or negative) transfer for the acquisition of English as an additional foreign language?

Background information, such as language biography, age, type of school etc. is going to be included in the analysis. A more detailed explanation of the design of the study will be given in the following subsections.

2.   Tense and aspect: Progressive

We chose tense and aspect as a basis for a comparison and as the point of reference when looking for differences between monolingual and multilingual learners of English because of the different nature of the tense and aspect systems in the languages under discussion. Before I have a closer look at the individual systems and especially the progressive aspect, I briefly introduce the concepts of *tense*, *aspect*, and *aktionsart*.

Tense can be defined as "a grammatical category for the expression of temporal relations" (Siemund 2013: 111), which means that a situation is located in time by using linguistic elements; hence, it refers to "the linguistic embedding of real-world situations in time" (ibid.: 111). Languages differ in how this category is represented: some have an obligatory grammatical marker for showing temporal relationships, others only use lexical marking to indicate temporal relationships (cf. Siemund 2013).

The category of aspect, as Comrie defines it, represents "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976: 3). It is not the locating of a situation in time that is expressed with the aspectual marking, but the inner structure of a situation that is located in time. We find different parameters, such as completeness or boundedness (cf. Siemund 2013). Out of these, only progressiveness will be relevant for this project.

The last concept that needs to be introduced is aktionsart. Siemund claims that "[g]rammatical aspect such as the progressive […] heavily interacts with the temporal properties inherent in the meaning of the verb and its arguments" (2013: 136–137). Verbs and their arguments have specific meanings that they denote and these can be classified into four different types of aktionsart, namely *activity*, *accomplishment*, *achievement*, and *state* (cf. Klein 1994; Rothstein 2004; Vendler 1957).

All three concepts interact and cannot be viewed as independent. In the following discussion, I will have a closer look at English, German, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese and their representation of the progressive aspect.

In English, we find a fully grammaticalized system for progressive vs. non-progressive aspect (cf. König & Gast 2012). Fully grammaticalized refers to its obligatoriness: for every utterance, we have to choose between the progressive, i.e. the auxiliary *be* plus the *-ing* ending at the main verb, or the simple form of the verb. The progressive combines with all tenses available in English, for instance, there is the present progressive or the past progressive. In addition to tense interacting with the progressive aspect, the aktionsart of the verb plays a crucial role. Verbs, according to their aktionsart, combine more or less easily with the progressive: activities and accomplishments typically combine with the progressive, but achievements and states are less likely to be used in the progressive form. A typical example of a progressive sentence would be the following, taken from König & Gast (2012: 93):

(1)   Charles is working.

This sentence stands in direct opposition to its simple form *Charles works*. The former expresses a situation where Charles is right now in the middle of performing an action (i.e. work), whereas we can classify the simple aspect in the present tense as a habitual, i.e. the general property of Charles to have a job.

In German, such a grammaticalized system of the progressive aspect cannot be found. This, however, does not mean that German cannot express what is expressed with the progressive in English, because "not all languages have aspects, but all languages can express aspectual distinctions by lexical means" (Siemund 2013: 134). In German, we do not find one but several lexical items that correspond to the English progressive aspect (König & Gast 2012: 92–93). Sentences (2a) to (2d), possible translations of example sentence (1), also taken from König & Gast (2012), should serve as examples to demonstrate how flexible German is, meaning how many different (optional) structures German can use as an equivalent for an (obligatory) progressive sentence in English.

(2)   a.   Karl arbeitet gerade.
      b.   Karl ist am Arbeiten.
      c.   Karl ist beim Arbeiten.
      d.   Karl ist arbeiten.

German and English are genetically related, they belong to the Germanic branch and share a number of features; however, the progressive meaning is encoded completely differently (cf. König & Gast 2012). Nevertheless, both languages mark tense mostly with affixes (cf. Dryer 2013), which is another important feature, as the ongoing debate will show. Whereas German belongs to the group of fusional languages, English is developing into an isolating language (cf. Iggesen 2013; König & Gast 2012).

Russian also marks tense and aspect, like German and English, with affixes, both suffixes and prefixes appear (Dryer 2013). We find up to four and five categories that can attach to a morpheme (Bickel & Nichols 2013). Additionally, Russian, like German, belongs to the group of fusional languages (cf. Iggesen 2013; König & Gast 2012). Russian verbs have an infinitive stem from which (most) tenses are formed (Wade 1992); this means that even if we find a compound tense in English, in Russian it corresponds to a complex word form. This also applies to the category of aspect: "[t]he Russian verb system is dominated by the concept of aspect" (Wade 1992: 257), especially the perfective and imperfective aspect, and it is formed by a modification of the infinitive stem as well. To illustrate what that means and what a finite verb in Russian could look like, consider the following example of a present progressive sentence in English and its Russian translation (adapted from Wade 1992: 256):

(3)   a.   I am writing a letter.
      b.   Ja   piš-u   pis'mo.
           1GS   write.1GS-IPFV letter.

In the English sentence, the auxiliary and the *-ing* suffix are obligatorily needed. In Russian, we do not find an auxiliary but only the imperfective (IPFV) stem of the verb *pisat'*. Imperfectives in the present tense tend to express ongoing processes (Comrie 1976: 63), which corresponds to the English progressive aspect here. In addition, the verb *byt'*, which is similar in meaning to English *to be*, behaves quite differently in Russian than in English, because there is generally no copular in Russian. Plus, in many contexts, for example in the present tense, it is not expressed (Wade 1992: 246). Summing up, in English, we find the *-ing*-form and a form of the verb *to be*; in Russian, there is no auxiliary to express the progressive aspect, only a specific inflectional ending marking imperfective aspect.

Turkish belongs to the family of Turkic languages and is an example of an agglutinating language (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005: viii; Taylan 2001: vii). As in Russian, temporal and aspectual information is expressed by adding affixes to the verb (Cinque 2001: 47–50); this means that the verb in Turkish "can host a series of grammatical morphemes" (Taylan 2001: vii). There is no auxiliary similar to what we find in English. There is, however, another striking difference between

the English progressive and the Turkish progressive. In Turkish, we find two imperfective markers that are used to express the progressive and habitual situations: *-(I)yor* and *-mAktA* (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 332). The differentiation between progressive and habitual is the following: the "[p]rogressive aspect views a *specific situation* as incomplete. This situation may be dynamic (an event) or static (a state)" (ibid.: 332; italics in original). Habituals, however, also present a situation as incomplete but "it is part of a *recurrent pattern*" (ibid.: 332; italics in original). The difference between the two markers is mainly stylistic. The former is more common in spoken conversations, because it is less formal. The latter is relatively formal but can, under specific circumstances, occur in informal speech as well (ibid.: 332). The crucial difference to the English progressive aspect is that both Turkish imperfective markers are not only used for ongoing and incomplete situations but also for states. In English, however, states are not normally expressed in the progressive. For this contrast between Turkish and English, see examples (4) and (5), taken from Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 332):

(4) Şu   an-da   ne   yap-**ıyor**-sunuz?
    this moment-LOC   what do-IPFV-2PL
    'What *are* you *doing* at the moment.'

(5) Sen Ömer-I   ben-den daha iyi   tanı-**yor**-sun.
    you Ömer-ACC I-ABL   more well know-IPFV-2SG
    'You *know* Ömer better than me.'

As becomes apparent, in Turkish, one finds both progressive events and states with the same marker; in English, however, sentence number (5) would be ungrammatical or at least not target-like if expressed with the progressive form. This is not an exhaustive description of the progressive in Turkish, but this already shows how differently the concepts of the progressive aspect are used in Turkish and English.

The final language that needs to be discussed and that behaves strikingly different is Vietnamese. This is an isolating language (Ngô 2001: 10), hence it does not have inflectional endings, meaning that the form of the word is (more or less) fixed: "[g]rammatical relationships are expressed not by changing the internal structure of the words […] but by the use of auxiliary words and word order" (Ngô 2001: 10). In addition and unlike in English, the tense marker is usually left out in Vietnamese and the progressive aspect is not expressed with an auxiliary verb or a suffix, but with individual word forms (Bickel & Nichols 2013; Ngô 2001). Furthermore, in Vietnamese, there are two types of verbs, namely action and quality verbs, the latter are also called stative verbs and correspond to what we label as adjectives in English (Nguyễn 1997: 107, 119). Action verbs can co-occur with tense or aspect markers in the form of an individual word preceding the verb, which serves as a prompt for identifying the specific meaning, but it is not obligatory (ibid: 108). Hence, in

Vietnamese, the progressive is not obligatorily expressed, and if it is expressed, it is not encoded with auxiliaries or suffixes, but with an additional word form.

Taking these characteristics of English, German, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese into consideration, some tentative conclusions can be drawn: the progressive in English is formed with a form of the auxiliary *to be* and the *–ing* form of a verb. In German, we do not find such a system of the progressive aspect in general but need other lexical means to convey this meaning. In Russian, we find an aspectual opposition of perfective and imperfective, marked by affixes on the verb. There is no auxiliary involved. Turkish uses affixes attached to the verb base; an auxiliary verb that stands alone is not necessary to express the progressive aspect. Additionally, the so-called progressive marker is not only used for progressive events but extends to states as well. In Vietnamese, no affixes but isolated morphemes are used to express tense and aspect. Summing up, the languages German and Vietnamese to not have grammatical aspect; Russian and Turkish both differentiate between perfective versus imperfective aspect; and English possesses a distinction between progressive aspect versus simple aspect.

Due to these major contrasts between the five languages, we can assume that learning and using the progressive aspect in English causes different problems for Germans than for Russian, Turkish, or Vietnamese native speakers. Furthermore, the bilingual children should also behave differently as they have two source languages to potentially transfer from.

As I have shown, all languages involved differ considerably in the use of the progressive aspect or the way they express progressive meaning – the linguistic interplay is rather complex. This is exactly what makes this study special: all multilinguals have German as one of their languages and they are all learners of English. Only the non-German monolingual groups do not speak German. The following analysis of the data will show whether there are significant differences between the groups or not when producing texts in English.

3. First, second, and third language

At this point, I need to clarify the notion of first, second, and third language: in the literature, there is no consistent use of these concepts and I will briefly introduce Hammarberg (2010, 2014) for this study. He deviates from the traditional chronological labeling but defines the first language as the native language or languages of a speaker, and the second language as one or more non-native languages of a speaker (Hammarberg 2014: 6). Hence, a person can have various first or second languages. The third language is then simply a special case of a second language: "[i]n dealing with the linguistic situation of a multilingual, the term *third language*

(L3) refers to a non-native language which is currently being used or acquired in a situation where the person already has knowledge of one or more L2s in addition to one or more L1s" (Hammarberg 2010: 97). In the current discussion, I will not use the labels L1, L2, or L3 but stick to the less controversial terms *language of the environment* for German, *heritage language* for the native language of the participants (i.e. Russian, Turkish, or Vietnamese) and *foreign language* for the non-native language English. For my participants this means the following: in case of the monolingual participants, English is their first foreign language. For the other students, the Russian-German, Turkish-German, and Vietnamese-German children, English will be an additional foreign language; it is the one currently in focus. One note of caution: for some of the participants, both languages can be seen as native languages; for others, however, only the heritage language Russian, Turkish, or Vietnamese is the native language and German a non-native language.[2] Yet, for the sake of simplicity, I will refer to all speakers with previous knowledge of two languages (be it two native languages or one native language and one non-native language) as bilingual learners of English.

4.   Specificity of learners of English

In order to look at foreign learners of English, one has to have a look at how native learners of English acquire their native tongue. Native learners of English acquire the *-ing* form of the verb quite early but typically as a single inflected form without the corresponding auxiliary verb; auxiliary verbs are acquired fairly late (Clark 2016: 207–208, 215–216). When looking at foreign learners, however, it becomes apparent that they do not use the complete progressive form from the beginning onwards either, but that they acquire and master compound tenses successively: first the verb with the suffix (e.g. *-ing*) appears alone, and only later is this form used with the auxiliary (Ellis 2015: 79). As an example, I would like to mention one study on learners of English.

Gass and Selinker have shown that native speakers of Arabic used the progressive in the early stages of learning English without the auxiliary verb (2008: 46pp). Is this now something characteristic for Arabic speakers learning English, or is this something natural for all learners of English? The logic behind this reasoning is the finding that the process of constructing the form-function system does not exclusively depend on the input but also on the first language of the learner (Ellis

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2.   Some children were born in Germany and acquired both German and another language from birth onwards. Others were born outside of Germany and started learning German later, only after moving to Germany.

2015: 109). This could imply that some learners of English start using both forms of the progressive earlier or later than other learners, depending on the grammatical structure of their native language. This claim needs to be examined within this study; the analysis of the English texts produced by the participants with different native languages will show whether this can be verified or not. As Chapter 2 revealed, the languages known to the participants of this study differ crucially in how they express the progressive aspect. In addition, some participants are bilingual; hence, they have access to two different grammatical systems. If the mapping of the form-function system depends also on the first language or first languages of the learners, then we should expect to find differences between the distinct groups in this study. On the one hand, they speak different languages, and on the other hand, some have previous knowledge of one and others of two languages.

Additionally, it has been shown that a new linguistic form appears first in one context or a very limited range of contexts and spreads only later to other contexts (Ellis 2015: 109). This is also something that needs to be kept in mind when looking at the data. Due to the two age groups of the participants – half of the students are 12 years old, the other half is 16 years old – it might be possible to detect a development, such as more verbs are used in more contexts in the texts of the older children compared to the ones of the younger participants. Older age should relate to being more advanced in English. Here as well, the heritage language and its grammatical system could interfere and cause some students to use a greater variety of verbs earlier than other students that have a different heritage language.

5.   Methodology of the study

The main subject matter of the study is the analysis of texts written by learners of English. In the English LiMA Panel Study (E-LiPS), one of the exercises the participants had to do was to write a narrative based on a picture story by Erich Ohser, "Gut gemeint …" (English: "Good intentions"), see Figure 1.

Figure 1. "Gut gemeint …" by Erich Ohser

The children that participated in the study had a time limit of 30 minutes to complete the task: they were asked to write at least two sentences for each of the six pictures of the story. In addition to describing the picture story, the children had to

fill in two questionnaires. One was about personal information such as age, native language(s), foreign language(s), years of studying English, profession of mother and father, etc. The other was about their attitude towards English and situations in which English is used in their daily lives. This background and demographic information is relevant for the analysis and the comparison of the different groups. As I have explained earlier, it is not easy to measure the acquisition of a language *per se;* we can only analyze the results of the acquisition process. However, two different cohorts, the 12-year-old and the 16-year-old students, should enable us to gain a glimpse of their performance at two points in time, even though the participants were not tested twice.

In total, the E-LiPS data set includes 209 texts from children at the age of 12 (n = 104) and at the age of 16 (n = 105). 40 texts were written by German monolinguals, 20 each by Russian and Turkish monolinguals, 40 by Russian-German students, 41 by Turkish-German students, and 48 by Vietnamese-German students. One group is currently not represented in the data set, namely monolingual Vietnamese children. Additionally, during the E-LiPS project, six texts written by native English students living in London were collected; however, the circumstances in which the texts were produced (in between two school classes as opposed to 30 minutes time to think and write the texts) were extremely different to the situation of all the other children in the study. Therefore, a new set of participants (n = 30) repeated the task in 2016: these students are native speakers of English that are being schooled in an international school in Hamburg. They are not monolingual speakers, since they come from international families and are mostly being raised bilingually, in addition to growing up in Germany and learning other foreign languages at school. However, they are all completing the International Baccalaureate, a schooling program for native speakers of English with English being the language of instruction. They will be used as the native speaker control group in this project.

6.   Descriptive analysis

For a general overview of the entire data set, the first step was to count words, sentences, and verb phrases per text and to calculate the type-token-ratio for each student. The latter turned out to be quite controversial: many linguists argue that it is not a reliable measure for lexical richness or the quality of a text (cf. Jarvis 2002; Larsen-Freeman 2006; Vermeer 2000). One reason that is mentioned is that with differing text length, the type-token-ratio cannot simply be compared: the type-token-ratio is sensitive to highly frequent words; hence, it is not a confident measure of lexical density or richness in texts with differing length or in texts produced by students with differing competence levels of that language (Vermeer

2000). This is a problem for the current study because all the texts vary distinctively in length. Length alone, however, can be seen as a first point of reference. Vermeer argues that the number of sentences and words increases with increasing competence of that language (2000: 78). Therefore, the number of words used for describing the picture story should correlate with the overall performance: the longer the texts the better, and the shorter the texts the least advanced are the students. This measure can be used (1) to compare the groups with each other and (2) to compare the students within each group, namely the ones at the age of 12 with those at the age of 16. The expected results are that the native English students write the longest texts compared to the others and that, for all groups, the older cohort should produce longer texts because they are expected to be more advanced than the younger cohort, since the latter had four years less of language instruction. Figure 2 visualizes the results in form of boxplots. Not surprisingly, the native English students produced the highest number of words; interestingly, the average number of the 16-year-old native English speakers is slightly lower than the number of words of their younger peers. This difference, however, is not statistically significant because both boxes overlap with their medians. The monolingual speakers of Russian and Turkish and the Turkish-German children wrote the shortest English texts. The first two groups also showed an increase in length from age 12 to age 16. The opposite was the case for the Turkish students.[3] The overall performance, not only concerning the length but also when reading the texts produced by the Turkish students, was strikingly different compared to the English texts of the other groups. The Turkish participants rarely produced long sentences or complete stories and often used Turkish words in their English texts. The performance of the German, Russian-German, and Vietnamese-German students is somewhere in the middle: the mean length centers around 100 words per text and increases with increasing age. The overlapping boxes of the Turkish, Vietnamese-German, Russian-German, and Russian plots show that it is likely that there is a difference, i.e. that the texts of the younger students differ significantly in length compared to the texts of the older students, because at least one median does not overlap with the box of the other plot. Overall, the outcome is what was expected: higher number of words corresponds almost always to older age and the English control group uses the highest numbers altogether.

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3. Further analyses, which go beyond the focus of this paper, will have to show why the performance of the older students is lower than of the younger students. School grades could reveal a correlation, but no concrete answer will be given at this point.
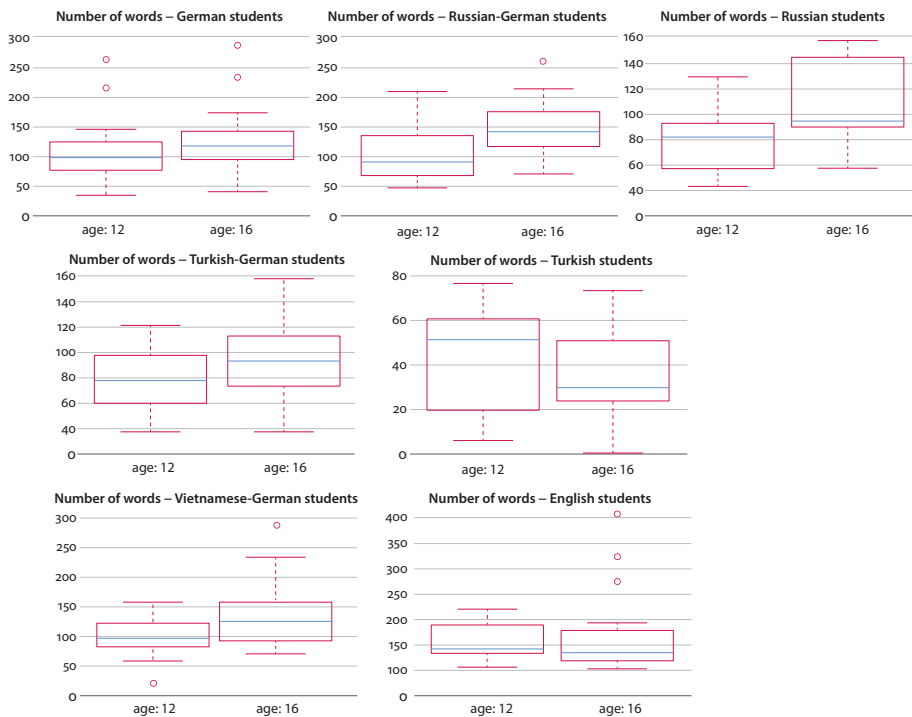
Figure 2. Average number of words per text

In a second step, all occurring progressive forms were counted and classified according to formal correctness and target-like use of the verb. It is necessary to separate the cover term 'correct usage' into these two categories; this method was adopted from Bardovi-Harlig (1992). If all instances of the progressive were only coded 'incorrect' versus 'correct', then this would not allow for a differentiated analysis. Examples could be formally correct: the form of *be* adheres to subject and verb agreement and the suffix *-ing* is added to the main verb. Apart from this, examples could also be used target-like or not: target-like refers to what we would expect a native speaker to produce. Non-target-like would be examples in the progressive form that are typically not used in the progressive in native English. The inherent meaning of the verb together with its arguments, i.e. aktionsart, was used for coding this category. An example for a correct form but incorrect meaning, or – to put it cautiously – the verb in the progressive is a rather uncommon target language use, would be sentence (6). Number (7) is the other way around: the meaning is correct, in other words this verb very commonly appears in the *–ing* form in English, but formally the progressive is incorrect.

(6)   They were seeing a much bigger fish …

(7)   The man and child walking.[4]

The verb *see* is not normally expressed in the progressive when it means 'to perceive someone or something'. If *see* is used in the progressive, then the meaning changes into 'dating someone, having an affair with someone'. Of course, it is not easy to state what the writer of the story wanted to say; however, since the pictures are available and were the basis for the story in the first place, it is possible to guess the intended meaning of the verb and the entire sentence. Therefore, this example was coded 'correct form' and 'incorrect meaning'. Example (7) could also be a headline or subtitle, if it appeared in isolation, and could be formally correct and target-like, because headlines or subtitles are known to make use of omitting certain parts and can consist of incomplete sentences. However, I found this sentence in the middle of the story and here an auxiliary is required. This is the reason why I included all sentences of this format in the category progressive, even though strictly speaking, they are not progressives, because the auxiliary verb is missing. But as has been explained earlier, leaving out the auxiliary when acquiring the usage of the progressive is quite common. Therefore, I decided to count examples of this kind as formally incorrect instances of the progressive aspect.

An additional variable to formal correctness is the absence or presence of the auxiliary verb. This is, in a sense, a subcategory of formal correctness and not a variable in its own right, because all formally correct examples are automatically coded "auxiliary verb present"; formally incorrect, however, does not necessarily mean that the auxiliary is absent.

In Table 1, it is shown that overall, the English control group achieved the best results. The Vietnamese-German students also received fairly high results in the first two categories and low results in the last category. Concerning the target-like meaning, the monolingual Turkish and Russian speakers, hence all students that do not have knowledge of German, used the progressive consistently in appropriate contexts, i.e. they produced no errors. The forms produced by these two groups, however, tended to be correct less often. This could correlate with the grammatical systems of Turkish and Russian – both languages differentiate grammatical aspect, yet, the form in the respective is quite different from English. With respect to the correct meaning, those with a German background produced the lowest number of correct examples. Again, the reason for that could be that German does not have a grammaticalized form of the progressive aspect. If these numbers are significant will be shown in the statistical analysis in the next subsection.

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4.   Both examples were taken from the E-LiPS data set. Sentence (6) was produced by a German monolingual child, and number (7) was written by a Turkish monolingual child.

Table 1. Formal correctness, target-like usage and absence of auxiliary

Language group	Form correct	Meaning target-like	Auxiliary missing
English	94.92%	96.6%	6.78%
German	62.07%	86.21%	37.93%
Russian	46.43%	100.00%	46.00%
Russian-German	51.35%	86.49%	45.95%
Turkish	61.11%	100.00%	38.89%
Turkish-German	40.38%	80.77%	57.69%
Vietnamese-German	65.79%	88.16%	34.21%

Third, it was assumed that the improvement in the use of the progressive correlates with the number of different verbs that is used: initially, only a limited number of verbs should occur and later, the use of the progressive should spread to more contexts. The counts of the different verbs occurring in the progressive aspect might be an indication of the level of English of the individual groups: the English students, as expected, used a greater variety of different verbs (n = 33), followed by the Vietnamese-German students (n = 23), the German and Turkish-German students (both n = 19), and the Russian students (n = 15). The fewest verbs were used by the Russian-German students (n = 14) and the Turkish students (n = 9). Overall, the most frequent verbs of all groups taken together were *go, fish, cry,* and *look*. This high frequency can be easily explained: these verbs were triggered by the plot of the story and, additionally, these are typical activity verbs, hence, verbs that occur particularly frequently in the progressive in English. Together, they make up roughly 50% of all verbs that were used.

All these interim findings are exclusively based on the language background; none of the additional information such as the socio-economic background of the students was included. Besides, the variables were all looked at in isolation for a first, general overview. In the next step, more variables will be put together in one model to see whether there is a significant correlation between certain variables and language groups.

7. Statistical analysis

After descriptively analyzing the data, the statistical analysis should allow a more detailed view on the data set. With this, it is aimed to find statistically significant differences between the monolingual and bilingual speakers. First, with the help

of association plots, it will be shown whether one or more groups are more or less strongly associated with a certain value of one variable.[5]

The results in Figure 3 clearly reveal that the auxiliary is less likely to be missing in the texts produced by the English children (Eng) and the Vietnamese-German students (V_G), and that in the other groups, especially in the Turkish-German (T_G) texts, the frequency of missing auxiliaries is significantly higher than expected. Earlier it was explained that Vietnamese speakers use an additional free morpheme in combination with a verb to express a progressive meaning; in Turkish, this is expressed with a suffix instead. This could be an explanation for the findings here.
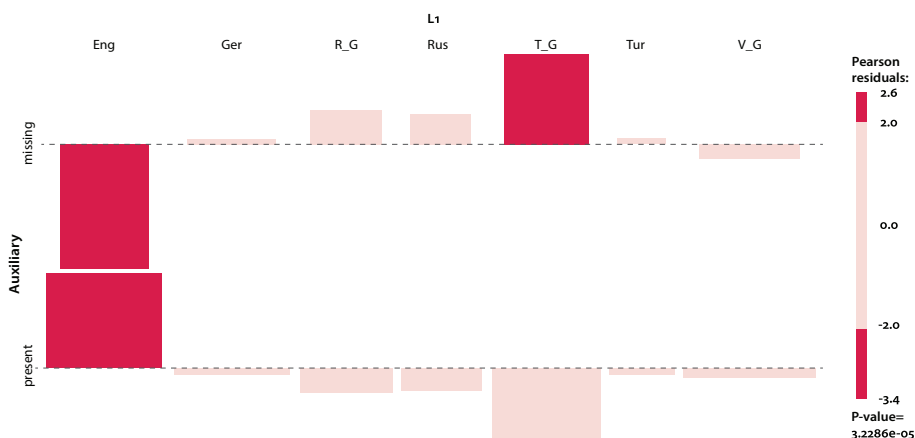
Figure 3. Association plot: auxiliary versus language group

Furthermore, the number of missing auxiliaries decreases significantly with increasing age: all 12-year-old students taken together produced significantly more sentences without an auxiliary in comparison to the 16-year-old students. 43.4% of the progressives appear without an auxiliary in the data of the younger cohort,

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5. All following association plots were created with the statistics program R (R Development Core Team 2016). This function allows to look at two variables independently and to test their power of attraction. The outcome is given in a plot with bars. The size of the bars (height and width), the orientation (either above or below zero) and the color of the bars (the darker the color, the higher the associations) show the power of attraction. The results can be interpreted like a chi-squared test: the p-value and the residuals are given. The p-value shows whether the plot is significant or not, and the residuals show how high the attraction of this variable is; above the line indicates that the variable appears more often than expected, the opposite is the case for bars that go downwards. Hence, by looking at the squares, one can see if this variable is (significantly) over or under represented for each form separately. For further information see Levshina (2015) or the help function in R.

whereas only 32.1% of the progressives do not have a preceding auxiliary in the texts of the older cohort. This matches the study conducted by Gass and Selinker (2008) with Arabic students. The reason for that was previously given: the main verb was claimed to be acquired first and the auxiliary to appear only later in the progressive construction. The results here seem to confirm this. For this statistical test, the individual native languages were not differentiated.

Second, when looking at target-like vs. non-target-like uses, the English, Turkish (Tur), and Russian (Rus) students show significantly higher results for using the verb in the progressive in a typical progressive situation (Figure 4). This confirms the findings from the descriptive analysis. The reason for Turkish and Russian students to produce more target-like examples than the other learners of English might correlate with the grammatical systems of Turkish and Russian in contrast to the grammatical systems of German and Vietnamese. German does not have a progressive form of the verb; Russian and Turkish, however, are both languages with a highly specified and complex tense and aspect system (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005; Wade 1992).
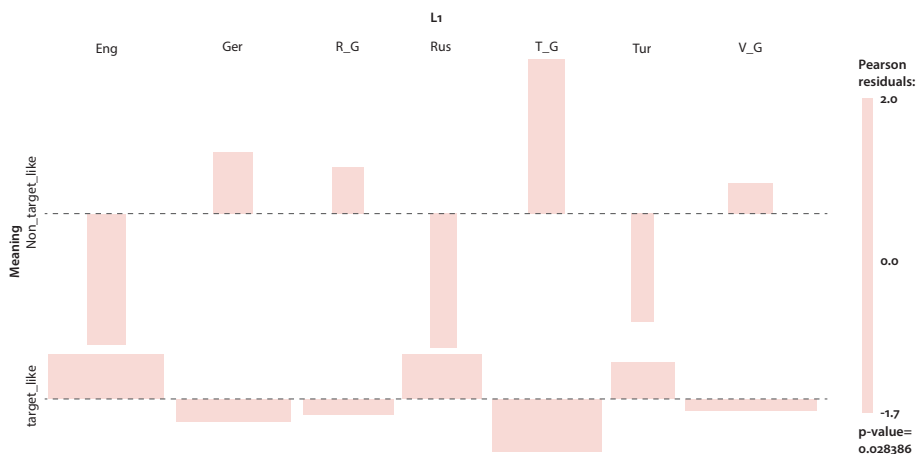
Figure 4. Association plot: meaning versus language group

Third, all progressives were categorized into the four types of *aktionsart*: activity, accomplishment, achievement, and state. As was explained earlier, verbs, depending on their *aktionsart*, combine more or less easily with the progressive aspect. There is an expected difference between states and achievements, on the one hand, and activities and accomplishments, on the other hand (cf. Rothstein 2004: 12, 22). Whether there is a disparity between the different language groups or even within groups regarding other background information will be shown with the following conditional inference tree and the association plots (Figure 5 to Figure 7).
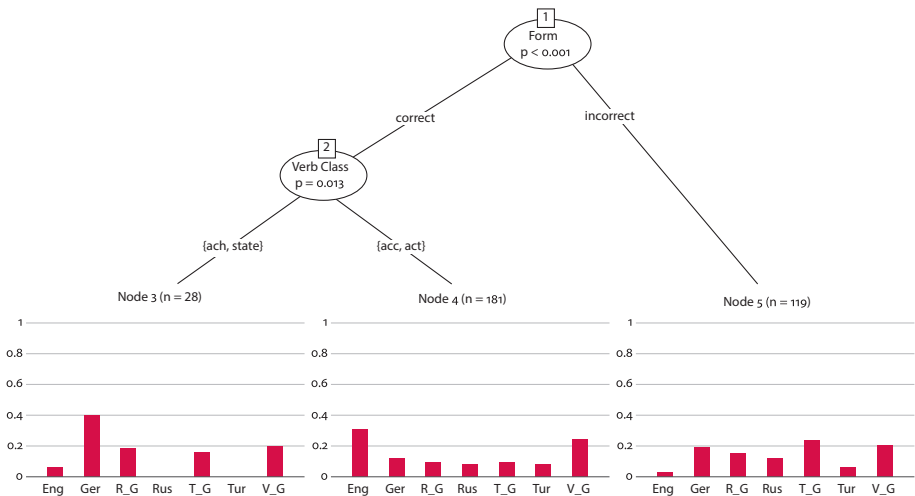
Figure 5. Conditional inference tree

In Figure 5, we can see that formally correct uses of the progressive can be separated into two groups, which correlates with the theoretical remarks made earlier: achievements (ach) and states form one group, accomplishments (acc) and activities (act) make up the second group. Naturally, most of the progressives should appear in the second group, which is the case for the English and the Vietnamese-German students.[6] Fewer examples should be found with achievement and state verbs, as they are typically not used in the progressive: here we find English, together with Russian and Turkish to behave most target-like. Surprisingly, none of the Turkish speakers used a state verb in the progressive; in Turkish, the same marking for ongoing states and for progressive events is used; however, the students seem to have no problems with this in English.

Yet, this needs to be stated with caution, because the number of progressives produced in the 20 texts by the Turkish monolingual speakers is rather low (n = 18). What is outstanding is the result that all children that have German as a native language show the highest frequencies with verbs that are typically not found with the progressive aspect. Could this be an indication for German influencing the English performance negatively? Or does this correspond to the teaching strategy that is used in Germany, meaning that English is taught from a German perspective, or perhaps a didactic overemphasis of teaching the progressive aspect, and that

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6. For this conditional inference tree, all variables (that is 'grade', 'verb-class', 'form', 'meaning', and 'auxiliary') were included; however, only 'form' and 'verb-class' showed to have a significant influence when comparing the language groups. Therefore, none of the other variables appears in this figure.

the teachers in schools are mostly native German speakers? Additionally, in the English and also the Turkish texts, we find the lowest number of formally incorrect progressives (right path of the tree).

  This, however, cannot be all there is. The language background alone cannot be taken to explain the performance in another language. Language acquisition, or more precisely the success of language acquisition, be it first or foreign language acquisition, depends heavily on the social background of the learners and other (personal) factors (cf. Hoff & Tian 2005; Pavlenko 2002). Therefore, background information was collected with two questionnaires. In Figure 6, one can observe which school type is more or less strongly associated with one of the language groups.[7] Especially the Vietnamese-German students are from a school with the highest level of education ('Gymnasium') and the Turkish-German students in this study attend more frequently lower ranked school types ('Grundschule',[8] 'Gesamtschule', 'Stadtteilschule'). Hence, it becomes apparent that the individual groups are not equally distributed across the different school types.
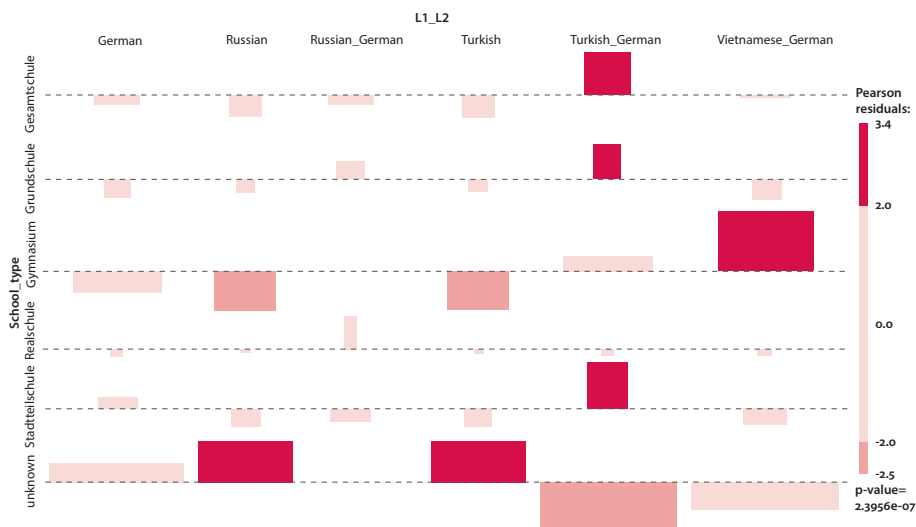
Figure 6. Association plot: type of school per language group

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7.   The English students are not included because they all come from one school, the International School of Hamburg (ISH).

8.   Normally, 'Grundschule' in Germany means a school that covers class 1 to class 4; however, some schools include more classes. That explains why some of the participants are from a 'Grundschule'.

Interestingly, there is a positive association of formal correctness and attending high school ('Gymnasium') and a negative association with lower-level secondary schools ('Realschule', 'Stadtteilschule', 'Gesamtschule'); this can be observed in Figure 7. This correlates with what was expected: a better performance (here shown with formal correctness) of those who go to high-level schools.
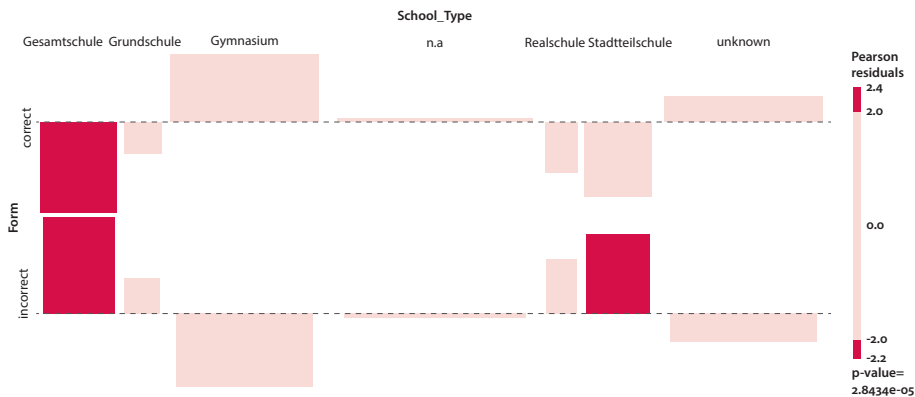
Figure 7. Association plot: form of progressive correct in relation to school type

In future research, all the different pieces of background information and language specific features need to be put together in one model, because going to a higher ranked school could correlate with the onset time of learning German, the school grades, the number of languages that are spoken at home, etc. The development of such a more comprehensive model was beyond the scope of the current project.

8.   Discussion

What could be shown is that the different language groups, the monolingual and the multilingual learners of English, performed differently in the task: so far, it seems as if this is related to, or at least partly related to their language background. Admittedly, I did not consider all socio-economic background factors, but heritage and foreign languages taken in isolation generated some interesting effects. There appears to be a dissimilarity between the individual groups. Interestingly, when German was at least one of the languages known to the children, it seemed to influence the target-like use of the progressive negatively. With this I am not referring to using the grammatical form of the progressive, i.e. an auxiliary and the present participle, incorrectly, but I point out that it affected the concept of using the progressive negatively. These students used achievement and state verbs

significantly more often with the progressive aspect than the other students. This could be related, as has been mentioned before, to the inner structure of the languages involved: German, on the one hand, does not have a grammatical structure that expresses the progressive meaning; Russian and Turkish, on the other hand, are both languages that possess a highly complex system of aspect and differentiate between perfective versus imperfective aspect, with the imperfective covering the progressive domain. Unfortunately, there is no written data produced by Vietnamese monolingual children – it needs to be left for future analysis to see how they perform in this specific task and how this fits to the results.

Additionally, the formal representation shows quite convincing effects as well. Again, there are parallels to the grammatical systems of the other languages: the Turkish-German, Russian, Russian-German, and Turkish students made significantly more mistakes concerning the form than the other groups – hence, the German, Vietnamese-German, and English students performed better. In the former languages (at least in the languages other than German), the progressive meaning is expressed with one word form only, a verb with affixes. The latter group consists of the English control group and of children whose languages do either not possess a grammaticalized progressive (German)[9] or regularly form tenses and aspect with more than one word form (Vietnamese). This might be an explanation for the performance pattern that could be identified here. With this in mind, it seems reasonable to argue that it matters which language or languages (or any additional foreign language in this respect) the learners of English already know.

Nonetheless, all results presented here are work in progress results so far. For further research, it will not suffice to concentrate exclusively on the progressive aspect; tense – both simple and compound tenses – need to be analyzed similarly to the analysis of the progressive – especially the variety of different tenses in writing a story need to be explored, too. It is not *per se* better or more correct to use the progressive aspect when writing a story about the picture story used here; however, the performance of the English children control group shows that 73% of them used at least one progressive form; the average number of progressives for all of their texts is 1.97 per text. Compared to the other groups we can observe a clear difference, see Table 2.

The individual tense and aspect systems of German, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese will also have to be analyzed in more detail and are going to be included in the ongoing comparison. Moreover, one language group is still missing,

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9. Note that German, in principle, allows for a progressive structure, even though it is not used or if then only rarely used: *Wir waren arbeitend, als wir einschliefen.* (Example provided by Peter Siemund.) Therefore, since it is not regularly used or grammaticalized in the language, German is counted among the languages that do not possess a progressive form.

Table 2. Number of progressives and percentages of children

Language group	Average number of progressives per text	% of the group that used at least one progressive
English	1.97	73.0%
German	1.45	52.5%
Russian	1.40	65.0%
Russian-German	0.93	50.0%
Turkish	0.90	35.0%
Turkish-German	1.27	54.0%
Vietnamese-German	1.58	58.0%

namely Vietnamese monolingual children. So far, I have not been able to collect data from these children; however, in fall 2017, Vietnamese children in Hanoi will be presented with the same task as the previous groups to complete the data set. This group is essential to the entire study. In order to put the performance of the Vietnamese-German children into perspective, it needs to be compared with the written outcome of the monolingual Vietnamese children that do not speak German.

Another variable that has not yet been looked into is the age when German was acquired; this might also be an influencing factor on the performance of English. It was shown that there might possibly be a negative influence of the German grammatical system on the outcome of the English results. In addition to this, not only the system of German itself might influence the outcome in English, but the type of school in general. Moreover, this might be related to the onset of acquiring German. The earlier a child is exposed to German, the better the performance in German and the higher is the likelihood of going to a better or more advanced school. Nevertheless, more research has to be done, before I can give a more elaborate answer to that question.

One additional point that has so far not been mentioned is one variable that cannot be controlled and that is the individual teaching method of each teacher or even the syllabus of the schools. These differ not only from country to country but even within one country, especially in Germany, because each state and each school has the freedom to create and use specific teaching techniques. Hence, all the results should be taken with caution because not everything can be explained with the language background or the personal characteristics of the students but the instruction itself is assumed to have an effect as well.

There is one further weakness of the study: the number of participants in each group/cohort is not balanced. The Russian and Turkish monolinguals are underrepresented – I could only analyze 20 written examples of Russian and Turkish students

as opposed to the double number of texts produced by German, Russian-German, Turkish-German, and Vietnamese-German children.

Nevertheless, the results presented here strongly indicate that there is not only a crucial difference in the use of the progressive aspect when comparing monolingual and multilingual speakers but that there is also the likelihood of finding even more convincing results when going deeper into the analysis. The progressive in English here only served as one example. Analogously, one could compare the performance in English or more languages with other tenses and aspectual categories or even other grammatical areas.

The next section goes one step further and tries, in addition to the pure analysis of the texts, to cautiously point out what the findings imply for the bigger picture and in how far these and related results can help to revise teaching strategies in multilingual foreign language classes.

9.   Consequences for language instruction

As has been explained, we find an extremely heterogeneous group of students within one classroom whose different language backgrounds could affect the acquisition of foreign languages. In order to meet their individual needs, and in order to identify areas of problems, one should not ignore but rather consider and incorporate the language background they come from. Cummins claims that it is "reasonable to argue that learning efficiencies can be achieved if teachers explicitly draw student's attention to similarities and differences between their languages and reinforce effective learning strategies in a coordinated way across languages" (2013: 298). This could help to guide students when studying grammatical concepts that are new to them, because they do not occur in their languages, or for seeing the differences in grammatical concepts that overlap to a certain extent but differ in other respects. As the example of the progressive aspect has shown, the Russian and Turkish learners have an advantage over the German learners in that they have this grammatical concept in their native languages and could therefore profit from positive transfer. Yet, the bilingual students, i.e. the Russian-German and the Turkish-German students, did not show to have an advantage from their Russian and Turkish background. It seems as if the awareness of the students' needs to be increased: "[t]he reality is that students are making cross-linguistic connections throughout the course of their learning in a bilingual or immersion program, so why not nurture this learning strategy and help students to apply it more efficiently" (Cummins 2007: 229; cf. Jessner 2006). Without giving any practical methods for teachers or language instructors, I simply want to raise awareness for the inclusion of other languages and grammatical systems or at least other conceptualizations in the

multilingual classroom when teaching foreign languages. One should move away from teaching English from a German perspective only. Admittedly, it is unlikely that German native teachers will begin to learn Russian, Turkish, Vietnamese, or other foreign languages, in order to be a more suitable English language teacher in multilingual classrooms. However, it could help to have more teachers with a heritage background, and also to train future teachers in linguistics and grammatical systems of the languages of the world. In addition, the students could be encouraged to make use of their additional languages as valuable and helpful assets for improving the study process.

10. Concluding remarks

The aim of this paper was to look for evidence that monolingual learners of English and multilingual learners of English show differences in their foreign language performance. It appears to play a role which and how many languages the learners speak before they start learning English. Previous knowledge of a language or languages and especially of the relevant grammatical systems affect the outcome in the additional foreign language. The findings are based on a study with students of two cohorts, 12-year-old and 16-year-old students, with differing language backgrounds. They were asked to write an English text based on a picture story. In these texts, specific patterns within the language groups could be found. Variables that were identified as determining the acquisition process are the presence or absence of the auxiliary, formal correctness and target-like use of the progressive verb, the type of verb that was used, the length of the texts, and the frequency of progressives in general. The former points could be explained to some extent due to the grammatical differences between German, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese. The German, Turkish, and Russian monolingual children transferred from their heritage language and produced significantly different results. The bilingual children potentially used two sources for transfer. The point was stressed that children with a bilingual background who grow up in Germany could profit from their heritage language if this would be included in the foreign language classroom. However, in this study, the results of the use of the progressive aspect of the multilingual participants does not confirm a completely positive transfer from both formerly known languages. On the contrary, here, multilingualism seems to cause problems or a disadvantage for the students.

Concerning the frequency of the progressives over the entire data set, I want to stress again that this distribution differs crucially: more than 70% of the students of the English control group used at least one progressive in their texts. Of the Turkish students less than 40% made use of at least one progressive and less than

60% of the German, Russian-German, Turkish-German, and Vietnamese-German students. 65% of the Russian learners produced at least one progressive form in their texts. It was argued that the use of the progressive increases with increasing levels of English – it can be seen as a feature for greater variation within texts, as part of writing and creating a story in comparison to purely writing down sentences in simple present or simple past. These numbers overlap to some extent with the overall length of the texts and the number of progressives per group. The hierarchy of the number of progressives used in the texts per group, from most to least, is the following: English, Vietnamese-German, German, Russian, Turkish-German, Russian-German, and Turkish. All this suggests that the learners and their levels of English differ. This can be (at least partly) related to their language backgrounds.

Summing up, the analysis of the text showed some relevant and significant results, but clearly more research in this area needs to be done, especially when keeping in mind that individual teaching style, school policies and personal background information of the learners were not or cannot be included in such an analysis of learners of English from as many different geographical regions.

Acknowledgment

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English as a lingua franca at the multilingual university

A comparison of monolingually and multilingually raised students and instructors

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Through an explorative study, we have begun to examine what other languages can be found at the University of Hamburg and what roles these languages play alongside German and English in university instruction. In the first portion of the data collection process, 1454 students and 341 instructors shared information about their multilingual resources, their attitudes and motivation regarding English as a lingua franca, multilingualism and German as a foreign language via an online questionnaire. Initial results show that multilingually raised participants tended to report higher levels of language proficiency in more languages and exhibit important differences related to their attitudes towards and motivations for learning English compared to their monolingually raised peers.

Keywords: attitudes, English as a lingua franca, motivation, multilingualism, university instruction

1. Introduction

English as a lingua franca represents an important linguistic medium with the help of which speakers of various languages are able to communicate directly through the use of this shared contact language (see Firth 1996). When using a lingua franca, grammatical correctness and non-native accentedness are irrelevant, while the comprehensibility and communicative competence (see Hymes 1972) among non-native speakers are of the utmost importance. House (1999) draws a line from the use of English as a foreign language to its use as a lingua franca, in that the lingua franca English is utilised when all speakers in a given interaction have learnt English as a foreign language (i.e., as opposed to having acquired it as a native language). This lingua franca English differs from standardised varieties of

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English in that it allows itself to be altered depending on the situation and speakers so that it fulfils its role as a lingua franca (see also e.g., Ferguson 2009; Firth 2009; Jenkins 2007; MacKenzie 2012; Seidlhofer 2009). This adaptability or flexibility can be attributed to the linguistic competencies of the multilingual speakers of English as a lingua franca, as they are able to tap into their acquired knowledge of grammatical, lexical and phonological resources from different languages and transfer these onto the English language (see also e.g., House 2003). Due to the simultaneous activation of all of the languages known to its respective speakers, which serves to facilitate and/or optimise communication, it has been argued by several researchers that English as a lingua franca is intrinsically multilingual in nature (see e.g., Cook 1991; Cummins 1984, 2000; Grosjean 2008, 2010; Herdina & Jessner 2002). In this way, instances of negative transfer that would otherwise be considered mistakes in standardised forms of English can actually serve to facilitate communication (see also Canagarajah 2007).

Based on the observation that students and instructors at the University of Hamburg are increasingly multilingual (i.e., multilingually socialised), the purpose of the present study was to identify which multilingual resources are available among students and instructors and how these resources might influence the lingua franca English and its use.

2.   Research to date

To date, there exists a wide body of research on the topic of English as a lingua franca (ELF) (e.g., Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; House 1999, 2003; Jenkins 2006, 2007; Mauranen & Ranta 2009; Seidlhofer 2001, 2009, 2010, 2011; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006). Nonetheless, many studies have chosen to focus on a narrow, monolingualistic approach to English as a first foreign language learnt after having acquired the nationally defined first language (e.g., Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; Ljosland 2014). From such studies, a variety of generalisations have been provided in order to support the argument that English as a lingua franca either represents a threat or an enrichment to the national language and/or the academic contexts in which it is used.

Studies which explore whether ELF has a facilitative or damaging effect on the national language(s) and/or the academic contexts in which it is used tend to make comparisons only between the English language and the national language(s) in question (e.g., Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; Ljosland 2014). However, in such studies, ELF is generally painted as a threat to the national language(s) in that due to the increasing use of English, the national language(s) lose prestige and value in academic contexts. Although the use of ELF not only affects national languages but also other

languages, such as regional minority languages, often no other languages are mentioned in these arguments about the threatening quality of ELF. For instance, Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) reported that up to 25% of their participants spoke a native language/mother tongue other than the national language (in this case Swedish); nevertheless, there was no further mention of these languages and their relation to Swedish or English in the academic context. In this way, the *multicompetence* (Cook 1991, 2009; House 2003) that multilingual speakers possess is neglected in order to favour a monolingual perspective (i.e., English vs. the national language). Thus, the question of which role these other languages play in academic contexts remains largely unanswered.

The question of whether these studies actually study ELF is debatable, as a lingua franca in its truest form is only used in order to make communication between speakers of different languages possible (see also Firth 1996; Jenkins 2007). In the cases in which English is used as an additional language alongside a national language, the speakers already share a (native) language, namely the national language. Here at the University of Hamburg, we can observe a similar situation, as the local standardised language is German, and English serves as a complementary or additional language. After all, it cannot be ruled out that native speakers of English may study and work at the University of Hamburg, and in this sense, we cannot presume that the ELF described in our study represents ELF in its purest form. Nonetheless, it is understood that we are examining the use of English as a lingua franca in its broadest form (including speakers of English as an additional language and/or as a native language), as ELF is being studied under natural conditions (i.e., without unnatural divisions of the aforementioned speaker groups).

Along with the above mentioned comparisons between ELF and various national languages, there is a broad body of knowledge about how different languages influence the lingua franca English and the communication through this medium (i.e., through interlingual transfer; see also Canagarajah 2007; Ferguson 2009; Firth 2009; House 2003; MacKenzie 2012; Seidlhofer 2009). Cummins (2008) postulated that linguistic transfer can be found in five distinct forms: (1) conceptual elements, (2) metacognitive and/or metalinguistic strategies, (3) pragmatic aspects of language use, (4) specific linguistic elements and (5) phonological awareness. Presuming that any two or more interlocutors using ELF as a contact language may each exhibit linguistic transfer in these five forms in any given ELF-mediated interaction, the speech act in ELF can be interpreted as a type of negotiation, in which ELF functions as an open, heterogeneous, creative, flexible, fluid system (MacKenzie 2012), with the help of which interlocutors adapt to one another, in order to "negotiate" opinions and meaning through the use of available multilingual resources and to reach a mutual agreement about these. In this same vein, Canagarajah (2007) states that "because the type of language is actively negotiated

by participants, what might be inappropriate or unintelligible in one interaction is perfectly understandable in another", which further underlines the spontaneous nature of ELF. With this in mind, not only the English and German languages are being considered in this study, but rather all languages that are read, understood, spoken or written by our participants.

The focus of the present study is on ELF within the context of the multilingual university. Due to the previously mentioned observation that much research to date has focused primarily on the use of English as an additional language in a traditionally monolingual nation-state, the purpose of this present study is to highlight the multilingual nature of English when used as a lingua franca. Canagarajah (2007) underlines the necessity for taking a multilingual or plurilingual perspective to the environments in which ELF is used, as "inadequate attention is paid to the way in which various language forms and varieties are embedded in diverse environments, perfectly adequate in their own way for the function at hand." In this way, research on ELF in such environments must also consider what roles other languages, dialects and varieties play alongside each other and alongside the English language.

Some other researchers point out that ELF innately involves multilingualism at its core. For example, Schaller-Schwaner (2011) attempts to explain "how one language can be multilingual" when referring to ELF, in saying that "the linguistic resources that plurilingual speakers' repertoires are composed of can be activated on a continuum from more to less separately to together, even if the output is apparently in one language only." In other words, when speaking ELF, any and all other languages in its speakers' repertoires could potentially be activated to any degree at any time throughout the interaction taking place in English. Similarly, MacKenzie (2012) ascribes to the notion of ELF as being a multilingual entity, in and of itself: "ELF, per definition, involves typically three languages: the speakers' first languages and English […]yet […] many ELF users speak (or at least understand) several languages, and if they do not share their interlocutors' L1, they may speak a typologically similar language" (Klimpfinger 2009: 348). This example expands upon the notion that multiple languages have the potential for playing an active role in an ELF interaction, even when these languages are not being spoken. By including typologically similar languages in this realm of potential activation, the likelihood of involvement or activation of other languages in the interlocutors' respective repertoires increases. Furthermore, MacKenzie (2012) goes on to implicate the hybrid nature of the English language itself as being responsible for the potential activation of several languages at once in an outwardly English-only speech act:

> a (native or proficient non-native) English speaker has some familiarity with about 40% of the lemmas in 10 national languages – French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian – as well as various other languages (e.g., Catalan) and dialects.   (MacKenzie 2012: 86)

If further local varieties of English are considered, which are influenced more specifically by other regional and/or minority languages, such as Irish English or Scottish English (e.g., Gaelic), Indian English (e.g., Hindi), etc., one can only imagine the wealth of other linguistic influences that can be found and potentially activated when multilingual speakers make use of ELF for communicating with other multilingual speakers.

In this initial set of data analyses, the research objective is to determine which linguistic resources are available among the students and instructors of the University of Hamburg and whether the number of mother tongues acquired by these participants affects the number of languages, dialects and/or varieties learnt and their respective proficiencies as well as whether multilingually raised participants are more acutely aware of the linguistic resources at their disposal than their monolingually raised counterparts.

3. Hypotheses

It was hypothesised that multilingually raised speakers of English as a lingua franca possess a wider variety of grammatical structures and pragmatic routines in their linguistic repertoire (see also Canagarajah 2007). In addition, a higher degree of language awareness is ascribed to multilingually raised speakers compared to their monolingually brought up peers (see also Cummins 1979, 1980, 2013), which would present itself in more positive responses to attitudinal questions related to linguistic transfer. Beyond heightened language awareness, a generally higher degree of language proficiency (see Hymes 1972) is expected from multilingually raised participants compared to their monolingually raised peers. Because of the seemingly additive nature of multiple languages in the multilingual repertoire, it could be hypothesised that multilingually raised participants' proficiency levels in English may well increase with the number of mother tongues acquired.

4. Methods

4.1 Procedure

In order to acquire data on their available multilingual resources, students and instructors of the University of Hamburg were surveyed using an online questionnaire. Initially, an overview of the linguistic repertoires of the instructors and students at the University of Hamburg was compiled. Participants were asked to list all languages which they were able to understand, speak, and/or write and were

asked to respond to questions about their language/linguistic biographies (places of acquisition and/or learning), the degree of proficiency in selected practical domains (receptive and productive), the use of the respective languages in private as well as university life, the uses and/or reasons for using these languages, as well as the attitudes that the participants have/indicate having in regard to certain languages. One objective of this study was to obtain data from students and instructors of all university faculties so as to present a representative and accurate sample of the student and instructor population at the University of Hamburg. As an incentive, credit points were awarded to students of the departments of Mathematics, Information Science, and Natural Science and the Department of Psychology in cooperation with the respective departments. It was assumed that a natural distribution would result in a realistic proportion of the multilingually raised participants (target group) compared to monolingually raised participants (control/comparison group).

Initially, students were recruited by visiting courses to invite them to participate, and instructors were recruited by contacting them personally. Later, in order to reach a broader group of students and instructors, we were granted permission to distribute our surveys via the University's email distributers for students and professors and researchers.

4.2 Participants

4.2.1 *Students*

1454 students filled out our online-questionnaire. Of these 1454, 1012 were complete, and 442 were incomplete. Of those who identified their gender, 624 (63.2%) identified as female and 291 (29.5%) as male.

Age. In our sample, the students identified as being between under 20 (n = 73; 7.3%) and over 60 years of age (n = 28; 2.8%). On average, the students who participated in our study were between the ages of 21 and 39 (M = 2.62; SD = 0.88), with the majority being between 21- and 29-years-old (n = 725; 72.2%). However, a significant minority of the students were between 30- and 40-years-old (n = 143; 14.2%), and there were smaller numbers of students between 41 and 50 (n = 26; 2.6%) and 51 to 60 years of age (n = 9; 0.9%).

4.2.2 *Instructors*

Of the total 341 online-questionnaires which were filled out by instructors, 240 of them were complete. In regard to gender, 117 (52%) identified as male while 107 (47.6%) identified as female.

Age. The range of ages reported by instructors was from under 30 to over 60 years of age, and the majority of the instructors were between 30- and 40-years-old (n = 89; 26.1%). 56 (16.4%) were under 30; 45 (13.2%) were between 41 and 50; 36 (10.6%) were between 51 and 60, and nine (2.6%) were over 60 years of age. On average, our sample was between 30- and 50-years-old (M = 2.47%; SD = 1.12).

4.3   Instruments

In order to collect the data obtained in this study, two online questionnaires were created using the platform LimeSurvey. The questionnaires consisted of an informed consent page, a core questionnaire, and further scales related to language use in private and university life, attitudes toward and motivations for learning certain languages, as well as demographic information about the participants. The core questionnaire was developed in cooperation with associated research groups at the University of Hamburg and targeted the languages, the identification of mother tongues, and the proficiency levels and locations of acquisition or learning of each of our participants' languages.

In order to ensure the anonymity of our participants, the online questionnaire was created anonymously with no way of linking participants' identity or contact information with their respective responses to the questions. In this case, LimeSurvey offered an additional advantage in terms of data protection, as its server is located at the University of Hamburg.

The two online questionnaires differed from one another in that one focused on students, while the other focused on instructors and their respective university-related language experiences. Because there was a great deal of overlap between the two questionnaires, they lend themselves to easy comparison. However, there was one additional section regarding the nationality and birth place of students, which was not permitted in the questionnaire for instructors, and in the questionnaire for instructors, there was an additional scale which related to the ability to perform particular instruction-related tasks in English.

Participants were first asked to list which languages, dialects and/or varieties (up to 15) that they had in their individual linguistic repertoires (i.e., which languages they were able to understand and/or speak and/or write), which level they would rate their language competencies and skills, where these languages were acquired or learnt, with whom and in which contexts these languages were used. After that, all participants were asked to respond to questions related to their attitudes and motivations for learning English, other foreign languages and German as a foreign language. Following the attitudinal and motivational questions, participants

were asked to answer questions pertaining to their demographic information (e.g., gender, age, area of expertise).

The self-assessments of the participants' linguistic abilities were based on a six-point Likert-scale from one (low) to six (high). Although these points were inspired by the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR, Council of Europe 2001), it cannot be assumed that the self-assessment would perfectly correlate with the levels A1 through C2 of the CEFR. Participants were asked for their estimated language abilities in each of the following competence areas: listening comprehension (LC), oral communication or speaking (Sp.), reading comprehension (RC), coherent speech or interaction (Int.) and written expression (WE). In this way, we hoped to obtain a more complete image of the linguistic competencies and skills of the participants.

The items pertaining to attitude and learning motivation with respect to English, German or other foreign languages were measured using two 5-point Likert-scales. The attitudinal scale was based on ratings from one "I completely disagree" to 5 "I completely agree" and the learning motivation scale consisted of 5 points from one "not at all important" to 5 "very important" in regard to the perceived importance of various potential motivational factors.

4.4   Statistical analysis

The results were analysed with SPSS 23. Descriptive analyses as well as correlation analyses (e.g., Pearson's two-tailed correlation), comparisons of means (e.g., independent t-tests) and one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed.

5.   Results

In the following sections, a brief description of the sample groups will be presented. After that, tendencies involving self-reported language proficiency and the number of mother tongues acquired will be discussed.

In total, 279 languages, including dialects, varieties, creole languages, pidgin languages, sign languages, one deafblind manual alphabet, programming languages and artificial languages were reported to be understood, and/or spoken and/or written by students and instructors of the University of Hamburg. Of these 279 languages, 93 (i.e., 66 languages and 27 varieties or dialects) were named as "mother tongues". When transposed onto a world map, these languages cover almost all nations of the globe, with the exception of Turkmenistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and some minor islands.

5.1   Mother tongues

5.1.1   *Students*

1252 students indicated which and how many languages they make use of receptively and/or productively. These students reported that they were able to understand and/or speak between one and 15 languages. On average, students listed 5.68 languages (Median = 5; Mode = 4; SD = 2.59).

929 student participants (77.6%) indicated that they had acquired one mother tongue. 206 reported being raised bilingually (17.2%), 20 trilingually (1.7%) and four quadrilingually (0.3%). Among those who reported being raised monolingually, the following mother tongues were most frequently identified: German (n = 808; 87%), Russian (n = 21; 2.3%), English (n = 18; 1.9%), Chinese (n = 13; 1.4%), Polish (n = 6; 0.6%); French, Turkish, Spanish and Italian (each n = 5; 0.5%).

Additionally, 64 participants indicated that they had been raised speaking more than one variety of German or German along with a nationally recognized autochthonous minority language. Of the multilingually raised participants, 56 of the total 299 (18.73%) reported being brought up either bidialectally (i.e., with two varieties of a language, in this case, mainly German) or bilingually (i.e., German + autochthonous minority language), and eight indicated being raised tridialectally (i.e., multidialectally) or trilingually (i.e., German + variety of German + another language).

Among the 180 participants who were raised bilingually, the most frequently named mother tongue combinations were German-English (n = 31; 17%), German-Russian (n = 20; 11%), German-Plattdeutsch[1] (n = 19; 10.6%), German-Turkish (n = 11; 6%), German-Spanish (n = 10; 5.6%), German-Persian (n = 9; 5%), German-Polish (n = 7; 3.9%), German-French (n = 6; 3.3%), German-Italian, German-Finish, German-Danish, German-Dutch, German-Italian and German-Arabic (each n = 4; 2.2%) and German-German Sign Language (n = 3; 1.7%). The following combinations were each named by two participants (1.1%) German-East Friesian Plattdeutsch, German-Greek, German-Chinese, German-Urdu and Russian-Ukrainian. The remaining 30 (16.7%) bilinguals each chose unique language combinations (e.g., German-Twi, Bengali-English, Pashto-Urdu, Russian-Gagauz, German-Swedish, English-Vietnamese, Persian-English, English-French, German-Sorbian, German-Yoruba, and German-Albanian). Each of the 16 trilingually raised participants indicated different mother tongue

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1.   The term "Plattdeutsch" is problematic in that a clear distinction between Low German and Friesian is not possible. For example, some participants also listed "East-Friesian Plattdeutsch" as a language, which seems to be attributable to some confusion between the colloquial and official names of these minority languages.

combinations (e.g., German-English-Russian, German-Polish-Northern German Platt, German-Turkish-Kurdish, German-Russian-Persian, and German-Czech-Russian), and two participants who were brought up quadrilingually reported speaking German-Dari-Urdu-Uzbek and German-English-Russian-Italian as mother tongues.

5.1.2 *Instructors*

290 instructors indicated that they were able to understand and/or speak between two and 15 languages. On average, instructors were able to understand and/or speak 5.71 languages (Median = 5; Mode = 4; SD = 2.63).

239 of the instructors (87.2%) reported that they had been raised monolingually, and 35 instructors indicated that they had acquired more than one mother tongue. Of these 35 instructors, 32 (91%) reported having been raised bilingually, and three (8.6%) had been raised trilingually. Those instructors who described themselves as having been raised monolingually were predominantly German native speakers (n = 211; 88.3%). Aside from German, English (n = 9; 3.8%) was the second most frequently named mother tongue among monolingually raised participants, and Russian and French were also each named twice as mother tongues among this group of participants (0.8%).

Due to the fact that not only officially recognised languages were permissible, 12 participants indicated having been brought up with more than one variety of German or with German and a national minority language. In addition, 10 of the 35 multilingually raised participants reported being raised either bidialectally or bilingually (i.e., German + autochthonous minority language), and two indicated that they had been brought up tridialectically (i.e., multilectally) or trilingually (i.e., German + variety of German + another language or variety of German).

Among the 21 bilingually raised instructors, the most frequently named language combinations were German-English (n = 3; 14.3%), and German-Polish, German-Italian and German-Dutch (each n = 2; 9.5%). Other than that, one person indicated that he/she had been raised with the following combination of mother tongues: Tamil-Kannada-Hindi.

5.2 Self-assessment of language competencies and skills

5.2.1 *Students vs. instructors*

Among the almost 280 languages that were identified, some appeared rather frequently in the reports by both students and instructors. The five languages which were named most frequently were the (foreign) languages traditionally offered in German schools: English (students: n = 1153; instructors = 278), German

(students: n = 1153; instructors: n = 271), French (students: n = 740; instructors: n = 206), Spanish (students: n = 641; instructors: n = 133) and Italian (students: n = 295; instructors: n = 91).

Both students and instructors rated their language competencies in German and in English overall as being very good. However, instructors rated their English competencies on average better than students did (instructors: M = 5.39; SD = 0.85; students: M = 4.91; SD = 1.05), while both students and instructors rated their German competencies on average as being very good (students: M = 5.87; SD = 0.5; instructors: M = 5.80; SD = 0.75). In general, when considering the differences between self-assessed language proficiency levels between students and instructors, an additional trend that can be observed is that instructors tend to rate their own reading comprehension as consistently higher for languages with the Latin alphabet when compared to students.

5.2.2 *Comparisons: Trends amongst multilingually raised vs. monolingually raised participants*

Multilingually raised students identified English more frequently and German slightly more frequently as mother tongues when compared to monolingually raised students. Among instructors, this tendency was also seen with respect to German as a mother tongue but not English (see Table 1).

Table 1. Trilingual participants' most frequently named mother tongues

	ANOVA	Level of significance	Independent t-test	Level of significance
multilingually raised vs. mono-lingually raised students' frequency – English as mother tongue	0.17	p < 0.01	t(1067) = 2.77	p < 0.01
multilingually raised vs. mono-lingually raised students' frequency – German as mother tongue	−0.07	p < 0.05	t(1000) = −2.10	p < 0.05
multilingually raised vs. mono-lingually raised instructors' frequency – German as mother tongue	−0.07	p < 0.05	t(233) = −3.53	p < 0.01

In keeping with these trends, multilingually raised students and instructors rated their language proficiency in all languages except German as being higher than their monolingually raised peers (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Not surprisingly, multilingually raised students and instructors reported possessing competencies in more languages than monolingually raised students (0.17; $p < 0.01$) and instructors (0.14; $p < 0.05$). Moreover, their self-assessed levels of proficiency tended to be higher than those of monolingually raised participants (see Appendices 1 and 2). For example, among trilingually raised instructors, *only* up to seven languages were named, but all trilingually raised instructors named at least six languages, in all of which the self-ratings for receptive competencies lay between "good" (i.e., between 3 and 4 on the Likert-scale) and "very good" (i.e., 5 or 6 on the Likert-scale), while the self-assessment scores of their productive skills were somewhat lower (see Table 2).

Table 2. Receptive competencies and productive skills in language 6 as reported by trilingually raised instructors (n = 3)

Language 6 – Receptive competencies				Language 6 – Productive skills					
Listening comprehension		Reading comprehension		Speaking		Interaction		Writing	
Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)
4.33	1.16	3.33	0.58	2.00	0.00	1.67	0.58	2.33	2.31

In regard to attitudinal questions about language transfer, multilingually raised students tended to recognise the value of their multilingual competences relating to their ability to apply linguistic knowledge (e.g., grammar, syntax, semantics, pragmatic strategies) to various languages in a bi-directional manner. This can be seen in the observation from the current study that multilingually raised students affirmed the item "my knowledge of English can easily be transferred onto other languages" (0.90; $p < 0.01$) as well as the item "my knowledge of other languages can easily be transferred onto the English language" (0.124; $p < 0.01$) significantly more frequently than their monolingually raised peers.

In order to further examine the trends in self-assessed proficiency between monolingually raised and multilingually raised participants, further analyses were run to establish whether there is a relationship between the number of mother tongues acquired and the self-assessed proficiency levels reported. Due to the ubiquitous nature of the English language and the potential variance that might underlie the average "good" to "very good" proficiency levels, these analyses will only focus on English within the context of this article.

Table 3. Self-assessed English proficiency: monolingually raised students (1MT) vs. multilingually raised students (> 1MT)

English (n)	1MT	> 1MT		
1	0.76%	0.00%		
2	2.09%	1.14%		
3	7.63%	4.90%		
4	14.93%	12.26%		
5	37.15%	34.04%		
6	37.44%	47.66%		
Mean			4.98	5.22
Standard deviation			1.04	0.90

As can be observed in Table 3, participants with more than one mother tongue (> 1MT) consistently placed their overall English proficiency at higher levels than their peers with only one mother tongue (1MT). In the interest of considering multilingually raised students with different numbers of mother tongues separately, this group was further divided into those with one (1MT), more than one (> 1MT), two (2MT), three (3MT) and four (4MT) mother tongues.
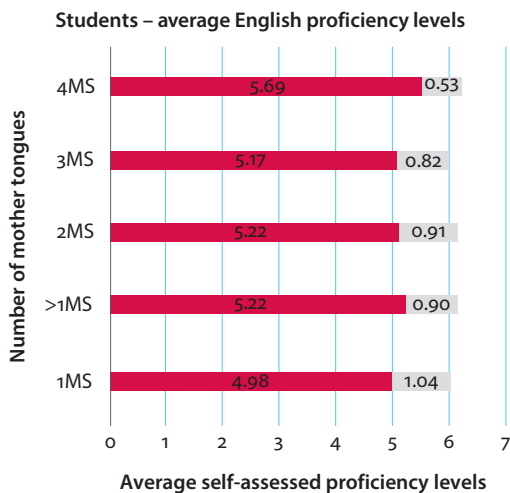
Figure 1. Students' average self-assessed proficiency levels by number of mother tongues (with standard deviations in light gray)

When charted by number of mother tongues (see Figure 1), a tendency toward a higher level of proficiency can be seen; however, this tendency is not a linear one. In other words, in the data at hand, monolingually raised students tended to rate their English proficiency as being lower than their multilingually raised counterparts, as

a whole. When broken down between the number of mother tongues acquired by multilingually raised students, the tendencies are not as clear, as those with three mother tongues generally rated their English proficiency as being much lower than those with four mother tongues and slightly lower than those with two mother tongues. In addition, there is a higher level of variance (i.e., a higher standard deviation) among monolingually raised students and a lower level of variance in multilingually raised students with four mother tongues when compared to the other groups.

Table 4. Self-assessed English proficiency: monolingually raised instructors (1MT) vs. multilingually raised instructors (> 1MT)

English (n)	1MT	> 1MT		
1	0.18%	0.00%		
2	1.16%	0.00%		
3	3.28%	0.00%		
4	8.98%	4.62%		
5	32.69%	23.11%		
6	53.72%	72.26%		
Mean			5.34	5.68
Standard deviation			0.86	0.55

Just as in the chart comparing students' self-assessed English proficiency levels by the classification as having been raised monolingually or multilingually, the instructors who were raised multilingually also consistently indicated having higher levels of English proficiency than their monolingually raised counterparts (see Table 4).
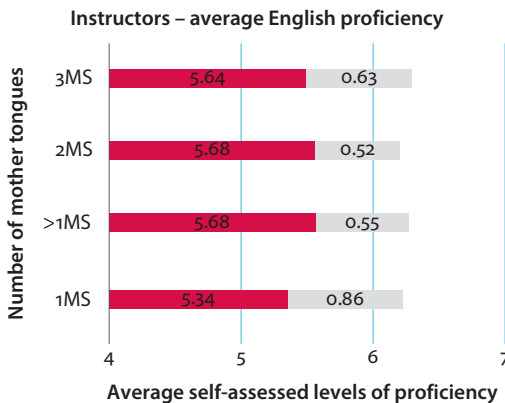
Figure 2. Instructors' average self-assessed proficiency levels by number of mother tongues (with standard deviations in light gray)

Again, in order to more closely examine the trends between groups with different numbers of mother tongues, the diagram in Figure 2 was produced. As can be seen in Figure 2, instructors with one mother tongue (1MT) rated their English proficiency as being lower than their multilingually raised counterparts, which is in agreement with the percentages indicated in Table 4. However, we see again a rise in average proficiency score in bilingually raised instructors (2MT) and a drop in the score of those raised with three mother tongues (3MT). However, the variance in the ratings of monolingually raised instructors and those with three mother tongues is higher than that of their bilingually raised peers.

5.3   Instructors' teaching-related English skills

In addition to the self-assessment of language proficiency in the participants' respective languages, instructors were asked to fill out an additional scale to assess their self-perceived ability to complete various teaching-related tasks in English. In this case, 64.1% (n = 166) of the participants indicated that they are able to "fluidly, logically and appropriately discuss the topics of [their] area of expertise" in English without special preparation efforts, which represents the highest level of competence listed for the instruction-related tasks.

In order to see if this trend is also reflected in the self-reported language proficiency levels in general, analyses were performed, which showed that although none of the three trilingually raised non-native English speakers had indicated their proficiency levels in English in the first half of the questionnaire, they did respond to the question of what skills they had pertaining to university instruction in English.

Interestingly, when charted (see Figure 3), the instructors' ratings of their abilities to complete these tasks in English form a V-Curve, with the bilingually raised instructors tending to say more frequently that they were able to "fluidly, logically and appropriately discuss the topics of [their] area of expertise" without special preparation (n = 29; M = 1.17; SD = 0.38) when compared to both their monolingually raised (n = 222; M = 1.38; SD = 0.49) and trilingually raised peers (n = 2; M = 1.5; SA = 0.71). This phenomenon has also been observed in a previous study by Siemund et al. (2014), in which bilingually raised Singaporean students consistently rated their language competencies as being better when compared to the ratings of their multilingually raised peers. Due to the fact that only two of the three trilingually raised instructors from this sample responded to this question, these results cannot be assumed to be representative. Nonetheless, this phenomenon should be a focal point of future research, in order to establish how consistently these trends in self-rating are seen and what factors may influence them.

Means "I am able to … in English without special preparation efforts fluidly, logically and appropriately discuss the topics of my area of expertise"

Number of mother tongues

3   M = 1.5; n = 2

2   M = 1.17; n = 29

1   M = 1.38; n = 222

1 — Self assessment (1 = "yes"; 2 = "no") — 2
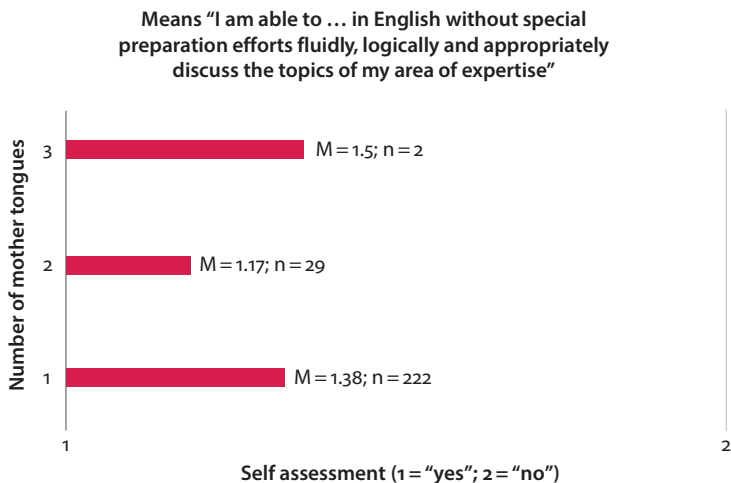
Figure 3. V-Curve in regard to the highest competency level in English language activities related to instruction (including native speakers of English)

A caveat must also be inserted here about these findings, as the native speakers could have influenced these results considerably, since nine of the 239 (3.8%) of the monolingually raised, seven of the 32 (21.9%) bilingually raised and none of the three (0%) trilingually raised instructors spoke English as a mother tongue. When these data were re-analysed excluding the native speakers (see Figure 4), this tendency remains, regardless of the presence or absence of native speakers of

Means "I am able to … in English without special preparation efforts fluidly, logically and appropriately discuss the topics of my area of expertise"

Number of mother tongues

3   M = 1.5; n = 2

2   M = 1.21; n = 24

1   M = 1.39; n = 213

1 — Self assessment (1 = "yes"; 2 = "no") — 2
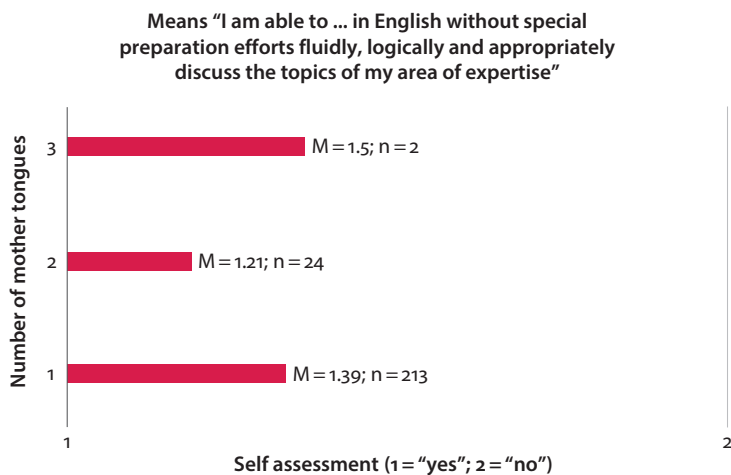
Figure 4. V-Curve in regard to the highest competency level in English language activities related to instruction (excluding native speakers of English)

English, as the 24 bilingually raised instructors without English as a mother tongue (M = 1.21; SD = 0.38) who answered this question still indicated more frequently that they were able to perform instruction-related tasks in English at the highest level when compared to both their monolingually raised (n = 213; M = 1.39; SD = 0.49) and their trilingually raised (n = 2; M = 1.50; SD = 0.71) peers with mother tongues other than English.

6.   Discussion

The data obtained from the students and instructors indicate that they are indeed multilingual, whether that be due to their multilingual upbringing or thanks to their school or university education. In general, both students and instructors rate their language proficiency in German and English as "very good".

Multilingually raised students and teachers tended to indicate higher levels of proficiency in more languages than their monolingually raised counterparts. However, these higher levels of proficiency cannot be described as additive in nature, as there were non-linear trends in self-assessment scores seen among multilingually raised students and instructors, based on the number of mother tongues they had acquired. Most notably, bilingually raised students and instructors and quadrilingually raised students tended to rate their English proficiency as higher than their trilingually raised peers as a tendency.

When compared to their monolingually raised counterparts, multilingually raised participants also tended to recognise more readily the value of language transfer between the languages in their linguistic repertoire.

The trends in self-assessed proficiency levels that were observed not only in this study, but also a study by Siemund et al. (2014), deserve further attention and may well be explored in greater detail in future studies.

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Appendix 1. Self-Assessments – students: Monolingually raised (1MT) vs. multilingually raised (> MT)

Languages and levels of self-assessed proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
German (n)				
1	0.04%	0.51%		
2	0.27%	0.25%		
3	0.88%	0.44%		
4	1.75%	1.78%		
5	4.42%	3.09%		
6	92.64%	93.92%		
Mean (M)			5.88	5.88
Standard Deviation (SD)			0.48	0.54

Languages and levels of self-assessed proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
English (n)				
1	0.76%	0.00%		
2	2.09%	1.14%		
3	7.63%	4.90%		
4	14.93%	12.26%		
5	37.15%	34.04%		
6	37.44%	47.66%		
Mean (M)			4.98	5.22
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.04	0.90

Languages and levels of self-assessed proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
French (n)				
1	21.55%	19.54%		
2	30.89%	26.03%		
3	23.26%	19.66%		
4	12.88%	13.45%		
5	7.65%	12.76%		
6	3.78%	8.56%		
Mean (M)			2.65	2.99
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.32	1.54

Languages and levels of self-assessed proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
Spanish (n)				
1	31.99%	22.86%		
2	28.80%	26.85%		
3	18.67%	22.01%		
4	9.60%	12.93%		
5	6.77%	7.18%		
6	4.17%	8.16%		
Mean (M)			2.43	2.79
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.39	1.50

Languages and levels of self-assessed proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
Italian (n)				
1	54.42%	32.38%		
2	24.87%	27.94%		
3	11.77%	16.06%		
4	4.33%	12.27%		
5	1.79%	6.79%		
6	2.81%	4.57%		
Mean (M)			1.82	2.46
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.16	1.40

Appendix 2. Self-Assessments – instructors: Monolingually raised (1MT) vs. multilingually raised (> MT)

Languages and self-assessed level of proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
German (n)				
1	0.32%	0.50%		
2	1.11%	3.01%		
3	1.57%	5.51%		
4	1.97%	2.01%		
5	2.47%	5.01%		
6	92.56%	83.96%		
Mean (M)			5.83	5.60
Standard Deviation (SD)			0.69	1.05

Languages and self-assessed level of proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
English (n)				
1	0.18%	0.00%		
2	1.16%	0.00%		
3	3.28%	0.00%		
4	8.98%	4.62%		
5	32.69%	23.11%		
6	53.72%	72.26%		
Mean (M)			5.34	5.68
Standard Deviation (SD)			0.86	0.55

Languages and self-assessed level of proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
French (n)				
1	21.40%	11.91%		
2	27.32%	25.27%		
3	22.30%	10.47%		
4	11.41%	19.86%		
5	8.19%	18.05%		
6	9.38%	14.44%		
Mean (M)			2.85	3.50
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.5	1.62

Languages and self-assessed level of proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
Spanish (n)				
1	23.61%	16.02%		
2	30.04%	25.11%		
3	22.35%	20.78%		
4	8.86%	7.79%		
5	11.29%	14.72%		
6	3.84%	15.58%		
Mean (M)			2.65	3.27
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.37	1.67

Languages and self-assessed level of proficiency	1MT – per cent (%)	> 1MT – per cent (%)	1MT – M	> 1MT – M
Italian (n)				
1	30.90%	19.88%		
2	25.35%	28.31%		
3	17.81%	19.88%		
4	13.44%	16.87%		
5	3.77%	8.43%		
6	8.73%	6.63%		
Mean (M)			2.59	2.85
Standard Deviation (SD)			1.46	1.38

Learning English demonstrative pronouns on bilingual substrate

Evidence from German heritage speakers of Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese

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An eminent question in current discussions of cross-linguistic transfer concerns the role of previously acquired languages for the learning and acquisition of subsequent languages. While for monolinguals learning a second language it seems obvious that all cross-linguistic influence must be traceable to the first language, the source of cross-linguistic influence is much harder to pin down in bilingual and multilingual constellations, as all previously acquired languages can in principle interact in the acquisition process of a further language. Which language is selected for cross-linguistic influence and under what conditions is a matter of much debate. The present study explores a sample of 172 learners of English as an additional language who had acquired German in combination with a heritage language (Russian, Turkish, Vietnamese) before they started to learn English. The students were 12 and 16 years old when they were recorded on the basis of picture stories, interviews, and questionnaires. The grammatical phenomenon we are interested in here concerns demonstrative pronouns, which function differently in the languages under consideration in the present context. We consider determinative and identificational uses of demonstratives, but also the subordinating function of the demonstrative *that*. Our results show important differences in the usage of demonstratives among the two different age groups and among the three heritage languages involved. We argue that these differences can be interpreted in different ways, cross-linguistic influence being one of them, though this is not necessarily the most important factor. Additional factors include academic performance, register differences (oral versus written), and the age of the students.

Keywords: cross-linguistic influence, demonstrative pronouns, English as an additional language, heritage languages, multilingualism, subordination

1.   Introduction

In most current Western societies, multilingualism has developed into an omnipresent phenomenon caused by global migration, globalization, and internationalization. (Bonnet et al. this volume; Gogolin et al. 2013; Siemund 2018). Multilingual textures are especially dense in urban areas, as is well known, with multilingual speakers using their various languages in different spheres of life. For example, the language used at home may be different from the one used at school, at the work place, or for dealing with administration, the legal system, doing shopping, and so on and so forth.

What all urban areas around the world – and we are here primarily talking about those in non-English speaking countries – have in common these days is that English is available or even required as a means of communication in one way or another. In Singapore, for example, the entire education system is run in English. Higher tertiary education in Denmark is increasingly offered only in English. German schools offer English bilingual education. Practically everyone in this world is required to learn English. It has truly established itself as a global lingua franca. According to recent estimates, there are more non-native speakers than native speakers. As for Germany, English is undergoing a change from a classical foreign to a second or additional language.

The rising level of multilingualism in Germany due to immigration, mixed marriages, and the like furthermore means that a substantial portion of the students entering the German school system is bilingual – in different ways, though, balanced, additive, or subtractive – and start learning English on the basis of this (rather heterogeneous) bilingual substrate rather than the classical monolingual cognitive imprint. It is a matter of some debate and quite difficult to decide if the ensuing language learning situation is more appropriately categorized as second or third language acquisition, especially since the entry age for schooling in English has been continuously going down over the past decades (see Hammarberg this volume). But whatever the correct categorization, it appears obvious that the acquisition of English in such situations will be influenced by two languages and not just one, as in the classical monolingual situation (e.g. L1 –> L2, L1 –> L3, L2 –> L3, L3 –> L2,[1] etc.; Peukert 2015). Working out the determining factors of these influences on the acquisition of English is a major scientific challenge and precisely what our study is about.

Provided that it is possible to substantiate the labels L1, L2, and L3, the scientific literature offers different positions regarding the source or sources of cross-linguistics

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[1].   The arrows mean 'has influence on', i.e. first on second language, first on third language, and so on and so forth.

influence (see Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro 2010: 194 for an overview). The position that requires the least assumptions is that there is no cross-linguistic influence, meaning that previously learned languages do not interact with subsequent language learning. This non-transfer hypothesis predicts that the acquisition of English by monolinguals and bilinguals proceeds in essentially the same way, perhaps being constrained by general cognitive restrictions on processibility (Pienemann 1984, 1998). Another prominent position, forcefully argued for by Schwartz and Sprouse (1996), holds that the first language is fully transferred to the second language, at least during the initial stages of acquisition, and that there is full access to Universal Grammar (full transfer/full access hypothesis). It is not immediately obvious what the implications are for the learning situations sketched above, since both German and the heritage languages can be considered as first languages. In another strand of research, most prominently developed in Bardel & Falk (2007) as well as Falk & Bardel (2010, 2011), though ultimately originating in Williams and Hammarberg (1998) and Hammarberg (2001), it is the L2 or second language, rather than the L1, that is imbued with a special status for all matters of subsequent language acquisition, especially for the L3. Mother-tongue speakers of Swedish or Norwegian, who had learned English as a second language and wanted to learn German as a third language, often observed syntactic interference from English, rather than Swedish or Norwegian, even though German syntax is very similar to Swedish (Norwegian) syntax and should hence be straightforward to learn for these speakers. The literature knows this phenomenon as the 'L2 status factor'. Again, this position is difficult to apply to the learning situation under scrutiny here. The fourth logical alternative, finally, is that all previously acquired languages interact with subsequent language acquisition. We find this idea captured by different labels, such as the 'cumulative enhancement model' (Flynn et al. 2004), Hufeisen's (1998, this volume) 'factor model', or Herdina & Jessner's (2002) 'dynamic model of multilingualism'. An implicit assumption behind the aforementioned labels is that the influence of previously acquired languages is altogether positive, rather than negative, due to higher levels of metalinguistic awareness found in multilingual learners (see the introduction to this volume). To be sure, cumulative enhancement – or whatever we may want to call it – is moderated by additional factors, such as typological or psychotypological distance (Rothman 2011), linguistic proximity (Westergaard et al. 2016), age of onset, length of exposure, proficiency, recency of use, issues of identity, and so on and so forth (see De Angelis 2007 for an overview of these factors). The same factors can also be assumed to play a role for the L2 status factor model. We here assume that both German and the heritage languages can influence the acquisition of English, though in reinforcing and inhibiting ways (positive/negative transfer).

A major problem, in our view, in the discussion of cross-linguistic influence in language acquisition is that the examination of one particular phenomenon is usually taken to be sufficient to allow for far-reaching generalizations and decide about the fate of particular theories. What is more, the great majority of studies is restricted to specific syntactic phenomena (Bardel & Falk 2007 on negative placement; Falk & Bardel 2010 on the position of object pronouns; Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro 2010 on pronominal subjects; Rothman 2011 on adjective placement, etc.). In investigating the syntax and semantics of demonstrative pronouns, we will – rather unfortunately – not be able to go beyond this limitation, but it seems advisable to bear in mind that particular linguistic phenomena themselves may be more or less prone to giving rise to cross-linguistic influence. This is well known from language contact studies (Johanson 2002; Thomason 2001; Matras 2009; Siemund 2008). Accordingly, studies on syntactic phenomena urgently need to be complemented by those on phonology, morphology, and lexis.

In our present study, we would also like to make a modest contribution to the didactics of teaching English in multilingual classrooms, especially since it continues to remain unclear if individual multilingualism and multilingual classrooms constitute a liability to teachers and teaching, or a resource that can and should be cultivated (see Bonnet et al. this volume). As the German education system is increasingly moving towards more learner-oriented teaching methods, students themselves can play an important role in language learning classes, thereby perhaps employing their different heritage languages as a linguistic resource. Moreover, the emotional ties that language learners entertain with their heritage language and culture, which are immediately relevant for their identity construction, appear to play a substantial role in the acquisition of additional languages at school. Nevertheless, the multilingual variety of school classes may become an obstacle for teachers, if the heritage languages spoken by the students vary too extensively.

The present paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an introduction to the syntax and semantics of demonstrative pronouns as well as their grammatical properties in the languages investigated (German, English, Russian, and Turkish). In Section 3, we provide an overview of the data used for our study as well as the methodology employed. The analysis of the data follows in Section 4. The findings emanating from the analytical part will be interpreted along various dimensions, to be explicated in Section 5. We conclude our paper with a short summary and some implications for future work.

2.   Demonstrative pronouns in English, German, and the heritage languages

Much in line with the cross-linguistic prototype, English demonstrative pronouns encode a contrast between proximal (near the speaker) and distal (away from the speaker) entities, as illustrated in Example (1) below. Moreover, there is a formal distinction between singular and plural.

(1)   a.   How about this book/these books?
      b.   How about that book/those books?

The semantic contrast between proximal and distal is subject to combinatorial restrictions and can, accordingly, be made explicit (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1505). For example, while phrases like *this book* here and *those flowers over there* are perfectly well formed, combining a proximal demonstrative with a distal adverb (*this book there) is perceived as ungrammatical. As far as their function is concerned, we can distinguish two major types (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1505–1509), namely deictic (2a) and anaphoric uses (2b).

(2)   a.   This apple looks riper than that one.
      b.   I raised some money by hocking the good clothes I had left, but when *that* was gone I didn't have a cent.

As is well known (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 185–189), demonstrative pronouns can grammaticalize into subordinators, i.e. grammatical elements introducing embedded clauses. As for English, this is generally supposed to involve the cognitive step from Example (3a) to (3b) where demonstrative *that* now introduces a subordinate clause. There is indeed evidence in the history of English warranting such an analysis in terms of grammaticalization.

(3)   a.   He told me that: He cannot come.
      b.   He told me that he cannot come.

Consequently, demonstrative pronouns in Modern English are formally indifferent from subordinating *that*. We therefore include such subordinating cases in our study.

The situation is more difficult to assess in German, since different forms occupy this functional domain. Even though it is true that – much as in English – there is proximal/distal contrast realized by the opposition of *dieser* 'this' and *jener* 'that', the most frequently used grammatical elements found in demonstrative function are probably the definite articles *der* (masc.), *die* (fem.), and *das* (neut.). Unlike the English definite article *the*, the German articles can be used for pointing to objects

in the vicinity of the speaker, and, what is more, they can be combined with locative adverbs to express distance contrasts. As the examples in (4) show, the forms can be used in deictic as well as anaphoric function. If we accept the forms of the definite article as the primary demonstrative pronouns, German does note encode distance contrasts in this domain of grammar (see Diessel 2013).

(4)   German (personal knowledge)
    a. Der Apfel hier ist reifer als   der da.
        the apple here is riper than the there
        'This apple is riper than that one.'
    b. Mit der   will ich nicht mehr   zusammen arbeiten.
        with that lady want I   not any_longer together   work
        'I don't want to work with that lady any longer.'

Much as in English, the German article/demonstrative *das* can also be found in subordinating function, even though it is here distinctly marked in orthography by using the double <s> grapheme (*dass*).

Let us now turn to the heritage languages Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese. As far as morphological contrasts are concerned, we can distinguish two series of demonstrative pronouns in Russian that encode a distance contrast between objects near and away from the speaker. The neuter singular nominative forms are *eto* (proximal) and *to* (distal). They occur in different morphological forms in the masculine and feminine singular (*etot*, *eta*) as well as in the plural (*eti*). Moreover, the forms vary according to case. Both, proximal and distal forms occur in deictic and anaphoric functions, as can be gleaned from Examples (5) and (6).

(5)   Russian   (Tauscher & Kirschbaum 1974: 226)
    ranshe v etom zdanii   byla shkola, a   v tom obshchezhitii.
    earlier in this building was school but in that residence
    'In this building, there used to be a school, but in that one a hall of residence.'

(6)   Russian (personal knowledge)
    Eto pravda? Eto ne   vozmozhno.
    this true   this not possible
    'Is this true? This is not possible.'

What is especially noteworthy about Russian in the present context is that its demonstratives can also be found in the function of anaphorically used simple personal pronouns, as shown in Examples (7) and (8). In such contexts, which include anaphoric reference to abstract entities and situations, as well as syntactic contexts of predicate nominals, the use of the Russian simple pronouns (*on* 'he', *ona* 'she', *ono* 'it') would be perceived as ungrammatical. Later on we will argue that these constraints on Russian pronominal usage account for some remarkable distributional

differences in our learner data. For purposes of subordination, demonstrative pronouns are not used in Russian, though the interrogative pronoun *chto* 'what'.

(7) Russian   (Tauscher & Kirschbaum 1974: 227)
Ya etogo ne znayu.
I this   not know
'I do not know it.'

(8) Russian   (Maltzoff 1994: 106)
Vy chitali etu knigu? Eto novaya kniga Sholokhova.
you read   this book   this new   book Sholokhov
'Do you know this book? It is a new book by Sholokhov.'

As far as demonstrative pronouns in Turkish are concerned, we find a three-way distance contrast between proximal, distal, and remote realized by the forms *bu* 'this', *şu* 'that', and *o* 'that one over there'. There is also a corresponding plural paradigm *bunlar* 'these', *şunlar* 'those', and *onlar* 'those ones over there'. There is some controversy in the literature (see Küntay & Özyürek 2006: 307) regarding the question if this paradigm instantiates a distance-oriented system or a person-oriented system in the sense of Diessel (2013). In the latter type of system, the form *bu* indicates hearer proximity while *şu* is used for objects away from both speaker and hearer. This must be considered an open question, but according to Küntay & Özyürek (2006: 307–308) the opposition of *bu* and *şu* (and also *o* and *şu*) is based on the "addressee's visual attention status in relation to the referent", whereas only the opposition of *bu* and *o* encodes a contrast in distance. Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 278) make a similar point when they say that the demonstrative *şu* is used for referents that have not been under discussion before the moment of speaking, i.e. are discourse-new. Examples (9) and (10) help to illustrate this contrast. Demonstrative pronouns in Turkish are generally placed behind their head noun.[2]

(9) Turkish   (adapted from Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 279)
Context: The shops close in ten minutes and there's no coffee in the house.
En   onemli sorun   bu.
most urgent problem this
'This is the most urgent problem.'

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2. The subordinating elements of Turkish *ki* and *diye* are not related to the demonstrative forms. While *ki* was borrowed from Persian and is related to French *qui* and Italian *che*, *diye* is a converb related to the verb *de-* 'say' (see Kerslake 1999).

(10) Turkish   (adapted from Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 279)
           Opening a conversation:
           En   onemli sorun   şu.
           most urgent problem this
           'The most urgent problem is this. The shops close in ten minutes and there's
           no coffee in the house.'

According to Nguyễn (1992: 128), we find three demonstrative pronouns in Vietnamese encoding a contrast between proximal, distal, and remote. The relevant forms are *nầy* 'this', *(n)ấy* 'that', and *nọ* 'that over there'. There are two alternative forms encoding the distal/remote contrast, namely *đó* 'that' and *kia* 'that over there'. As in Turkish, though in distinction to English and German, they take up position behind their nominal heads.

(11) Vietnamese   (Bui 2014: 2)
           Bức tranh   này[3] đẹp   hơn bức tranh   kia.
           CL painting this beautiful more CL painting   that
           'This painting is more beautiful than that painting.'

Thompson (1965: 142) argues that the Vietnamese system of demonstratives is distance-oriented, i.e. the speaker is used as the reference point from which distance is calculated. This analysis may not be fully satisfactory, as some object constellations suggest a person-oriented system (see the discussion in Bui 2014: 38). As a matter of fact, Bui (2014: 40) even argues that the traditional three-term distinction in the Vietnamese demonstrative system needs to be reanalyzed as a contrast between two distances, namely proximal versus distal.

3. Data and methodology

The database for the present study was compiled in the project *Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Areas*, carried out at the University of Hamburg between 2009 and 2013. More than 170 students from two different age groups and with three different language backgrounds were sampled using different stimuli. All students speak German as the language of their environment in addition to one of the three heritage languages Turkish, Russian, and Vietnamese. During data collection, students were at either age 12 or 16. The sample includes a German monolingual control group (see Table 1).

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3. In this example, the northern dialectal form is used (*này*). The corresponding southern Vietnamese counterpart is *nầy*.

Table 1. The language sample of the present study

Language Group	12-year-olds	16-year-olds	Total
Turkish-German	22	22	44
Russian-German	17	23	40
Vietnamese-German	26	22	48
German monolingual	21	19	40
Total	86	86	172

The student interviews consisted of five parts and tasks respectively. In the first part, the participants had to write a story based on the picture sequence *Gut gemeint* by Erich Ohser (Ohser 2000: 28). This was the written task. The second part comprised an oral task in which the students were asked to describe the picture sequence *Fox and Chicken*. This picture sequence was produced on the basis of the *Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives* developed by Gagarina et al. (2012). In order to test the students' level of academic language, they were asked to carry out a second written assignment on the basis of *Fast Catch Boomerang*, developed by Reich et al. (2009). This task was restricted to the 16-year-old participants of the study, as it would have overwhelmed the 12-year-olds. In addition to these three tasks, students were given a language background questionnaire addressing matters of language onset, attitudes, and use. This latter task also contained a parental questionnaire.

The duration of each interview was approximately one hour. 20 minutes were reserved for the first written task (*Gut gemeint*), 10 minutes for the oral task *Fox and Chicken*, 15 minutes for the second written task *Fast Catch Boomerang* (only conducted with 16-year-olds), and another 15 minutes for the language background questionnaire. The results of the oral and written tasks were transcribed and digitalized, yielding text documents for each student. These texts underlie our current analysis.

For our subsequent analysis, we used a simple scheme of classification distinguishing between determinative, identifying, and subordinating demonstratives. They will be briefly discussed and illustrated in what follows. By 'determinative' we here refer to premodifying, adnominal uses of demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in Example (12).

(12)   a.   This book is nice. That book is not.
         b.   These people are aggressive. Those people are not.

The term 'identifying' covers occurrences of demonstrative pronouns that do not modify a right-adjacent noun phrase and are in this sense pronominal. Some illustration is provided in (13). Quite typically, such demonstratives refer back to some situational content mentioned in the previous discourse. In other words, they do not

take up object noun phrases anaphorically. This category includes subject uses in predicative constructions (13a), but also various argumental occurrences as in (13b).

(13) a. We found a good idea for your project. This is good.
     b. Some colleagues seem quite envious. I cannot understand this.

Our third category covers subordinating uses of demonstratives, which restricts this category to the form *that*. This use of *that* is, strictly speaking, outside the category of demonstrative pronouns, but we include it here, since our student cohorts manifest interesting usage differences regarding this form.

(14) Everybody knows that Tom is a lamebrain.

Our scheme of classification is by and large equivalent to that used in Diessel (1999: 4) who distinguishes between pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and identificational demonstratives. The main difference to his classification is that we here collapse pronominal and identificational demonstratives in one category (i.e. 'identifying'). Adverbial demonstratives (e.g. English *there*) are outside the scope of our present study.

4.   Data analysis

The subsequent paragraphs will consider the distribution of demonstrative pronouns from two perspectives, namely form and function, starting with the latter. Regarding the functional dimension, we will look at the three parameters introduced in the previous section, i.e. determinative, subordinating, and identifying uses of demonstrative pronouns. As for their form, we will explore the distribution of *this* versus *that* as well as *these* versus *those*, although the plural forms will not figure prominently in our analysis due to low numbers of attestations. The examples below provide some illustration from our student data: (15) and (16) have been taken from the oral data, (17) and (18) from the written data.[4]

(15) a. Ehm … the fox saw this process and took one to take one chicken baby away.   (THIS_DET_O; ID 113186)
     b. This are her children.   (THIS_IDENT_O; ID 113066)

(16) a. The mother chicken decides to leave its nest and leave his chicklets behind and in that moment the big bad wolf saw the chickelets.
                                           (THAT_DET_O; ID 133044)

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4.   The abbreviations following these examples read as follows: DET = determinative, SUB = subordinating, IDENT = identifying, O = oral data, W = written data, ID = student identifier.

    b.   And on the fifth picture you can see that the dog was bite the fox in the back so that he rescue the chicken babies.   (THAT_SUB_O; ID 133098)

    c.   The fox catched a baby and the dog sees that all.

                                        (THAT_IDENT_O; ID 112188)

(17) a.   "STOP" cries the son "I don't eat this fish."   (THIS_DET_W; ID 112177)

    b.   As a result of this the father was angry and the son disappointed.

                                        (THIS_IDENT_W; ID 113193)

(18) a.   John couldn't wait for that delicious fish.   (THAT_DET_W; EV 1603)

    b.   The son was happy that his father was so kind not to kill the fish.

                                        (THAT_SUB_W; ID 112107)

    c.   After that you need to do three aperture on the Boomerange.

                                        (THAT_IDENT_W; ID 113006

The goal of our analysis lies in identifying differences between the speaker groups investigated here (German monolingual, Russian-German, Turkish-German, Vietnamese-German). Due to their diverse background languages, we expect them to show differences in their use of demonstrative form types and their functions. A first overview of the data sample can be gleaned from Table 2, stratified according to oral and written data as well as the word numbers produced in each student cohort. We can see striking differences in the word numbers produced, and also in the attestations of demonstrative pronouns in the data. For example, in the oral domain, the German students produced a total of 4,758 words and 24 demonstrative pronouns, the Russian-German students 3,704 words and 50 demonstrative pronouns, and so on and so forth.

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns in the oral and written data in relation to the background languages (WC = word count)

	German		Russian		Turkish		Vietnamese	
	WC	#	WC	#	WC	#	WC	#
Oral	4,758	24	3,704	50	3,083	20	3,844	30
Written	7,632	62	8,008	64	4,887	35	6,946	78

In the oral production data, the observed differences across the four student cohorts are statistically highly significant: X-squared = 20.109, df = 3, p-value = 0.0001612.[5] In other words, our student cohorts behave differently in this domain. Testing the four cohorts in the written domain yields the following results: X-squared = 7.2536,

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5. We here test occurrence against non-occurrence using a two-dimensional chi square test of independence, thus taking the different word counts into consideration. All statistical tests were carried out using R.

df = 3, p-value = 0.06424. This means that, as for the written data, our four student groups behave more uniformly than in the spoken data.

4.1   The function of demonstrative pronouns

Table 3 provides a summary of the distribution of demonstrative pronouns (regardless of their form) in relation to function and background language, here focusing on the oral production data. Since our students produced oral narratives of highly diverging lengths, Table 3 also gives the total number of words produced in each of the four student groups ('word count'). Since the number of occurrences of demonstrative pronouns in the three functional categories is not comparable due to the different word counts, we normalized all occurrences of demonstrative pronouns to ten thousand words.

Table 3. The function of demonstrative pronouns in the oral data in relation to the background languages (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	4,758	Russian	3,704	Turkish	3,083	Vietnamese	3,844
DET_O	7	15	9	24	6	19	11	29
SUB_O	8	17	22	59	7	23	7	18
IDENT_O	9	19	19	51	7	23	12	31

In Table 3, in each of the columns headed 'Lg', we provide the non-normalized number of occurrences of demonstrative pronouns. For example, our German monolingual students produced seven determinative, eight subordinating, and nine identifying demonstratives. The right-adjacent columns show the respective normalized values, i.e. 15 determinative, 17 subordinating, and 19 identifying cases for the German monolingual students. The normalized figures have been rounded to the next integer value.

Figure 1 plots the normalized values in Table 3, clearly identifying two peaks in the cohort of Russian-German students who use high numbers of demonstrative pronouns in subordinating and identifying functions.

For each parameter separately, we tested the observable differences across language groups for statistical significance using a two-dimensional chi square test of independence. The p-values are as follows: DET_O: X-squared = 2.1294, df = 3, p-value = 0.546; SUB_O: X-squared = 16.47, df = 3, p-value = 0.000908; IDENT_O: X-squared = 7.9797, df = 3, p-value = 0.04643. Statistical testing confirms our observations about the differences in the Russian-German group concerning subordinating and identifying uses, even though the differences along the
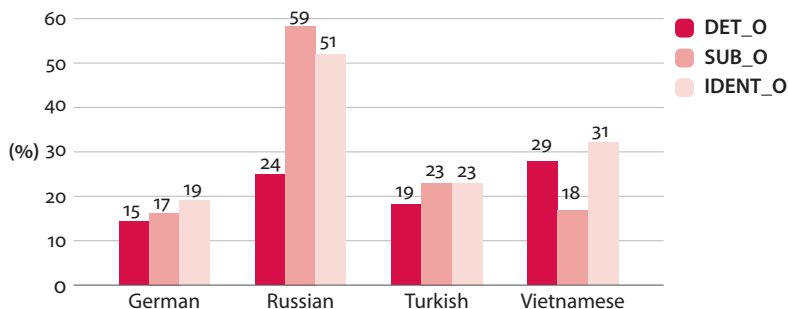
Figure 1. The function of demonstrative pronouns in the oral data in relation to the background languages (normalized)

vector of identifying uses lies just below commonly accepted levels of statistical significance (one in twenty or 5%).

Let us now turn to the written production data. These are summarized in Table 4 following the conventions introduced in the context of Table 3. Here again, the group of Turkish students produced the lowest number of words (4,887), which is in marked contrast to the Russian group who altogether produced 8,008 words, i.e. an additional 3121 words or a surplus or more than 60%. Again, we normalized all occurrences of demonstrative pronouns to ten thousand words, rounding the results to the next integer value.

Table 4. The function of demonstrative pronouns in the written data in relation to the background languages (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	7,632	Russian	8,008	Turkish	4,887	Vietnamese	6,946
DET_W	16	21	6	7	7	14	18	26
SUB_W	10	13	38	47	14	29	32	46
IDENT_W	36	47	20	25	14	29	28	40

The normalized figures are graphically represented in Figure 2. German monolingual students score high values in the identifying function, while Russian students show a peak in the subordinating function. The group of students with Vietnamese as their heritage language produced high values in all three categories with especially high values in subordinating and identifying functions. Looking at Figure 2 from the opposite direction indicates low values for the determinative function in the groups of Russian and Turkish students as well as low subordination values for German monolinguals.
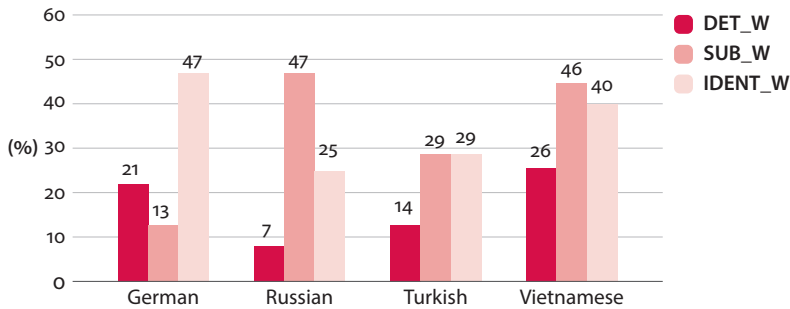
Figure 2. The function of demonstrative pronouns in the written data in relation to the background languages (normalized)

We performed a two-dimensional chi square test of independence in the same way as on the values in Figure 1. The resulting p-values are as follows: DET_W: X-squared = 8.3757, df = 3, p-value = 0.03885; SUB_W: X-squared = 17.399, df = 3, p-value = 0.0005851; IDENT_W: X-squared = 6.5155, df = 3, p-value = 0.08905. The comparison of the p-values makes it clear that both the data vectors for determinative and subordinating function give rise to statistically significant differences, even though the p-value for the subordinating function is much lower.

4.2   The form of demonstrative pronouns

Regarding the morphological form of demonstrative pronouns, we will here focus primarily on the singular forms *this* and *that*, since the plural forms *these* and *those* are only sparsely attested in our data. For *this* and *that*, however, we will offer their precise counts in the oral and written data. Table 5 shows the relevant values for *this* in the oral data, presenting the absolute values as they occur in the data and the normalized values in the respective right adjacent column. We normalized the values towards ten thousand words, as in the preceding section. Table 5 makes it clear that *this* does not occur in subordinating function, as expected.

Table 5. The distribution of *this* in the oral data in relation to background languages and function (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	4,758	Russian	3,704	Turkish	3,083	Vietnamese	3,844
DET_O	7	15	5	13	5	16	7	18
SUB_O	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IDENT_O	4	8	10	27	2	6	1	3

Table 6. The distribution of *that* in the oral data in relation to background languages and function (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	4,758	Russian	3,704	Turkish	3,083	Vietnamese	3,844
DET_O	0	0	3	8	1	3	1	3
SUB_O	8	17	22	59	7	23	7	18
IDENT_O	5	11	9	24	5	16	11	29

Table 6 offers the corresponding figures for *that*. We can see here that this form features prominently in the subordinating and identifying functions, while it is hardly attested in the determinative function.

The above distributions of *this* and *that* have been summarized in Figure 3. What we find noteworthy are the peaks in the Russian group for the identifying function of *this* and the subordinating function of *that*. We have to be a bit cautious about testing these distributions for statistical significance, since the absolute values are very low. Bearing this caveat in mind, the test results are: THIS_DET_O: X-squared = 0.30485, df = 3, p-value = 0.9591; THIS_IDENT_O: X-squared = 11.907, df = 3, p-value = 0.00771; THAT_SUB_O: X-squared = 16.47, df = 3, p-value = 0.000908; THAT_IDENT_O: X-squared = 4.2278, df = 3, p-value = 0.2379. Statistical testing supports our initial observations about identifying *this* and subordinating *that*. These peaks are in need of explanation.
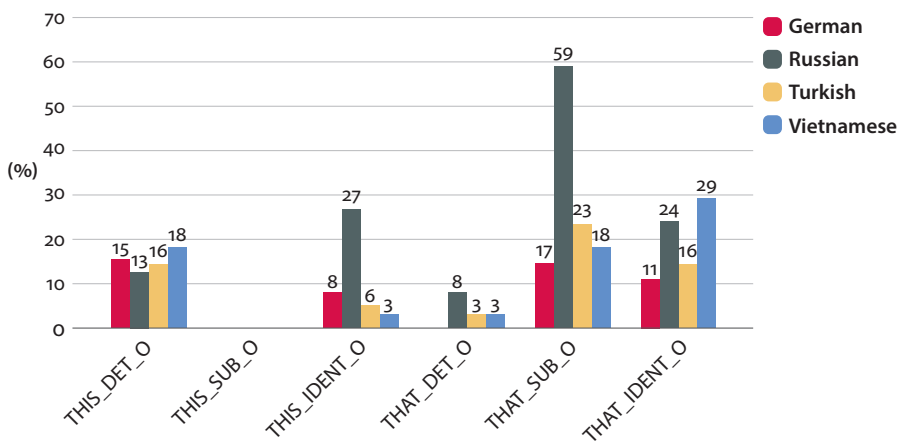
Figure 3. The distribution of *this* and *that* in the oral data in relation to background languages and function

Let us now consider the distribution of *this* and *that* in the written data. The relevant figures for *this* can be found in Table 7, showing the absolute numbers and those normalized to ten thousand words. Again, and as expected, *this* does not occur in the subordinating function. Our German monolingual and Vietnamese-German students show moderate peaks in the determinative function. German monolinguals also have a comparatively high value in the identifying function.

Table 7. The distribution of *this* in the written data in relation to background languages and function (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	7,632	Russian	8,008	Turkish	4,887	Vietnamese	6,946
DET_W	13	17	5	6	5	10	13	19
SUB_W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IDENT_W	12	16	5	6	4	8	4	6

Table 8 portrays the corresponding figures for *that*. This form is hardly attested in the determinative function, though it is rather strong in subordinating and identifying functions. There are also obvious differences between our four language groups.

Table 8. The distribution of *that* in the written data in relation to background languages and function (Lg = Language, WC/N = word count normalized)

	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N	Lg	WC/N
	German	7,632	Russian	8,008	Turkish	4,887	Vietnamese	6,946
DET_W	2	3	1	1	0	0	3	4
SUB_W	10	13	38	47	14	29	32	46
IDENT_W	24	31	15	19	10	20	24	35

Figure 4 summarizes the preceding observations in graphical form, making the peaks in the subordinating and identifying functions of *that* clearly visible. Statistical testing across the four language groups yields the following results: THIS_DET_W: X-squared = 5.7601, df = 3, p-value = 0.1239; THIS_IDENT_W: X-squared = 5.2991, df = 3, p-value = 0.1512; THAT_SUB_W: X-squared = 17.399, df = 3, p-value = 0.0005851; THAT_IDENT_W: X-squared = 4.8995, df = 3, p-value = 0.1793. We find a strong effect in the subordinating function of *that*.
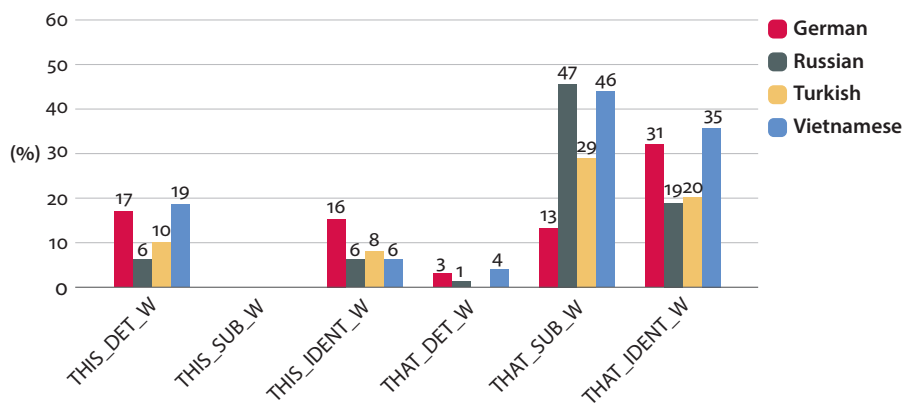
Figure 4. The distribution of *this* and *that* in the written data in relation to background languages and function

For the sake of completeness, let us also briefly mention the plural forms, although there are only a handful of cases. In the oral data, the form *these* occurs three times in determinative function in the group of Vietnamese students. *Those* in the same function can be found once in the Russian group. As for the written data, only *these* is attested and only in determinative function: German = 1; Turkish = 2; Vietnamese = 2.

5. Results and discussion

Let us now proceed to a more detailed examination of the results of our data analysis complemented by some suggestions for their interpretation. We depart from the null hypothesis that language development in English should be equal in all four language groups. If there are differences, we need to look for the responsible conditioning factors. Needless to say, there are several factors beyond our reach and control, such as teacher input, school differences, cognitive development, and perhaps others. The factors that we can take into consideration here comprise academic performance, transfer from German and the heritage languages, oral versus written performance, and age of the students.

5.1 Total word count and academic performance

The number of produced words positively correlates with overall academic performance, as is well-known from previous research (Pohlmann-Rother et al. 2016). As for our oral data, German monolingual students produced the highest

number of words. In second position we find Vietnamese-German students, while Russian-German students come third. The Russian-German students produced the highest word count in the written data, followed by German monolinguals and Vietnamese-German students. Our Turkish-German students produced the lowest number of words in both oral and written data. Consider the summary offered in Table 9.

Table 9. Total word counts in the oral and written data

	German	Russian	Turkish	Vietnamese
Oral	4,758	3,704	3,083	3,844
Written	7,632	8,008	4,887	6,946

The Russian-German students produced high numbers of demonstratives in subordinating function in both oral and written data. Subordination or hypotaxis is indicative of academic language and generally high academic performance. The high use of hypotaxis found with Russian-German students matches the high scores in academic performance in this group, measured by means of total word counts. We may postulate a similar relationship for the Vietnamese-German group in the written domain, where we find a relatively high word count and high numbers of subordinating demonstratives. The problem remains, though, that German monolinguals show high academic performance, but low levels of hypotaxis, at least as realized by subordinating *that*. A cursory glance at the data makes clear, though, that they make ample use of subordinating conjunctions (*when, if, after, while, although, because, after,* etc.), albeit only in the written data (see Table 10). All four student groups produced more subordinating conjunctions in the written data. The Turkish-German students score lowest in both oral and written production data.

Table 10. Subordinating conjunctions in the oral and written data

	German	Russian	Turkish	Vietnamese
Oral	16	30	6	32
Written	69	81	30	76

The above observations are at least partially supported by our students' school grades, which were collected in the background interviews. However, grades could not be obtained from all students. On the whole, we were able to collect school grades from 114 students, out of a total of 172. Table 11 shows the average school grades in our student cohorts by age. The figures in parentheses give the respective number of students.

Table 11. Average school grades of our student cohorts

	German (28)	Russian (35)	Turkish (13)	Vietnamese (38)
12	2.0	2.6	2.6	2.1
16	2.5	2.9	3.5	2.2
Average	2.3	2.8	3.0	2.1

We can see that German monolinguals and Vietnamese-German students score highest, followed by Russian-German students. The group of Turkish-German students achieved the lowest average grades, and they also produced the lowest number of words.

5.2 Transfer from German and the heritage languages

The most interesting linguistic problem in the acquisition of English as an additional language against the background of the four different groups of students under scrutiny here most certainly concerns the question which of the background languages comes to serve as a source of transfer in the acquisition process. For the group of German monolinguals, the answer is straightforward, as only German can be selected for transfer. The three groups of heritage speakers, by contrast, offer a principled choice between German on the one hand, and their respective heritage language (Russian, Turkish, Vietnamese) on the other. We hypothesize that if all four groups of students show the same acquisition pattern, there is either no transfer from the background languages, or equivalent transfer from German. Since there are group-specific differences, it appears plausible to consider transfer as a possible explanans, besides considering other factors.

The most plausible candidate for heritage language transfer concerns the occurrence of demonstrative pronouns in the function of simple personal pronouns, as can be observed in the group of Russian-German students. The examples in (19) and (20) illustrate this phenomenon with oral and written data.

(19) a. I can see two little chicken with his mom and then the mom go away and the fox see that. (THAT_IDENT_O; ID 113156)

 b. In the moment the fox is watching that and when she comes back the hen comes back with a worm. (THAT_IDENT_O; ID 112107)

(20) a. They tries to catch fishes and they succeed that. (THAT_IDENT_W; ID 113180)

 b. After you've done it, you'll use the marker and draw with that around the papershett, after you put it on the plank. (THAT_IDENT_W; ID 113183)

As we saw in Section 2, Russian does not permit the use of simple pronouns in these contexts and falls back on demonstrative pronouns. Since this phenomenon only occurs in the group of Russian-German speakers (in the spoken data) and finds a structural equivalent in Russian, it appears plausible to conclude that we here see transfer from Russian.

How does this finding bear on the theories of transfer introduced in Section 1? Since this is a piece of negative transfer, the cumulative enhancement model needs to be rejected, since it does not allow for negative transfer or interference (Flynn et al. 2004: 5). Equally, our data do not offer support for the L2 status factor model, as influence from German is not detectable in the domain of grammar investigated here. Instead, we find influence from a first language, as the heritage language Russian is the first language for our Russian-German students. At the same time, though, negative transfer is weak, highly selective, and only occurs in the Russian-German group. This rules out the assumption of full L1 transfer. In view of these considerations, we can envisage two paths towards an explanation. On the one hand, Russian is typologically and psychotypologically closer to English than Turkish and Vietnamese, which could be used to evoke Rothman's (2011) typological primacy model. Moreover, the transfer observed here seems to be based on linguistic proximity in the sense of Westergaard et al. (2016). On the other hand, Russian-German students in Germany tend to have the shortest immigration history, often being born in Russia. It is plausible to assume that their heritage language is stronger than in the other groups of heritage speakers.

5.3   Oral versus written performance

Our data analysis revealed important differences between oral and written production data. For example, German monolingual students score higher in the identifying function of demonstrative pronouns in the written data (n = 47, normalized) in comparison to the oral data (n = 19, normalized). These differences can be gleaned from a comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2 (X-squared = 5.7083, df = 1, p-value = 0.01689). Moreover, Vietnamese-German students use more subordinating demonstratives in the written register (n = 18 versus n = 46, normalized, X-squared = 4.5875, df = 1, p-value = 0.03221).

As far as differences in the use of demonstrative forms are concerned, the identifying function of *this* in the oral data is more pronounced for the Russian-German group (n = 27 versus n = 6, normalized), while it is stronger for the German monolinguals in the written data (n = 8 versus n = 16, normalized). Similarly, the identifying function of *that* occurs more often with German monolinguals in the written in comparison to the oral data (n = 11 versus n = 31, normalized).

The comparatively high usage of identifying *this* and *that* by German mono-linguals in the written domain can be taken to mean that these students produce more anaphoric textual references than the other student groups. A qualitative examination of our data seems to support this interpretation, but we unfortunately fail to explain what the cause for this preference could be. Examples are provided in (21). Identifying *this* and *that* typically occur after prepositions. As one would expect, such examples occur predominantly in the writings of the 16-year-olds.

(21) a. Then they through the fish in the see. The boy was very happy about this.
(THIS_IDENT_W; ID 112192)
   b. when finished with this you need to mount the plate to the desk.
(THIS_IDENT_W; ID 113193)
   c. I just couldn't see the poor fish dying. My grandpa wasn't really happy with
       that.   (THAT_IDENT_W; ID 113153)
   d. After that you have to take an ending to make the paper-bumerang on the
       wood.   (THAT_IDENT_W; ID 133007)

By contrast, the higher share of subordinating *that* found with Vietnamese students in the written register can again be viewed as an indicator of academic language. Apparently, this student group draws a clear difference between oral and written language. What further supports this interpretation is that subordinating *that* is primarily found in the older age cohort (16 years of age, see below). However, additional factors would need to be taken into consideration to confirm this hypothesis.

5.4   Age of the students

Interestingly enough, the older students (16 years of age) do not generally show higher ratios of demonstrative usage in comparison to the younger ones (12 years of age). Table 12 and Table 13 show the ratios of demonstrative usage as per ten thousand words, in oral and written data respectively. Even though the absolute figures are typically higher in the older age cohorts, the relative figures are often lower. This can be interpreted in such a way that demonstratives are learned relatively early and that they serve important discourse structuring functions especially for the younger age cohorts.

Steering clear of statistical testing at this point, we can nevertheless spot interesting differences in the data. For example, the strong preference for subordinating *that* in the Russian-German group is already visible in the young age cohort in both oral and written data. By contrast, the high ratios of identifying demonstratives in the oral data produced by this language group can mainly be attributed to the older age cohort.

Table 12. Functions of demonstrative pronouns in relation to age, oral data

	German		Russian-German		Turkish-German		Vietnamese-German	
Age	12	16	12	16	12	16	12	16
WC	2218	2540	1095	2609	1074	2009	1713	2131
DET_O	18.0	11.8	18.3	26.8	0.0	29.9	0.0	51.6
SUB_O	18.0	15.7	73.1	53.7	9.3	29.9	11.7	23.5
IDENT_O	13.5	23.6	36.5	57.5	46.6	10.0	46.7	18.8

Table 13. Functions of demonstrative pronouns in relation to age, written data

	German		Russian-German		Turkish-German		Vietnamese-German	
Age	12	16	12	16	12	16	12	16
WC	2232	5400	1811	6197	1728	3159	2646	4300
DET_W	17.9	22.2	5.5	8.1	23.1	9.5	0.0	41.9
SUB_W	0.0	18.5	66.3	42.0	23.1	31.7	26.5	58.1
IDENT_W	31.4	53.7	22.1	25.8	5.8	41.2	22.7	51.2

As far as our Vietnamese-German students are concerned, here the high values of subordinating and identifying uses in the written data are mainly due to the 16-year old students. The 12-year old students in this cohort produced no determinative demonstratives whatsoever, neither in oral nor written data. The same observation can be made for the Turkish-German 12-year old students in the oral data. Perhaps, the post-nominal placement of demonstratives in Turkish and Vietnamese causes interference here, but this must remain speculation.

6. Summary and conclusion

In our study, we explored the role of demonstrative pronouns in the acquisition of English as an additional language. We used a sample of 172 German learners of English speaking different heritage languages, namely Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese. Additionally, the study consisted of a control group of German monolingual speakers acquiring English. The students were 12 and 16 years old. It is important to take into consideration that the form and function of demonstrative pronouns is different in the languages involved. As shown in the data analysis, we focused on the singular forms *this* and *that*, since the plural forms *these* and *those* are only sparsely attested in our data.

We were able to unravel important differences between our four student groups and between oral and written production data. There are crucial differences in the distribution of demonstrative forms as well as their functions. Age turned out to

be a less important factor, apart from a generally better performance on the older age group. Moreover, we identified one plausible candidate for cross-linguistic influence from the heritage language Russian, since the high share of demonstratives used as simple personal pronouns in the English learner data, as produced by the Russian-German group of students, finds a ready structural equivalent in Russian. Our findings, thus, offer some support for Rothman's (2011) typological primacy model and Westergaard's et al. (2016) linguistic proximity model, though not for the competing hypotheses on transfer found in the research literature.

Future research ought to consider more closely to what extent students use different subordinators than the form *that* investigated here. It appears feasible, for example, that they use strategies of hypotaxis that we could not detect in our study. In addition, a higher number of language learners within the groups could provide better insight into transfer phenomena as more participants would contribute more examples. Another angle from which the current topic could be investigated concerns written and oral texts in the heritage languages in order to compare the use of demonstratives within and across the different languages. Results could yield better support for the different hypotheses on language transfer.

Acknowledgements

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Subject index

This volume challenges traditional approaches to foreign language
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