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Reconceptualizing Connections between Language, Literacy and Learning

Springer

Educational Linguistics

Volume 39

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Preface

This publication is the result of a cooperation between researchers in the Nordic research network **Language**, **Literacy**, and **Learning** (LLL) that is dedicated to critically engaging with frontline issues related to language, literacy, and learning practices in the twenty-first century. The members met as part of a larger group of 20 scholars from the four Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, that participated in a series of workshops in 2009–2010 funded by the Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-HS).

In the LLL network we focus upon the complexities of multilingual and multi-modal practices and settings (written, face-to-face, and virtual), identity, attitudes, and in-between spaces/places across time. This implies an explicit engagement with the flows of concepts, categorizations, and boundaries that pertain to the domains of **language**, **literacy**, and **learning**. With these premises as points of departure, the network wishes to promote dialogue between a range of social approaches and disciplinary vantage points to challenge and contribute to current understandings in the domains of **language**, **literacy**, and **learning.** The members of the network broadly share methodological approaches. These general ethnographic principles have also been adopted by the contributing authors to this volume.We have participated as a group at different international conferences (AILA 2014, GURT 2015, EuroSLA 2017) with colloquia related to **language**, **literacy**, and **learning** and have participated in the edited book *Literacy Practices in Transition: Perspectives from the Nordic Countries* (Multilingual Matters; eds. Pitkänen-Huhta and Holm 2012). In addition to joint work (publications, conferences, etc.), we aim to engage with stakeholders regionally and more broadly in the Nordic contexts.

We would like to acknowledge the support of our universities and research environments where work on the LLL themes have developed and continue to develop in different ways. Each of the university departments and/or research environments we are members of has also hosted our meetings over the years.

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Foreword

Lourdes Ortega

Defining literacy is a difficult task. Yet everyone knows what literacy is. Or does everyone? One of my favorite illustrations of what literacy can be at its best comes from Blanton's (2002) recount of a classroom interaction in Casablanca's American School between 5-year old Mira, who at home speaks Arabic and French, and her teacher, Marge, when Mira was drawing the story of "the day she was born":

> Mira completes a picture of herself (so tiny she appears only as a head), her mother (on a hospital bed with wheels), and the doctor. Wanting to annotate her drawing, Mira walks over to Marge, and asks her to write down the name of "a bed with wheels." Finding a scrap of paper, Marge writes "gurney." Mira returns to the table, bends intently over her drawing and writes, revises, and writes again "I WAS BORN IN GURNEY," deliberately copying the last word from Marge's paper. Marge doesn't say "This word is too big for you," or "This is a word we haven't studied yet." She doesn't turn Mira's request into a reading lesson — "gurrrr-neee." Mira asks for a written word, and Marge, without hesitation, gives it to her. Mira and Marge are operating in tandem, in league with each other, to perform an act of literacy. They are synchronized. (p. 304)

Another favorite illustration comes from Gregory et al. (2007), who describe story-reading sessions that take place in a Bangladeshi British family between 6-year old Sahil and his grandmother, Razia. Razia chooses to read to all her grandchildren two kinds of readings, Bengali choras or traditional rhymes that she grew up with, but which are entirely new to the children, and European traditional tales in Bengali translation, which the children already know from school and she is learning from them:

> As she reads [the choras], her voice changes and becomes low and devout. She reads one line at a time, followed closely by Sahil in repetition after her. These are rhymes that he knows to be important but whose meaning as yet escapes him. [...] Razia's approach and teaching style when reading Snow White and other European stories is [...] significantly

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different […]. She reads in an ordinary voice rather than a special one and simply reads on, allowing Sahil to squirm, climb or roam around while she reads and talks to him. Other siblings also run out of the room while she reads, but return with no loss of attention to the story. It is clear that the activity is highly enjoyable and that both Sahil and his sisters are listening intently. (p. 16)

These two illustrations come, respectively, from a formal educational context and from an informal family context. In Blanton's (2002) study, Mira and Marge inhabited a privileged formal space for learning: one of Casablanca's most multilingual and affluent schools, famous for a "rigorous curriculum, caring teachers, well-equipped science and computer labs" (p. 298), and a very high tuition which Mira's dad, an actor who had played Superman's role in a Moroccan film (p. 300), was well-off enough to pay. In Gregory et al.'s (2007) study, Razia and Sahil likely had much more contact with oppression and prejudice, related to their experience of immigration. Moreover, we learn from the researchers that Sahil's family lived in an economically disadvantage neighborhood in East London and Razia divided up her time between Sahil's family in the UK and her other children living in Canada and the USA. Despite the differences in context and in likely socioeconomic and ethnocultural and linguistic backgrounds, in both illustrations the same intense quality of literacy has been captured: Two people, one with more expertise than the other in at least some relevant ways, and bonded by a close relationship (teacher-student, grandmother-grandson) "can and do arrive at a point where they briefly operate (intellectually, emotionally) in complete harmony, almost in singularity" (Blanton, p. 302), and they "syncretize languages, texts and interaction patterns to produce dynamic and linguistically rich practices" (Gregory et al., p. 6). There is writing in Blanton's vignette of Mira and her teacher Marge, and there is reading in Gregory et al.'s vignette of Sahil and his grandmother Razia. But neither can be reduced to just writing or reading. Literacy is holistically apprehended and intuited at the heart of both, but it is far from exhausted by either, as it also much more than the sum of both. When researchers learn to look in less than obvious places to see literacy, they will soon discover competencies for social action that arise informally through participation in everyday life events and that occur and reoccur over the full lifespan and bring about new literacy learning. Literacy involves, for example, people learning to apprehend information through a wealth of visual and multimodal elements, such as when a toddler "reads" their first pictureless book or when an adult watches their first live opera. Literacy is also learning to use everyday artifacts that have become unavoidable in many societies, such as when older adults venture to function with smart phones for the sake of keeping up with the lives their children live now as adults or they finally acquiesce to completing their daily financial transactions with credit cards rather than cash, or to abandon their favorite branch of a bank and begin to do online banking. Literacy also includes learning how to evaluate messages and intentions that circulate and are consumed in the digital wilds and developing conceptualizations of online privacy that shape social relationships (Marwick and boyd 2014).

The present collection is a welcomed effort at illuminating multiliteracies as complex and contested social acts. In order to succeed at the set task, Bagga-Gupta,

Golden, Holm, Laursen, and Pitkänen-Huhta have ensembled a polyphony of authors who across very different studies unearth the significance of literacy acts found in classrooms, in the wild, and in digital contexts. The volume also advances an examination of values, attitudes, and emotions related to literacy, placing subjective experience and social justice as important elements of the research agenda.

1 Foregrounding Literacy, Complicating Boundaries and Binaries

Almost 20 years ago, Harklau (2002) showed just how pervasive and seamlessly enmeshed the experience of literacy is, including writing and reading texts, in all forms of action that occur in formal contexts for language learning. Her call to redress the role of literacy, however, has seldom been taken on board by second language researchers, who at most have explored the role of writing, as opposed to literacy, in language learning (e.g., Elola and Oskoz 2017, Manchón and Williams 2016, Polio 2017). The persistent problem is that "the language learning literature equates communication as being equivalent to monolingual (oral) talk" (Bagga-Gupta 2017, p. 54), in itself part of the wider problem of the monolingual bias in the study of language learning (Ortega, 2013).

This book furthers Harklau's (2002) argument by taking it a few steps forward, propelled by the theoretical inspiration of the New Literacy Studies (NLS). NLS is a well-established approach to the study of reading, writing, and texts that began in the 1980s but got its most explicit articulation in the New London Group (1996). The NLS lens is strongly sociocultural and ethnographic, highlights the ideological nature of literacy, addresses new forms of literacy constantly emerging in the digital sphere, and is "rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being" (Street 2005, p. 418). All chapters in this book participate in and benefit from the NLS view of literacy. In a nutshell, the authors urge educators, applied linguists, and multilingualism scholars to go beyond the instrumental and explore the subjective, symbolic, and emotional dimensions of literacy and communication. In order to do this, boundaries and binaries are challenged.

Equipped with the broad and robust understanding of literacy afforded by NLS, the present authors challenge the separation between speech and writing and seek to blur the boundaries of traditional dichotomous modalities, instead foregrounding intersections among poly-modalities – notably speech, writing, and the visual, but also including the body and the physical space – in the spheres of language use in day cares, classrooms, and educational institutions (Data Set 2 in Pitkänen-Huhta, Lefebvre, Ennser-Kananen, Holm, Laursen, Iwasaki and Kumagai, Jølbo, Prikhodko), in the wild (Data Set 1 in Pitkänen-Huhta, Rothoni and Mitsikopoulou), in the workplace (Golden and Lanza), and in digital environments (Pitkänen-Huhta). The conceptualization of literacy offered here is in turn related to similar conceptualizations of language and of learning: All three are viewed by all the present authors

as a social activity that is distributed and also embodied, and in her chapter Bagga-Gupta focuses on the ramifications of theorizing critical literacy in this way.

If readers accept the present volume's invitation (as spelled out in the introductory chapter "Bridging Language, Literacy and Learning" by Bagga-Gupta, Laursen and Golden) to see the triad of literacy, language, and learning as intertwined social action and practice, they will be able to see a lot that was perhaps invisible before. For one, they will learn to reject – in agreement with the authors – the predominant assumptions that language learning occurs mostly through oral language and that written language must be understood as reflecting and being subordinated to speech. They will also be able to appreciate better the reasons for challenging named and counted languages and language varieties – a challenge that has long been mounted in sociolinguistics (e.g., Blommaert 2010, Makoni and Pennycook 2012), education (García and Tupas 2019), and multilingualism studies (Li Wei 2018).

One novelty the authors of this volume bring to the fore for reflection is whether named modalities (and often binary modalities, i.e., oral vs. written) should also be challenged. In this latter insight, they resonate with Hawkins's (2018) notion of transmodalities, or "the simultaneous co-presence and co-reliance of language and other semiotic resources in meaning-making, affording each equal weight" (p. 64), that is, "the fluid integration, and mutual informativity, of repertoires of resources in meaning-making processes across local and global encounters and interactions in our globalized world" (p. 56). The globalized worlds each research community imagines and animates, however, are greatly shaped by the processes of colonization and decolonization against which the study of language became a discipline (Heller and McElhinny 2017). Any effort at complicating boundaries and binaries of any kind, including of language and learning, must acknowledge the colonial nature of much thinking about diverse and fluid kinds of literacy, traditional and digital alike, precisely because the researchers come from academic and personal socializations in the Global North (Bagga-Gupta 2017, Bagga-Gupta and Rao 2018).

2   The Singular Significance of Digital Literacies

A qualitatively different premium on literacy has opened up since the advent of the World Wide Web and the Internet in the 1990s. Nowadays digital literacies are coveted symbolic goods thought to open doors to social and economic advancement (Jenkins et al. 2009). Yet differences in digital literacy continue to create deep divides. Access to the Internet creates great differences among countries, and in 2016 Internet users comprised on average 82% of citizens in the wealthiest countries, but only 12% of citizens in the countries with the lowest gross national income (World Bank n.d.). Bagga-Gupta and Rao (2018) poignantly remind us that access to technological and digital tools modulates participation in contemporary public and political life, but once access is attained, digital participation in affinity communities can happen in ways that may be at the same time different and similar for

the wealthiest nation-states in the Global North as well as for Global South spaces. Likewise, in the wealthiest countries technology is increasingly more available to (almost) all, yet communication researchers in the USA and Europe have established that digital knows and don't-knows are sharply distinguished by their reported engagement in enabling Internet use, for example, to keep up with political news, find a job, check health information, file taxes from the comfort of their homes, and so on (Courtois and Verdegem 2016). When it comes to participation in creative activities that involve knowledge- and content-production online, such as editing a Wikipedia article, the inequities in digital literacy that emerge among adults within the same geopolitical spaces, whether economically privileged or marginalized, are particularly profound. In U.S. society the most important factors are younger age, college education, and better Internet skills, with income and employment as well as racial/ethnic backgrounds and Internet experiences also making a difference (Shaw and Hargittai 2018).

Unexpectedly perhaps, in terms of language learning the benefits of good digital literacies and active online engagement have begun to be documented for privileged youth learning English in Global North spaces, in particular. Most specifically, incidental English learning derived from leisure online gaming have been reported in the areas of vocabulary, idiomaticity, and even grammar (e.g., Jensen 2017, Sylvén and Sundqvist 2017) for young people in Europe who admit to using digital media frequently, which in most studies has proven to be four or more hours weekly. Overall exposure to media and watching films in the English original, which in many northern European countries can be done by streaming online or on TV in countries with a tradition to use subtitles, has also been linked to superior listening and reading comprehension in English (or another foreign language) (Lindgren and Muñoz 2013).

In interpreting these findings and making recommendations of language educational consequence it should not be forgotten that the degree and sophistication of one's digital literacies are systemically associated with one's wealth and privilege (Hargittai 2010). In the United States, people who use the Internet more frequently and for what are considered more capital-enhancing or enabling purposes tend to have a college education and they hold desirable jobs that bring them a higher income, leading a life style that includes owing not only many technological gadgets, as would be expected of their higher use of digital media, but also credit cards, a car, and a house (Hargittai 2010). Ethnographies of the use of technology by recently arrived immigrants and refugees, however, suggest that their use of mobile and social technologies covers a wide range of purposes that can be considered capital-enhancing as well – for example, from staying in touch with children and spouses back home (Horst and Taylor 2014) to alerting others of police roundups (Harney 2013). Thus, the connection between wealth and enabling Internet engagement notwithstanding, technological literacies are not a luxury that can be reserved for the elites. Instead, people who experience systemic vulnerabilities stand to benefit from improved digital literacies. For example, also in the United States, Gonzales (2017) demonstrated that individuals from racially marginalized groups and individuals with less education were more likely than individuals who were racially or

educationally privileged to use online media rather than face-to-face opportunities to broaden their social networks, which they can use in turn to increase their social capital. The most vulnerable individuals in Global North nation-states like the United Kingdom and Sweden also stand to be the most isolated if deprived from participation in the digital sphere, giving way to the emergence of a digital underclass (Helsper and Reisdorf 2016). Newcomers to a country too, are eager to become digitally literate in order to meet urgent enabling uses for digital literacies. For example, Gonzalez and Katz (2016) found that both children and parents in immigrant Latinx families in the Southwest of the United States appreciated technology as an affordable means to remain connected with the extended families they had had to leave behind. In sum, digital practices and the complex literacies they nourish can be complicated when researchers dig deep into the dynamics of wealth inequities within and across geopolitical contexts.

3   Literacy and Illiteracy Are Never Neutral

Pitkänen-Huhta (Chapter "Young People's Emerging Multilingual Practices: Learning Language or Literacy, or Both?" this volume) reminds us that literacy can be both liberating and constraining. In her chapter, she shows it was liberating for Finnish teenagers, whose confident multiliteracies provided them access not only to Finnish and English but also to other languages they only partially and variably knew. But it was both liberating and constraining for young 6- to 12-year olds in Finnish Sámiland. They were able to recognize and celebrate their multilingual repertoires (in Finnish, Northern Sámi, Inari Sámi, Norwegian, English, and so on) when asked about the languages they speak and their feelings towards them. But they limited their languages and creativity when asked to design their own multilingual children's picture book to be officially printed.

Literacy can be particularly oppressive, not liberating, when it is used to (re)create hierarchies of power. There has been recognition of this, particularly in connection with adolescent refugees with limited formal schooling. For example, Bigelow and King (2015) speak of the politics of a written script as they document classroom interactions in which Saiful, who had had 10 years of schooling in Ethiopia and was very competent in reading and writing in Somali, shined as a Somali expert in the class. In great part this was the doing of the teacher, who repeatedly relied on him in her otherwise pedagogically sound practice to foster comparisons between English and Somali. In the same class, Ayan was as proficient in Somali as Saiful, yet she was illiterate, and her linguistic expertise was made invisible by the teacher, who treated her oral knowledge of Somali as less legitimate, because it was not written.

A somewhat similarly situation ensues with the research representations of the language repertoires of heritage language speakers, who are children of immigrants who first learned the minority language at home and later were schooled monolingually in the majority language (Benmamoun et al. 2013). Studies routinely portray

them as inferior to the repertoires of traditional foreign language learners, on account that the former group typically shows limited literacy in their home language. Yet, the logic escapes scrutiny: Why pathologize heritage learners' language repertories as incomplete or attrited, when they are *both* orally competent *and* literate in the majority language and many are also orally quite competent in the home language, and treat the communicative repertoires of foreign language learners as more "normal" or "balanced" by comparison, when they are equally *both* orally competent *and* literate in the majority language but many often exhibit limited communication capacity both orally and in writing? It would seem that the only explanation is a view of proficiency where well-educated usage is privileged and can only be pronounced if both speech and writing are mastered.

In the context of Indigenous communities whose languages have a long oral tradition and whose standardization and scripts may be entangled with a history of colonization, occupation, and genocide, the right to *illiteracy* is hotly debated. Some communities like the Navajo have a long tradition of writing by now and use it for their immersion schools and language education without hesitation, and such a reality is captured in the best recommendations for sustainable pedagogy (e.g., McCarty and Lee 2014). But at the other spectrum, many Indigenous communities are opposed to the use of a written system (Benjamin et al. 1996; Spolsky and Irvine 1982). The arguments against it are varied. Some fear that it objectifies and renders the language less sacred, others that it opens up the language and its peoples to further exploitation by outsiders. Yet others object that writing inhibits rather than supports learning. In many cases, the rejection of literacy in the indigenous vernacular can be seen as a strategy to maintain the integrity of a traditional culture. Webster (2006), a renowned scholar of Navajo languages and literatures, admonishes that literacy may well preserve language but does not necessarily save it from extinction, and that while it fixes knowledge and opens it up to others, these others may or may not have the right to access it. Ultimately, and going back circle, the controversy surrounding (il)literacy for the maintenance of Indigenous languages shows that literacy is ideological, it is not strictly separate from orality (and should certainly not be seen as pitted against it), and in sum that it does not mean the same thing to everyone.

4 Unmasking and Countering Deficit Ideologies

It can be surmised from all of the above that literacy engagements (and disengagements) can create hierarchies across speakers – just as do other unequally distributed symbolic goods, like college education, English, or any form of technology. Thus, we must be careful not to romanticize literacy. We should also not confuse literacy with judgments of intelligence, expertise, or moral superiority, nor illiteracy with judgements of backwardness or lower human value. Finally, it should also be of utmost importance to recognize that the study of literacy should always become a site for working against deficit ideologies.

In this regard, Holm (Chapter "An Odd Couple? Literacy and Multilingualism in Day Care Centers" this volume) reminds readers that multilingual children falling behind or needing special attention for remediation are not natural facts; they are socially constructed and they assign, rather than "find," deficit. Laursen (Chapter "Treading Semiotic Paths in Multilingual Literacy Learning: Challenging Ideological Conceptualizations of Language and Literacy in Education" this volume) shows these deficit representations can be harmfully internalized by the children and adolescents themselves. Conversely, however, Prikhodko (Chapter "Rhizomes in Action: International Multilingual Student Writers' Literacies" this volume) demonstrates that it is also possible to fruitfully embrace a learner identity, claiming imperfect English in order to position oneself positively as willing to learn and adapt.

Each chapter in the book tellingly shows the first necessary step to combat deficit approaches to literacy is to make people's holistic multilingualism (Cenoz 2013) patently visible to educators, researchers, and the wider public. Several authors experiment more concretely with ways to transform multilinguals' internalized linguistic insecurity. They do so by investigating critical literacy projects and assignments that in one case put learners in contact with model multilinguals who have subverted their nonnativeness and claimed ownership of their new language, as is the case of transcultural writers (Iwasaki and Kumagai, Chapter ""Making it your own by adapting it to what's important to you": Plurilingual Critical Literacies to Promote L2 Japanese Users' Sense of Ownership of Japanese" this volume), and in two cases allow them to explore and engage with their own multilingualism in multimodal creations (Pitkänen-Huhta, Chapter "Young People's Emerging Multilingual Practices: Learning Language or Literacy, or Both?" this volume; Rothoni and Mitsilopoulou, Chapter "Visual Representations of English Language Learning and Literacy in Greece" this volume).

I commend the present authors' effort to destabilize deficit representations of multilinguals as well as monolingual biases in the conceptualization of language learning. I agree that such destabilization can be effectively achieved by offering anti-essentialist readings of literacy, language, and learning, all the way while undoing the written-oral modality binary. But in a tentative move of what Gayatri Spivak (1993) calls strategic essentialism, I would like to also voice, albeit only momentarily, the official discourses of literacy and illiteracy, for the purpose of making some points about the value of literacy in the pursuit of social justice.

5   Literacy and Systemic Inequities, or Is There Any Place for Psychometrics in Literacy Studies?

Literacy is a valuable good in our current world. It is, however, not equally available to all. Sarah and Angela, the two African medical doctors with refugee backgrounds studied by Golden and Lanza (Chapter "Language Learning and Literacy: The

Multilingual Subject in Narratives of Older Immigrant Refugee Women" this volume) would wholeheartedly agree with this valuation: They included adult education classes in the treatment they gave to their refugee patients, because they saw literacy as a key benefit for full integration and happiness in their new lives. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2017), approximately 750 million adults globally are functionally illiterate, or around 14% of the total worldwide adult population. Two thirds of them are women. Almost half of them are in Southern Asia and 27% of them are in sub-Saharan Africa, even though in both of these world regions the literacy rates have increased substantially in recent decades. Among children, UNESCO (2014) found that illiteracy affects 25% of youth in low- and middle-income countries and 40% in sub-Saharan Africa, and that females make up 61% of youth in the world who cannot read. Quality levels of literacy are a challenge not only for children who are unschooled, but also for children who are schooled without the necessary material and human resources to ensure high quality education: 250 million children spend 4 years in school without learning basic skills (UNESCO 2014).

Many adults and children living in so-called developed countries can experience less than fulfilling literacy levels too. In the United States where I live, for example, the 2017 results for reading of the National Assessment of Educational Progress suggest a meager 35% of 4th graders, 35% of 8th graders, and 36% of 12th graders in public schools meet or exceed proficient reading levels (NAEP 2017). And the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics estimates that 21% percent of adults exhibit extremely limited functioning in prose, document, and quantitative literacy, many of them having not completed high school (Kirsch et al. 2002). The 1990 film *Stanley and Iris*, played by Robert De Niro and Jane Fonda, offers a fictional depiction of the life limitations suffered by monolingual adults who are illiterate in their first (and only) language. Stanley wasn't able to read a newspaper, or a baseball scoreboard. He couldn't read the test to get a driver's license. He couldn't write a check or the ATM machine prompts. Nor was he able to sign his name. These examples show not only how valuable literacy is, but also just how heavily involved it is in the most common and unremarkable daily activities that are taken for granted by literate, well-educated adults.

International immigrants (including refugees) constitute an important case of multilinguals, comprising an estimated 3.4% of the world's population (United Nations 2017) and placing 5th in population size, after the four most populous countries in the world: China, India, the United States, and Indonesia. Undoubtedly, good literacy functioning in the majority language is one of the means to secure better inclusion and well-being for immigrants (Golden and Lanza, Chapter "Language Learning and Literacy: The Multilingual Subject in Narratives of Older Immigrant Refugee Women" this volume). Two large-scale immigration studies by Adamuti-Trache (2013) and Kristen et al. (2016), and one study by Kozar and Yates (2018) in the field of second language acquisition provide strong and converging empirical evidence on the importance of three factors: the initial levels of L2 proficiency and education prior to emigration, having access to using the L2 in the new environment through "formal and informal education and language training, labor

market participation, [and] social networking" (Adamuti-Trache 2013, p. 124), and being "active self-learners" (p. 116) who energetically pursue formal L2 instruction once in the new country. Thus, of great equal value are both the literacy capital that immigrants bring from their home countries and the furthering of literacy experiences in the new language that they may be able to secure in their host country.

It is no surprise, therefore, that something as valuable and valued as literacy would be submitted to measurement and international comparisons. The authors of the present volume are critical of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) measurements and other psychometric-oriented large-scale measurements since the mid-1990s, because these approaches are based on the narrowing of the construct of literacy and on measurement normed against monolingual benchmarks.

There are indeed unintended and even intended consequences that come out of decisions to narrow down literacy so as to make it measurable and to label populations of students and levels of achievement so as to push for international accountability; there are also many complex motives for countries to participate in so-called international large-scale assessments, or ILSAs (Addey et al. 2017) and great disagreements persist among academics as to their usefulness and uses. However, given the power of numbers and of neoliberal logics about education and literacy, together with a critical stance one might also want to consider whether it is possible to coerce large-scale statistical results into affirming arguments that can have a positive impact on educational and language rights policies. Thus, for example, Ağırdağ and Vanlaar (2016) reanalyzed the PISA 2012 data for 120,000 students across 18 countries and found overwhelmingly clear empirical evidence that students who reported speaking *both* the home and the majority language *more* with their families exhibit better (majority-language) school achievement than students who reported speaking the majority language more. A similar but even more extreme conclusion was reached by Winsler et al. (2014) with a sample of over 10,000 children in the United States who were followed from 9 months old until age 5 or 6 in kindergarten. Namely, gains in English over time were larger for immigrant children who reported they only spoke the heritage language in the home versus those who reported they spoke only English in the home.

It is advantageous when the psychometric evidence can support what researchers of bilingualism have tried to convey to politicians, parents, and even educators for many years to no avail: That the use of minority home languages is a buffer against vulnerabilities among minoritized children and youth, or differently put, that mother tongue use and literacy are associated with *both* overall academic achievement *and* majority-language success for children from minoritized backgrounds. It is also advantageous when researchers and educators are aware of and utilize any data and any arguments that help build the case in support of bilingualism and against educational stigmatization of children from marginalized communities. I recognize that making this move, however strategically intended, in Spivak's (1993) sense, builds on essentialisms and modernist ideas about literacy, and as such it risks relapsing into traditional positions about measurable sets of commodified skills. We may wish nevertheless to walk the thin line between ontological and epistemological

self-contradiction and *"world"-traveling*, a term proposed by feminist philosopher Lugones (2003) to denote the visceral experience of traveling symbolically to someone else's world so that we may be able to "understand *what it is to be them and what it is to be ourselves in their eyes*" (p. 97). Understanding the well-intentioned arguments on the side of scholarship and the official discourses that portray literacy as a valuable good that is unequally distributed can help create some common ground across scholarly communities. It can also help researchers understand and appropriate and re-entextualize certain arguments and positionings that may have a better chance to resonate with those who have the power to exert changes in the educational policy plane.

6 An Invitation to Readers

As the introductory chapter by Bagga-Gupta, Laursen and Golden explains, the present volume aims to bring the critical and social-performative view of literacy espoused by the New Literacy Studies closer to the concerns traditionally investigated in the field of second language acquisition, where literacy has always occupied a limited instrumental role, more often than not remaining invisible in the study of language learning. As Bagga-Gupta and Rao (2018) have argued, "scholarship *from* and *by* global-South scholars" will be crucially necessary if the aspiration of "reconceptualizing languaging behavior and identity-positionings beyond boundaries" (p. 31) is to be realized in the future. I have also suggested that at times experimenting with strategic essentialism and traveling symbolically to the world of those who understand literacy as a valuable good that is unequally distributed may be useful in creating convenient alliances and in furnishing evidence and arguments that may be heard by more agents and perhaps echo farther over geopolitical, educational, sociocultural, and personal distances.

I am confident readers will enjoy the wealth of contexts and literacies in the making that this book offers. Such richness will challenge them to see literacy in novel ways. Imagining the boundaries, binaries, and paradoxical complexities of literacy differently is something that this book invites readers to do. I hope that many of them will accept the invitation and that they will also open up to the authors' call to explore the subjective, symbolic, and emotional dimensions of literacy and communication.

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Bridging Language, Literacy and Learning

Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta, Helle Pia Laursen, and Anne Golden

Abstract In this chapter the complex relationships *between* the familiar, established concepts of "language", "literacy" and "learning" are discussed and the need for building new understandings between these concepts and bridges across them is argued for. The concepts of language and literacy, and the interface between them, are not, and have never been static ones; however, there is increased recognition regarding the mobileness of semiotic resources due to accelerated globalization processes that have significantly shaped language and literacy practices. In addition, learning practices and processes are shaped by these developments and new demographics and technological advancements have changed the ways in which people (can) meet and (can) learn language and literacy. Different ways in which the three central L's – *Language, Literacy* and *Learning* – have been introduced and attended to in the scholarship at large – particularly in the domains of Second Language Acquisition and (New) Literacy Studies, including scholarship on learning in multilingual contexts – are highlighted. This chapter also briefly introduces the other contributions in this volume.

Keywords Monolingual bias · Mobility · Transitions · Language sciences · Educational sciences · Social practices

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1   Introduction

Language and literacy often come as a pair. A number of scholarly publications include these paired notions in their titles, frequently coupled with a third notion in a tricolon, for instance, *Language, Literacy and Diversity*, *Language, Literacy and Culture*. Sometimes the triad is further stylistically marked by the use of alliteration in the triadic construction, for instance, *Language, Literacy and Literature*, *Language, Literacy and Learning*. This volume also builds upon the paired notion of language and literacy and we use it in a well-known alliterately marked tricolon teamed up with learning. So why a new book with this rather worn out combination of concepts? And why now?

First, one can ask: What is in a pair? What constitutes language and literacy as a pair? And how does this pair(ing) relate to learning? The contributions in this volume deal with such questions, offering new empirically based perspectives on the issue. Importantly, they do not take the relationship between these concepts for granted or let them go unquestioned. Instead, the studies presented in this volume *explore* the social practices, processes and discourses, through which these relations are established, reestablished, negotiated and destabilized.

Second, the concepts language and literacy, and indeed the interface between them, are not static ones. A key dimension of language and literacy studies today is *mobility*. Language and literacy have always been on the move. However, accelerated globalization processes that have significantly shaped language and literacy practices have contributed to an increased recognition of the mobileness of semiotic resources. Such developments specifically challenge the monolingual bias deeply rooted in many theoretical approaches that focus upon language and literacy. In other words, these challenges necessitate a need to unpack and disentangle monolingually based ideological conceptualizations with the intent to gain deeper insights into the way people actually handle language and literacy resources as part of everyday social practices.

Third, learning *practices* and *processes* too are shaped by mobility and globalization processes. New demographics, not least in European settings, and technological developments have changed the ways in which people (can) meet and (can) learn language and literacy. While linguistic-diversity and human-diversity have been, and continue to be, a norm in many parts of the world that are framed in terms of "the developing world", "the third world", and since (at least) the middle of the 1900's in terms of "post-colonial" nation-states, today increasing numbers of people in European spaces come into contact with users of diverse language varieties and backgrounds. Furthermore, more and more people in European spaces are expected to learn language varieties that are not part of their initial communication repertoires. Digital innovations and new media have also opened up new communicative spaces and new tools for engaging with language and literacy, thus creating new ways of engaging with new forms of practicing language and literacy, including other visual representations and semiotic resources such as drawings and diagrams. These rapid shifts in the communicative landscapes, including the preconditions

and potentials for language, literacy and learning, have also created challenges for the ways in which institutional education can respond to contemporary developments.

Mobility, unpredictability and disruptions, thus form key points of departure in our deliberations in this chapter. They are also central for the studies presented in this volume. The individual chapters engage – implicitly and explicitly – with concepts, categorizations and boundaries related to language, literacy and learning. By discussing the complex relationships *between* the familiar, established concepts of "language", "literacy" and "learning", the volume aims to *create opportunities* for dialogues that can potentially build new understandings within and bridges across these concepts. Furthermore, the studies presented in this volume explicitly attempt to bridge the gap between two distinct areas of scholarship: the domains of Literacy Studies (or New Literacy Studies) on the one hand, and Second Language Acquisition (SLA), including scholarship on learning in multilingual contexts, on the other hand. Both these areas of scholarship are broad and have a history that spans many decades. For present purposes, our intention is to bring the larger domains of scholarship into contact with the specific aim of opening up for critical dialogues that discuss the relationships between the three L's: Language, Literacy and Learning, within and across the broad areas of Literacy Studies and SLA-cum-learning-in-multilingual-contexts.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. Sections 2 and 3 introduce and tweeze out the ways in which the three central L's in this volume have been attended to in the scholarship at large. *Language* and *Literacy* are discussed in Sect. 2 and *Learning* more explicitly in Sect. 3. Section 4 discusses the meaning-making potentials of human communication broadly, with the intent of illuminating key dimensions of mobility. Section 5 concludes this chapter by introducing the individual contributions that make up this volume.

2   The Pair LL, *Language* and *Literacy*

Much recent work on language and literacy – in the domains of Second Language Acquisition and (New) Literacy Studies – has attempted to address the current shifts and processes mentioned above. Furthermore, both domains have become more socially oriented across time. However, the disciplinary boundaries between these domains have seen them develop in separate trajectories without necessarily taking cognizance of the developments in the other. Thus, scholars of literacy seldom engage with scholarship within the domain of SLA, including the field of multilingualism and the other way around.

Furthermore, researchers working within SLA research have tended to focus primarily upon oral language. David Block's critical examination of the SLA research tradition in the book "The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition" (2003) can provide an example of this. What makes this book particularly interesting as an illustration of the point here is that Block explicitly scrutinizes the S (Second), the

L (Language) and the A (Acquisition) in how the field of SLA has developed across time. Block explores the basic assumptions embedded in the notion of language from when the domain of SLA was established in the 1950's up to the turn of the century. He identifies a shift from a view of language as linguistic competence with a focus on abstract formal knowledge of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis to a view of language as communicative competence wherein pragmatics too became incorporated in an understanding of language. To illustrate the different views of language, Block deploys Ellis' (1994) definitions. Thus, a conception of language as *linguistic competence* is described as the "mental representations of linguistic rules that constitute the speaker-hearer's internal grammar" (Ellis 1994, p. 12), while a conception of language as *communicative competence* is seen as the "knowledge that the speaker-hearer has of what constitutes appropriate as well as correct language behavior and also of what constitutes effective language behavior in relation to particular communicative goals" (Ellis 1994, p. 13). We can, here, note an "oral language bias" in that Block and Ellis' discussions about language build upon an understanding of it being spoken orally and between *speakers-hearers*; signed language repertoires used by *signers* are thereby excluded from human communication (Bagga-Gupta 2017a, 2019). Block, nevertheless, writes from a position that seeks to challenge the marginalization of the social aspects of communication he identifies in both theories. He argues that both ways of understanding the L in SLA, both as *linguistic* and *communicative* competence (and the latter exemplified through studies wherein basic notions such as 'input-interaction-output', 'task' and 'negotiation of meaning' are deployed), implies views of language, which reduce the complexities of human communication to transactions thereby ignoring that conversational encounters involve much more than an exchange of information. In doing so, he aligns himself with similar criticisms put forward by other researchers within SLA, and related fields (e.g. Cook 2000; Firth and Wagner 1997; Rampton 1995, 1997). For example, Block, drawing upon Rampton's discussion of SLA researchers, points to the risk "of remaining restrictively preoccupied with the space between the speaker and his[/her] grammar, rather than with the relationship between speakers and the world around them" (Rampton 1987, p. 49). Block's arguments in his 2003 book, thus, seem to highlight that the default understanding of language in SLA is that it is oral and wherein the written modality is eclipsed; such a default understanding concerns a *speaker/hearer* and, respectively, his or her internal grammar, his or her knowledge about appropriate language behavior or his or her relationship with the world (this is also relevant to the issue of *signers* raised above; see also Sect. 4).

Highlighting this *default* position not-withstanding, our point is not that the entire field of SLA research, if one can bring its diversity under a single umbrella, has ignored reading and writing. Written language has played an important role in SLA research, not least when applied to educational issues where questions about literacy learning contribute to expanding its scope of interest. This is particularly the case in higher educational contexts where reading and writing is introduced, for instance, for adult migrants (Holm and Pöyhönen 2012) or exchange students

(Leung and Lewkowitch 2017) right from the start. Furthermore, second language reading and second language writing exist as vital SLA-subfields. However, our point is that the ways of conceptualizing SLA as an academic discipline generally get framed by a primary concern with oral language, which either fails to pay attention to the written dimensions of human communication or perceives the acquisition of the written language as a secondary add on. In both cases, the risk is overlooking the fact that most learners' pathways into a new language is typically characterized by much more complex social and semiotic processes that involve concurrent and interconnected uses of oral, written, signed and other semiotic resources.

In contrast to the scholarship within SLA, research in the (New) Literacy Studies domain represents a strand that takes its entry point primarily in written language. Literacy Studies emerged through a critique of a research tradition where the focus was on social, cognitive and universal consequences of reading and writing in general and where literacy was understood as a "technology of the mind" (Goody 1977). Literacy Studies research is directed towards the role of reading and writing in people's everyday lives and accordingly literacy is examined as a local, situated social activity (Barton 1994). The focus of attention is on "the ways in which people address reading and writing" (Street 2006, p. 2) as rooted in perceptions of identity, knowledge and being and as "embedded in social practices" (ibid). This is reflected in the basic unit of analysis within Literacy Studies – i.e. the literacy event. Literacy events have their roots in the sociolinguistic idea of speech events (Hymes 1962). It was further developed and defined by Heath (1984) as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interaction and their interpretive processes" (Heath 1984, p. 392) and by Barton as "particular events where reading and writing are used" (1994, p. 37).

While written text is regarded as quite distinct from oral speech in the universal approach to literacy, which Street (1984) termed the "autonomous model of literacy", the "ideological model of literacy" stresses that oral and written language are *intricately interwoven*. This broad statement, however, calls for clarifications about how the interwoven-ness of oral and written language is understood within the domain of Literacy Studies. The formulation about oral and written language as intricately interwoven implies that oral and written language are equivalent terms or concepts that are both center-staged in Literacy Studies research. However, even though this domain recognizes the importance of oral language and suggests a model "in which literacy is viewed not as an advance over oral uses of literacy, but as complementary to it" (Collins and Blot 2003, p. 36), oral language tends to be treated as a *context*, in which written language is embedded. Thus, understanding literacy as social activity places "doings" around texts and issues of knowledge and identity as the focus of the research, rather than the oral language as such. This means that instead of being treated as equivalent terms, oral and written language stand as, what de Certeau (1984) in his reflections on oral and written language has named, *complementary terms*, wherein the definition of the one presupposes the other as a necessary counterpart that remains undefined.

3   The Third L, *Learning* inside and Outside Institutions

While the research field of SLA from its inception has evolved around *learning*, traditionally conceptualized as acquisition – as the A in SLA highlights, (New) Literacy Studies has strived to move the theorizing of literacy out of a narrow school-based understanding of literacy, thus, according learning (a taken-for-grated or) a marginal role within this domain. Thus, an ambition to bridge language and literacy also calls for an engagement with the concept of learning, not least in the light of the increasing mobility, which frames our interest in the connections between the three L's. Typically, theorizing of learning is based upon a monolingual language bias and the issue of multiple languages in school settings has for long been addressed from the stance of a monolingual norm (see Bagga-Gupta 2017a, Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Gal and Irvine 1995; Kramsch 2014; May 2014; Ortega 2014). In recent years, and as indicated earlier, there has been a growing interest in global-North spaces like Europe and the US for studying language and literacy practices inside, outside and across schools where the focus is on people's use of the multiple language and literacy resources available to them.[1] The growing body of research on multilingual languaging demonstrates how fluid dynamic use of all semiotic resources available to language-users forms a natural part of communication in diverse settings; this, furthermore, often involves complex negotiations of social identities as "multilingual subjects" (Kramsch 2009). The increasing interest in this area also opens for new issues to be addressed that can shed light on the intersection of language, literacy and learning and how, for example, connectedness'es or disconnectedness'es between learning language and learning literacy are constructed and play out inside, outside and across institutionalized education, including inside, outside and across digital-analogue settings.

Human learning, knowledge acquisition or socialization whether in institutionalized settings like schools and work places or in digital settings or in the course of everyday life inside, outside and across such settings has interested researchers from a diversity of academic disciplines for a long time (see Hull and Schultz 2001). While a focus upon "naturalistic inquiry" (Lincoln and Guba 1985) is not new, there is a growing awareness about the need to focus upon the mundaneness of human communication in order to understand the situatedness of learning inside as well as outside classrooms and other sites of learning (Bagga-Gupta 1995; Bloome et al. 2005; Lave and Wenger 1991). Research in areas such as SLA and in particular learning in digital contexts has more recently seen a growing interest in explorations

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[1] The contributions by the editors of this volume to this body of scholarship was the impetus for the establishment of the LLL network (www.ju.se/ccd/lll; see for instance Bagga-Gupta 1995, 2002, 2017a, 2017b; Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2018; Clemensen and Holm 2017; Holm 2017; Laursen 2013; Laursen et al. 2018; Pitkänen-Huhta and Holm 2012; Golden and Lanza 2012; Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013). Some of these contributions challenge the monolingually flavored conceptions of multilingualism as a phenomenon that considers language-varieties to be comprised of neatly separated meaning-making systems which can be used and measured separately and according to an ideal native speaker norm.

of the everyday situated messy "in the wild" nature of learning where researchers argue for 'participation' as a key-concept instead of acquisition (Bagga-Gupta 2017c; Bagga-Gupta et al. 2019; Messina Dahlberg and Bagga-Gupta 2015; Palvenko and Lantolf 2000; Sfard 1998; Thorne 2016). While the institution of schooling, including both the preschool years and higher education, has emerged in world history relatively recently, humankind has itself evolved in and through what gets glossed as informal learning (Gynne and Bagga-Gupta 2015; Lave and Wenger 1991; Mäkitalo et al. 2017; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013). The refocusing of attention to learning in settings and social practices outside formal institutions like schools also highlights the need to understand mobilities between formal and informal settings, physical and digital settings and contemporary classrooms in terms of complex learning environments.

Learning and socialization implies movements and transitions *in* some manner from one position, place or space to another (Säljö 2005; Wertsch 1998). Processes engaged with *when* learning occurs – whether it is at the neurological scale, the micro-interactional scale or micro-macro scales – can be said to account for or highlight how learning can be understood *through* different transitional pathways and movements in time and space (Douglas Fir Group 2016). This also includes the fostering of a need for a destabilisation and timespacing of the conception of language competence itself (Laursen and Mogensen 2016a, 2016b). Focusing upon the intersections or the borderlands *at* which human beings learn also raises the issue of dynamic transition points – irrespective of whether the intersections are understood in terms of different domains like sociolinguistics or nation-states or regions in addition to inside-outside-across classroom settings, historical time periods, life phases, etc. or in terms of identity-positions like gender, ethnicity, class, functional disabilities, etc. (Bagga-Gupta et al. 2017). While movements and transitions can be understood in concrete terms, they are also metaphorical: the argument that is salient as far as learning is concerned is that *it is at transition points that learning occurs.* This means that potentials exist at transition points for a specific competence to become something else. In other words, it is through the appropriation of the meditational means that are made available in social interactions, i.e. when individuals cross a cultural border that they change or 'move'. In similar fashion Pavlenko suggests that peoples' lives get 'renarrated' as they move. Kramsch underscores that the learners' use of new signs "is likely to influence the way they view the reality they are writing about" (2000, p. 138). In other words, learners' view of themselves gets transformed by new signs they encounter. It is through the written, the spoken or the signed medium, that "students experience themselves as both private, individual, and public, social sign makers, and […] they appreciate the fluidity of meanings they can attribute to themselves and others" (Kramsch 2000, p. 151). Hence, both children and adults can learn to make meaning through their text writing and use of different semiotic signs that are both private and public. It is private because individuals are able to use their own words and signs to explain their experiences as language-users where multiple semiotic resources, including oral, written and signed modalities are at play. It is public in the sense that it is by the use of these signs that individuals can mediate their experiences to others. "Second language

acquisition is precisely this process by which learners acquire ever greater conscious control of the semiotic choices offered by the foreign language" (Kramsch 2000, p. 151) or additional language varieties and modalities they encounter in their lives.

Given that it is at transitions that human beings or collectives *and* different ways of being and different ways of doing things interact, mobility itself gives rise to transitional points or positions potentially replete with tension and conflict. Conflictual issues may arise when individuals attempt to bring their past into their present. To overcome this, they have to "reorganize, and in some cases, organize anew, the plots of their life stories in line with the new set of conventions […] The result is the formation of new ways to mean" i.e. to learn (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000, p. 172). Accounting for *learning in, through* and *at the myriad transitions* that can be imagined, and making these types of learning visible, thus, becomes an important dimension of reporting from a large number of academic domains and interdisciplinary positions.

These issues become particularly relevant given the rapid, unpredictable mobility of people, goods, ideas and value-systems – as these are playing out and being experienced in global-North European and other spaces, including the many languages involved in these processes. As discussed earlier, these types of mobilities are increasingly being recognized as creating an unstable complex condition for human communication. This in turn *transforms* both the institutional educational activity-system of schooling and the ways in which children and adults access language generally and how they learn language, including literacy, more specifically.

4 Human Communication and Meaning-Making. Key Dimensions of Mobility

Bringing the discussion on the three L's together and going beyond the default positions that implicitly or explicitly frame the domains of SLA, including multilingualism research and the scholarship in Literacy Studies, a need exists to highlight the fact that meaning-making potentials of human communication tend to get eclipsed in demarcated domains of the Language and Educational Sciences scholarship. While the "value of being multilingual in our globalized world is contested and entangled in contradictory accounts" (Douglas Fir Group 2016, p. 38), "new ways to mean" (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000, p. 172) i.e. a meaning-making focus on communication and interactional competencies implies imagining a scholarship "that can investigate the learning and teaching of additional languages across private and public, material and digital social contexts in a multilingual world" (Douglas Fir Group 2016, p. 20). Such re-imaginings have implications for the domains of bilingualism, foreign languages, signed languages, mother tongue, etc., that traditionally carry the risk of drawing attention to structural properties of languages or linguistic and communicative competences at the cost of the meaning-making potentials of

human communication. Furthermore, an oral language bias, including a monolingual norm can be noted in the discussions about language wherein *speakers-hearers* (see discussion on Block and Ellis above) are alluded to. Such an understanding of language excludes signed language repertoires used by *signers* and, concomitantly, a more holistic understanding of meaning-making potentials of human communication, including the important scholarship that attends to the intersections of signed and written language repertoires (Bagga-Gupta 2017a, 2019).

Here it is significant to highlight that within different theoretical perspectives that come under post-structural positions, human communication is conceptualized as *participation* (rather than acquisition) in the social practices of communities, assemblages and affinity spaces (Gee 2004, 2005). Issues of participation have become more significant given the current mobile nature of individuals and collectives; this means that participation in communities, assemblages and affinity spaces highlight the fact that people come together in spaces without actually having to belong to a fixed immobile community. It is the *performance of – or doing communication*, where oral, written, signed and other semiotic resources are deployed, that is significant and constitutes the site of meaning-making. Thus, it is the "doing of language" that differentiates humans from other species, and it is the ability to communicate complex issues that makes homo sapiens unique. Communication, in all its richness and complexity, is thus the node wherein doing language or languaging and the deployment of named languages and named modalities i.e. oral, written, signed and other semiotic resources get center-staged.

The scholarship within a sociocultural perspective on communication and learning can be used for illustrative purposes. This post-structural perspective recognizes language-use or *languaging* as human beings most central cultural tool (Linell 2009; Säljö 2005; Wertsch 1998). Going beyond analytical conceptualizations wherein communication was (and in some areas continues to be) popularly reduced to sender-receiver-message-transmission models and where language was (and in some areas continues to be) reduced to the mirroring of reality, such a perspective importantly points to the re-constitutive and re-creating power of languaging. It is, thus, language-use *in all its complexity* that is understood as being central to its meaning-making functions. While this is salient and is recognized in the case of monolingual languaging (particularly in the scholarship from global-North spaces like Europe and the US), it also constitutes the basis for meaning-making of *all* languaging in and across physical-virtual sites (Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2018). This means that the significant issue is *communication*, irrespective of the number of named languages or named modalities that human beings use, or the multilingual oral-written-signed communication that they draw upon (Bagga-Gupta 2017a, 2017b, 2019). Such recognition regarding the monolingual bias (including the monomodal bias) within scholarship has been marked through the emergence of turn positions like the boundary-turn and the multilingual-turn. Language is, in other words, inseparable from the users and the social practices where it is embedded and which it co-constructs – it is an emergent phenomenon and thus a process rather than an object (Ortega 2014; Linell 2009). Furthermore, and in line with Fra

Tyler and Ortega (2018), meaning not only guides the socialization processes that involve additional languages, but it also *shapes* the languages used themselves.

The development of human communication in relation to other material and cultural tools like paper, pen, tablets, computers, etc. and institutions like schools across timespace has been a fundamental feature that has defined communities and affinity spaces (Mäkitalö et al. 2017; Säljö 2010, 2017). The current rapid, unpredictable mobility of people, goods, ideas and value-systems – as it is playing out particularly in global-North spaces – and the ensuing unstable complex conditions this creates for human communication transforms, as we have highlighted above, both the institutional educational activity-system of schools and the ways in which children and adults access language generally and how they learn language, including literacy, specifically.

The long-held conceptualizations of the one-language-one-nation ideology (particularly in some spaces) is inadequate in the current scenario of mobilities (Landri and Newman 2014). The critique of the monolingual bias can thus, in the present age of mobilities, no longer be ignored (May 2014). While the scholarship (since the turn of this century) has discussed the unpredictability created by mobility, including the disruptive nature of digitalization, in terms of "super", "hyper" and "trans" diversity and language (Garcia and Wei 2014; Vertovec 2006), important critique has started emerging against such "academic branding" and "sloganisms" itself (Pavlenko 2018; Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2017; 2018). Such discussions not-withstanding, the significant issue for our purposes here is aligned to the growing call for reconceptualizing the ways in which human beings relate to one or more language-varieties/modalities, including oral, written and signed language, how they learn additional oral, written and signed languages and how these are shaped by the mobile nature of current human existence. It is *these types of relationships* that are touched upon in the chapters in this volume.

5 Studies of Bridging *Language, Literacy* and *Learning*

The individual studies that are presented in the book *Reconceptualizing Connections between Language, Learning and Literacy* are divided into three parts – each with its own thematic points of departure. All the chapters center-stage empirical analysis explicitly or theoretical framings that emerge from previously published empirical studies. By bringing together the concept's *language*, *literacy* and *learning*, this volume seeks to go beyond the default positions spelled out with regards to the three LLL's that are in the spotlight and explore new ways of understanding the concepts and the connections between them. Each chapter approaches the interface between *language* and *literacy* in specific ways by drawing on theoretical perspectives and methodologies, some common to several of them, some unique to one chapter. Together, the chapters demonstrate the *complexity of the relationship* and the *many facets of the concepts* when seen in the light of this complexity.

The four chapters in Part I explore how linguistic resources are deployed in the interaction between oral and written language (and other modalities) by *illustrating the blurring of the boundaries in social practice.*

Pitkänen-Huhta examines two ethnographic data sets and discusses the complex and contextual relationships between the concepts of language, literacy, and learning. The first set focuses on Finnish teenagers' use of English in their everyday practices, the other on primary school children's literacy practices in the context of Sámi languages. The data illustrates that literacy can be both liberating and constraining, and language can be both fluid and fixed.

Lefebvre, thereafter, examines the interactional processes in a multimodal approach of teaching and learning a foreign language in a classroom with a textbook. The focus is on the reflexive organization between the practices of teaching-learning and the practices of writing-reading and the study shows how the different practices are embedded within a single course of action and how participants articulate these practices within their interactions.

Ennser-Kananen examines trilingual high school students' transmodal discourses and their multiple investments as language learners in the chapter that follows. The results reveal that the students mix and blur oral and literacy modalities and use those "transmodalities" to build their good-student identities, social standing and peer relationships.

The final chapter in Part I presents a theoretical lens to the areas of literacy, language and learning. In it *Bagga-Gupta* discusses key premises from two theoretical positions – sociocultural and decolonial framings – with salient findings regarding language, literacy, learning and identity. These findings are based on ethnographical studies of languaging – i.e. the deployment of oral, written, signed and embodied resources across named language varieties on the one hand, and the ways in which language itself is conceptualized across arenas on the other hand.

The three chapters in Part II focus on the ideological and institutional embeddedness of the concept's language and literacy and of the relationship between them by *examining different constructed connections tied to different interests.*

Holm presents analyses of the discourses about language and multilingual children in Danish day care centers in a historical light in the first of these. The results in this chapter reveal that the space for multilingualism is considerably narrowed when the concept of language moves closer to a PISA-related concept of literacy and that standardized, and age-appropriate measurements of language and literacy appear in terms of a monolingual construct.

Laursen, in the chapter that follows, reports from a longitudinal study on literacy learning and linguistic diversity, examining how children in multilingual settings engage in learning and use language and literacy. This chapter calls for a reconceptualization of the relationship between language and literacy that reflects children's engagement in language and literacy as meaning-making.

Iwasaki and Kumagai, thereafter present analyses of students' participation in language courses where a "plurilingual critical literacies" curriculum was implemented. The authors argue that this approach helped the L2 Japanese students to mobilize their linguistic and cultural resources in their discussions and textual

analysis and that the students were encouraged to question power relations that privileged native speakers.

The four chapters in Part III foreground subjective dimensions and the role of language and literacy in people's lives by *demonstrating people's ways of navigating old and new linguistic resources.*

Jølbo presents studies of texts written by novice second-language writers. By suggesting a reconceptualizing of the notion of voice, the author discusses how language learning, particularly writing, is a process whereby a learner negotiates between an *adjustment* to new language norms and literacy practices and *autonomy* in the ways in which they express ideas and feelings.

In the chapter that follows, *Prikhodko* discusses how two international multilingual student writers (re)negotiate their literacies with emergent academic literacy requirements that are part of a US first-year multilingual composition classroom. In conclusion, this chapter calls faculty to approach such students' learning and literacies as rhizomatic within the ethnographic perspective in collaboration with other pedagogical orientations (anthropological and service learning) that welcome unexpected and divergent becomings.

Rothoni and Mitsikopoulou present an ethnographically oriented study of the everyday English literacy practices of Greek teenagers with a focus on two sets of participant-generated visual data derived from two tasks. The findings presented in this chapter illustrate that teenagers' representations of the role of English literacy and language learning are drawn mainly from their out-of-school interests but also in part from the world of schooling and education.

In the final chapter in Part III, *Golden and Lanza* present analysis of interactions between researchers and two medical doctors, former refugees where the doctors narrate their own experiences including their work with patients, who are also refugees. This chapter illustrates how the multilingual doctors' narratives report the merging of language and literacy in their treatment of their patients in which participation in society is the goal for the doctors.

The data presented in the chapters that make up this volume come from a wide range of settings, areas, languages and age-groups (see Table 1). This diversity and the accompanying analysis points to the need for reconceptualizing *language* and *literacy* and the relationship between these concepts not only in specific institutions, but also across different *learning* environments and related to different groups of *learners*. Most of the chapters focus upon data from inside institutional settings, in particular schools or day care centers, but some studies report upon data from *outside institutional settings*. Thus, for instance, *Rothoni and Mitsikopoulou* have generated data in the home environment in their study of Greek teenagers' everyday English literacy practices and one of *Pitkänen-Huhta's* data sources was collected during a 5–16 months period on Finnish teenagers' use of English in their daily lives. In *Golden and Lanza's* study the data comes from a focus group setting where the participants are the researchers and the multilingual doctors, and the aim is to gain insights into the doctors' experiences with adult refugee patients.

The studies from *inside educational institutions* are primarily longitudinal. Both *Jølbo* and *Ennser-Kananen* use data that focuses upon teenagers. *Jølbo's* data are

Table 1 Data parameters of the studies presented in this volume

	Settings	Learning	Participants	Age
Pitkänen-Huhta: *Young People's emerging multilingual practices: Learning language or literacy, or both?*	a) Daily life setting	a) Use of English	a) Finnish L1	a) Teenagers
	b) Institutional primary school classroom (minority language context) in Finland	b) Use of different languages (focus Sámi)	b) Sámi and finish L1 (also other languages)	b) Children age 6–12
Lefebvre: *The anatomy of learning of a foreign language in classroom with a textbook: An interactional and multimodal approach*	Institutional classroom in Japan	French beginners	Students with Japanese as L1 a female Japanese teacher	Adults
Ennser-Kananen: *«no, I'm not reading»: How two language learners enact their investments by crossing and blurring the boundaries of literacy and orality*	Institutional Classroom high school in the US	German	Students with Latvian as L1 Using English, Latvian, German	2 twin sisters 15 years
Bagga-Gupta: *Learning languaging matters. Contributions to a turn-on-turn reflexivity*	Sweden and India; inside and outside class rooms	Different language varieties (Swedish, English, Finnish, Italian, Swedish sign language, Hindi, etc)	Pupils in K-12 settings, adult learners. Diverse language backgrounds	6 years to adults
Holm: *An odd couple? Literacy and multilingualism in day care centers*	Institutional day cares in Denmark	Danish	Multi-lingual learners	Young children
Laursen: *Treading semiotic paths in multilingual literacy learning: Challenging ideological conceptualizations of language and literacy in education.*	Institutional classrooms in Denmark	Danish	Diverse language backgrounds	Class 1–10
Iwasaki and Kumagai: *"Making it your own by adapting it to what's important to you": Plurilingual critical literacies to promote L2 Japanese users' sense of ownership of Japanese*	Institutional college in the US	Japanese, high-intermediate-level	Mixed cultural background (e.g. US, Rwanda, Korea)	11 college students

Table 1 (continued)

	Settings	Learning	Participants	Age
Jølbo: *Adjustment and autonomy in novice second language writing: Reconceptualizing voice in language learning*	Institutional classroom in lower secondary education in Norway	Norwegian studying Norwegian as subject	Somalian refugees novice writers of Norwegian	Teenagers
Prikhodko: *Rhizomes in action: International multilingual student writers' literacies*	Institutional university in the US	English	Students with diverse languages	2 freshmen students
Rothoni and Mitsikopoulou: *Visual representations of English language learning and literacy in Greece*	Home settings in Greece	Everyday English literacy practices	Greek L1	15 teenagers (14–15)
Golden and Lanza: *Language learning and literacy: The multilingual subject in narratives of older immigrant refugee women*	Focus group in Norway	Engagement in Norwegian as therapy	African migrant doctors	2 adult doctors

from observations of and conversations with Somalian students in lower secondary schools in Norway during one semester, including their written texts in Norwegian. *Ennser-Kananen* uses observational data, semi-structured interviews, and video recordings from one semester in a German classroom in the USA with a focus on high school students who have Latvian as their primary language. *Laursen's* data is explicitly longitudinal as it includes observations, interviews and interventions with school children across grades one to nine. The children have various language backgrounds and live in Denmark. *Pitkänen-Huhta's* second data-set comes from Sámi children in a primary school in Finland and constitutes of children's responses to a questionnaire, which included questions about their language use. *Lefebre's* data is from a classroom setting in Japan where the focus is upon interaction between a Japanese teacher and a group of adult Japanese women, who are beginners studying French.

Three studies presented in this volume focus upon higher education. In *Prikhodko's* study the data is from international multilingual student writers in the USA, and more specifically analyses of two students' collective narratives constructed from semi-structured interviews and the student's literacy autobiographies. *Iwasaki and Kumagai* also draw upon data from a university setting in the USA. Here students with mixed cultural backgrounds are focused upon for one semester in a high-intermediate-level Japanese language course where authentic translingual writers' texts are focused upon. The data also consists of interactions in classrooms, the students' written reflections and interviews. One study in this volume focuses upon

day care centers. *Holm* analyzes official documents and materials used for assessing children's mastery of Danish, paying attention to the (lack of a) bilingual focus.

One study in this volume is a theoretically framed contribution. *Bagga-Gupta's* chapter builds upon ethnographical empirical reporting on languaging – the deployment of written, oral, signed and embodied resources across language varieties, from inside-outside-across institutional settings in previous studies across K-12 and adult educational settings in Sweden and India, including languaging in school policy since the 1960s in Sweden.

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Part I
Learning and Boundaries

Young People's Emerging Multilingual Practices: Learning Language or Literacy, or Both?

Anne Pitkänen-Huhta

Abstract Research on language learning and research on literacy are typically seen as two separate strands of enquiry and thus the concepts of language and literacy have traditionally been kept apart. This is partly due to epistemological questions related to *language* and *literacy*. In this chapter, I will discuss these concepts in the context of multilingualism. Approaching multilingual language use from the perspective of literacy practices enables us to look beyond language to social practices and to examine the relationship between the concepts of *language* and *literacy*, *literacy practices* and *language learning*. Two data sets are used to illustrate how language, literacy, and language learning are connected. The first set illustrates what understandings of language and language learning emerge when Finnish teenagers talk about their literacy practices. The second data set examines how Sámi children conceptualize their multilingual repertoires and make use of their resources in literacy practices. The relationship between the concepts of language, literacy, and learning in multilingual contexts seems to be complex, changing, and situated. Language appears to be intertwined in literacy practice, language and literacy seem to be developing side by side, and literacy can be both liberating and constraining.

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1   Introduction

Research on language learning (or development) and research on literacy are usually seen as two separate strands of enquiry. Researchers of language learning very often work under the label SLA, second language acquisition. Their focus might be on learners, on learning (processes or outcomes), or on teachers; they focus on language – as oral or written, received or produced. Most often the focus is on languages other than the first/native language, traditionally labelled as the second or foreign language. Researchers of literacy, however, focus on reading or writing; on the reception or production of written texts. Their focus is very often on the first language or the second language and rarely, if ever, on foreign languages. The labels of first, second and foreign language are, however, becoming inaccurate and inadequate in describing most of our language use and learning today, especially in multilingual contexts, and so researchers are beginning to question the relevance of these terms (see e.g. Lo Bianco 2014). At the same time, learners and learning contexts are becoming increasingly varied, and making a distinction between the concepts of language and literacy is becoming more difficult – and perhaps unnecessary. It is indeed increasingly common to see researchers using language and literacy together, as one entity, in research questions, article titles, and argumentation (I have done this myself). Connecting these two concepts is, however, done as a default, without any explication as to the nature of the connection.

Keeping these concepts separate is at least partly due to the epistemological questions of what *language* and *literacy* are. Firstly, language can be conceptualized as a system and as structures which take spoken or written form, and accordingly, we may understand literacy as the skill of reading and writing, i.e. of understanding and producing language in its written form. Therefore, when using the two terms together the researcher might be indicating that they want to combine spoken language and text (written language), or language (be it whether spoken or written) and the act of reading and/or writing. The distinction between the concepts seems obvious when taking this kind of approach to language and literacy. But if we look at these terms and related actions from another epistemological vantage point, that is, from a social, socio-cultural, and ecological viewpoint, the distinction needs to be re-examined. If we understand language as a resource with its roots in history and culture, we also see literacy as a social practice, as something people do with texts. With this take on language and literacy, there might be little sense in keeping the two concepts completely separate.

In this chapter, I hope to bring into dialogue research on literacy practices and research on language development and use in two different contexts of multilingual language use. My goal is to examine language use and language learning in relation to literacy practices through two studies. Taking literacy practices as the focus and examining how language use and language learning are connected to these practices will enrich our understanding of how language is intertwined in social practice, and how literacy may precede, bypass, or restrict language use.

2   Language as a System and as a Resource

Our conceptualization of *language* affects how we see language use and language learning. Language has for long been understood as a system that can be codified, standardized, preserved, and protected. Languages have been seen to exist only in this codified standard form, and the ability to use the standard form has been the goal of education (García 2009). Until quite recently, language education was also based on this idealized standard form of language, and mostly in written form, to the extent that it can be said that there has been a written language bias in linguistics (Linell 2005). However, recently there has been criticism, on the one hand, of the view of language as a system in SLA research and practice (e.g. Block 2003; Firth and Johannes 1997, 2007) and, on the other, of the monolingual bias in SLA (e.g. May 2011). In his criticism, Block (2003) points out that at first, language was seen as morphology and syntax, then slowly phonology and lexis were added, and then pragmatics, but nevertheless the goal of language learning continued to be a system with a codified structure based on the native speaker model. This is particularly evident in connection to *foreign languages*, which have typically been learned in institutions only and the goal of learning has been something ideal outside the actual learning environment. Its appropriate use has then been the basis of foreign language education, in which language has been objectified into structures and wordlists and placed within textbooks (Pitkänen-Huhta 2003; Nikula 2002).

Block (2003) describes aptly how *language* in SLA has developed from linguistic competence to communicative competence, but the focus has still been on communication in *one whole language*, such as English or German. This view of language as a system has been prevalent both in research and practice for decades. As Canagajarah (2013, p. 12) points out, "the notion of bounded languages, with neatly patterned grammatical structures of their own, has been an asset for product-oriented teaching". In recent years we have, however, seen a move towards approaches that take into account the complexity of language use and the contexts in which language is used. One example of this move is the complexity theory (CT) and its application in SLA. Larsen-Freeman (2013, p. 369) says that "from the beginning of my acquaintance with CT … It challenged my concept of language as a static rule-governed system". Similar critique towards mainstream SLA research has been presented in relation to multilingualism. May (2011), for example, argues for an additive bilingual approach to SLA and TESOL and shows that there has been critique since the early 1990s. There is, then, ample scientific evidence that language use is extremely diverse and heterogeneous. Nevertheless, as the Douglas Fir group (2016, p. 35) say, despite all this evidence, "the bulk of research in SLA and many areas of applied linguistics continue to rely on the monolingual native speaker's idealized competence as a benchmark for defining and evaluating L2 learning".

At the same time, research on (multilingual) language use has shown that language is best seen as a resource, as something that is used to get something done, and then the systematic nature of language is not in a central role (e.g. Kramsch

2014; Blommaert 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Pennycook (2010; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010) characterizes language as a local practice, which means that we are not, in fact, talking about language per se but about how people engage in local practices and how they make use of the various resources available to them to accomplish their purposes. Similarly, Canagarajah (2007, p. 236) says that "what speakers need are ways of negotiating difference rather than codes that are shared with others". What this means in language education is that we should not start with the language but with what people want to accomplish with the language. Thus, knowing languages "refers not so much to the mastery of a grammar or sociolinguistic system, as to the strategic capacity to use diverse semiotic items across integrated media and modalities" (Pennycook 2010, p. 129).

However, in language education we cannot escape the fact that learning the system and being able to use the standard are necessary skills. As Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) point out, we should not see fixity and fluidity as opposites or as dichotomous but as existing at the same time and constituting each other. In a recent article, Pennycook and Otsuji (2016, p. 270) revisit their discussion on fixity and fluidity and conclude that "language practices and identity are formed in a constant push and pull between fixity and fluidity". Thus, language can be seen at the same time as a system and a resource; as a language with fixed and codified boundaries and as a localized resource used to reach individualized needs and goals.

3   Literacy Practices and Language

For a few decades now there has been a clear division between two lines of research on literacy: literacy as a skill to be learnt and taught, and literacy as social practice (e.g. Street 1984; Barton and Hamilton 1998; Baynham and Prinsloo 2009). The epistemological differences between these two approaches stem from their different research orientations. The first has its roots in psychologically and structurally oriented research on reading and writing, and the second in sociolinguistic and ethnographic research on practices and social action. The differences are also related to the distinctions in how we conceptualize language described above. When language is understood as a system and structures, literacy can also be seen as one form – the written form – of language and as a skill to be learnt. What is more, when the starting point is a skills-based approach to literacy, literacy most often seems to equal reading. In this view, language precedes literacy in the sense that one first needs to learn/acquire the spoken language and only then is it possible to learn the written language, i.e. literacy. This is already the case with young children learning to read and write in their first language, but it is especially the case when second and foreign languages are concerned. It is assumed that one first needs to learn the basic structures of the new language before one can read or write anything beyond a simple sentence or two. In SLA research, the term *threshold* has been used to point to a certain level of language proficiency before, for example, one is able to read.

This view of language learning in stages has also effectively kept language and literacy separate. One has to have *language* before *literacy*.

On the other hand, when we see language as a resource and language use as practices, we also conceptualize literacy as a practice: it is something that people do with texts (Barton and Hamilton 1998; Barton et al. 2007), and the focus shifts from the outcome or product to the social action around the use of texts. In research on literacy practices, the focus of research has also been strongly on the vernacular: on people's everyday text-related activities, which can be very rich and nuanced, but which are mostly ignored in education. In addition, when we are concerned with practices we are essentially dealing with more than just activities: we need to consider the values, attitudes and emotions that are related to literacy. To understand literacy practices and the role of language in them, we need to examine, interpret and understand people's perceptions and understandings of the practices they engage in and the values they place on them. In education, this view of literacy entails a critical (e.g. Shor 1999) and emancipatory take on both literacy and education (Freire and Donaldo 1987). Paulo Freire's (e.g. 1970) seminal idea of reading the word and reading the world aptly points to the fact that the mere skill of decoding – even though an essential basic skill – is not enough for full participation in society. Education needs to provide learners with tools to critically engage with language and literacy to gain access to societal action.

Seeing language as a resource and shifting the focus away from the idealized native speaker of any one particular language also means that our resources can be emerging, partial, and multimodal, and can cross borders between languages. We do not need to possess *full knowledge of a language*, but we can perform social action with bits and pieces of languages (Blommaert 2008). Also, we do not rely only on linguistic resources when aiming at getting something done; instead, we have the full potential of all semiotic resources at our disposal. This is truer now than ever before, with technology fast changing our ways of communicating. Our idea of "text" is therefore also wide and varying.

Hornberger (1989, 2003, 2007) was one of the first researchers to problematize the connection between literacy and language in bi- (or multi)lingual contexts. Her early work in the late 1980s proposed a framework for understanding biliteracy which she calls the *continua of biliteracy*, which draws on the view of multilingualism as a resource and on ecological views of language learning. She (Hornberger 2003, p. XV) states that "the very notion of bi- (or multi-)literacy assumes that one language and literacy is developing in relation to one or more other languages and literacies (language evolution)". There is also other research evidence that language and literacy can develop at the same time. Lau (2012), for example, examined how critical literacy (CL) was connected to language learning with students with limited skills in English. Lau (2012) found that in addition to gaining linguistic skills, the students also gained confidence in expressing their opinions. She (Lau 2012, p. 329) points out that "the assumption that the development of CL skills can be postponed until students have achieved higher levels of language proficiency reflects a belief that literacy is a purely psychological or developmental phenomenon". In her study, critical literacy and language developed side by side.

To illustrate the connection between language and literacy in this chapter, I will take a new look at two ethnographic data sets that have been collected in two different research projects: one looking at the everyday uses of English by young Finnish people, and the other examining the Sámi language context in Northern Finland. I will present the projects in Sect. 4 and then discuss the data from each project in Sect. 5.

4   Data from Two Research Projects

This chapter draws on data from two research projects. The data were not originally collected for the purposes of this chapter and the principal focus of the projects was not on language, literacy, and learning. However, I focus here on the perspective of literacy practices in the projects and see how connections between the concepts of language, literacy, and learning emerge from the data.

The first project was a discourse-ethnographic project[1] that examined how Finnish young people use English in their everyday lives and how they make sense of their practices (Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013). The project was run by Tarja Nikula and myself. The participants were three groups of 14–16–year-old Finns (three boys, four girls and three girls). All the participants had started studying English at school in year 3, so they had studied English for 7–8 years at the time of data collection. From Year 7 onwards they had all also had Swedish as a compulsory subject, so they had studied it for 3–4 years. As for other languages, apart from English and Swedish, only one boy had chosen to study German for 6 years, and one of the girls studied Japanese in her free time. All the participants were from Finnish-speaking families. Following the principles of ethnography, we maintained contact with the young people for a lengthy period of time: 16 months with one group of boys and girls (the data collection with these groups ran simultaneously) and 5 months with one group of girls (the data collection took place later). We did not follow them in their everyday activities and observe their practices on site, but we followed their lives through different indirect means and met them regularly for discussion and other activities. The means of gaining access into their lives included group discussions with girls and boys separately at both the beginning and end of the project, group discussions based on photographs the participants took of their contacts with English, discussions on their literacy diaries concerning encounters with texts in English and Finnish, the participants' discussions in pairs about specific contexts where they had used English (conducted and recorded without the researchers' presence), and individual discussions based on a visual task depicting the participants' relationship with both English and Finnish. The discussions followed a semi-structured format in that the researchers had an outline for the discussion themes, but any other themes were allowed to

emerge during the discussion. The group discussions were conducted in three groups (one for the boys, two for the girls). This was because the boys and girls in these groups knew each other rather well and were also friends outside school. This was important as the focus was on everyday activities. In addition, the researchers wanted to create a friendly and supportive atmosphere in the discussions. The take on data collection was therefore participatory, as the basis of most of the discussions was data first gathered or created by the participants themselves.

For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus here on the participants' literacy diaries and the discussions on them. Keeping a literacy diary meant that the participants monitored their daily contacts with texts, whether in Finnish, English, or any other language, and recorded them in little notebooks. They were instructed to note down all the texts they had seen, read or written during the day outside school, for 7 days. The idea was to get an insight into their everyday literacy practices and into the role of English in these practices. They returned the diaries to the researcher and after the researcher had had time to read the diaries through, group discussions were organized, again with boys and girls separately. This part of the research project was carried out by myself only.

The second data set comes from a large ethnographic research project in Finnish Sámiland run by Sari Pietikäinen (Northern Multilingualism: Discourses, Practices and Experiences of Linguistic Diversity in North Calotte, Academy of Finland 2008–2011). The project focused on a theoretical and empirical investigation of multilingualism in the transnational North Calotte and it investigated several locations with particular reference to media, tourism, families, schools and landscapes (e.g. Pietikäinen 2015). I will focus here on the data collected in schools in 2009-2010. I was not a researcher on site, but I have visited the site and met the teachers, and I have analysed the school data together with Sari Pietikäinen (see also Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013, 2014; Pitkänen-Huhta and Pietikäinen 2014).

The classrooms in focus here are integrated classrooms of Northern Sámi and Inari Sámi, from preschool to year 6. The languages used as the media of instruction are Finnish, Northern Sámi, and Inari Sámi. The children were between 6-12 years old at the time of data collection. They are speakers of Finnish and Northern Sámi and/or Inari Sámi and their linguistic repertoires also include other languages, including other family languages, languages learnt at school (mostly English), and tourists' languages.

I will focus here on a specific part of the project in which a participatory approach (Freire 1970; Auerbach 1995) was used in the data collection (Pitkänen-Huhta and Pietikäinen 2014). In this part of the project, the children engaged in various verbal and visual activities, the goal of which was creating a children's picture book (Fig. 1).

The data used in this chapter include the questionnaire on language use, the multilingual children's picture book, and the group discussions with the children before and after making the book.[2] The children made a multilingual and multimodal

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[2] For discussion on the task as a pedagogical task see Pitkänen-Huhta and Pietikäinen (2014) and on the drawing task see Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta (2013, 2014).

| Questionnaire on language use | → | Drawing a human figure with languages | → | Discussion on the drawing | → | Designing a children's picture book | → | Discussion on the books | → | Launching of the books |

Fig. 1 Activities in the participatory research process

(drawings were included) children's picture book, which was officially printed, launched and circulated. Around the literacy task there was talk about languages and multilingualism in the children's lives with the aim of raising their language awareness and exploring their own practices.

What is worth noting here is that the practice took place in a minority language context, where written text has a specific role. It is a powerful means of language maintenance and authority. As Jaffe (2003, p. 203) points out, "literacy practices are also indices of the complexities of linguistic and cultural identification for people whose lives and definitions of self are shaped by both minority and dominant cultures".

5 Connecting Literacy Practices and Language Learning/ Use

5.1 Data Set 1: Young People's Literacy Practices

With the data examples below I will argue that when young people engage in everyday literacy practices in languages that are not their first languages and in which they have varying competences, the concepts of language and language learning get new meanings.

The following data extracts are from discussions that were conducted after the young people had kept a literacy diary for a week. The discussions took place in groups, three boys, four girls, and three girls. Examples come from all three discussions.

The first three examples show how literacy practice gets priority over language competence, i.e. the primary goal is to get something done. In the first data extract, Erik talks about his practice of reading about his favourite sport, football (or soccer) in newspapers and sports magazines:

Extract 1 Football[3]

Interviewer	luetsä pääasiassa suomalaiset suomalaiselta sivulta sit
	do you mainly read Finnish stuff from Finnish pages then
Erik	joo suomenkielisiltä sivuilta mut sitte oli just tuo yks (0.7) jalkapallojoukkueen sivu joka on englantilainen siellä oli ne englantilaiset sivut ni ni siellä sitten englannilla piti pärjätä
	yeah from Finnish pages but then there was this one (0.7) page on a football team which is in English, there were those English pages, so then you had to cope in English
Interviewer	joo
	Yeah
	(0.8)
Erik	ja ihan hyvin pärjäski ei siellä siellä sinänsä ollu mitään niin semmosta monimutkasta että
	and I did quite well, there wasn't anything very complicated there
Interviewer	joo
	yeah
	(1.7)
Erik	termit on tuttuja sieltä sitte englannin puolelta
	the terms were familiar then in English

The interviewer (the present writer) asks whether Erik reads mainly Finnish magazines and Erik responds yes, he reads Finnish stories but there is one English sports magazine in his list. He notes that he had to manage in English and, after quite a long pause, he points out that he did manage well, and that the English terms were familiar to him. Erik – like the others – has studied English at school and, given the prominent position of English in young people's everyday lives (see Leppänen et al. 2011), it is quite natural that Erik can cope in English. What is worth noting here is that there are long pauses before Erik comments on language use. The fact that Erik clearly has to think how to do this may indicate that language as such was not an issue here.

Through their literacy practices, these young people also encounter languages that they were much less familiar with than English. All of these young people also read magazines or web pages in languages that they know less well or not at all. The following two short extracts come from Eeva and Siiri:

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[3]The interviews were conducted in Finnish. The extracts have been translated by the author. The translations are rough and punctuation is added to ease understanding. Pauses are marked in brackets in seconds (numbers), if they were long and if they are relevant in the interpretation of the extract. Some words that appeared in an earlier context but that are necessary to understand the extract have been added in square brackets.

Extract 2 Magazines

Eeva   mut sit mulla on ranskalaisia ja saksalaisia [lehtiä], sellasia niitä mää
           en kyllä kauheesti tajua mutta ne on kans ihan hyviä
           then I have French and German [magazines], I don't get much from
           them, it's true, but they're quite good as well

Extract 3 Webpages

Siiri   mä pääsin nettiin elikkä siellä olin aika kauan esimerkiks kävin tollasessa
           asos piste com se on niin ku englanninkielinen siellä on kaikkea asusteita
           ja kaikkee hienoo vaatteita sitte mää eksyin jollekin ruotsinkieliselle
           blogeille ja muotiblogeille ja kaikille tämmösille no emmää kyllä oikein
           tajunnu niitä mutta olihan se silti ihan kivaa ja tällei lukee
           I got on the net, so I spent a lot of time, I visited for example [the page]
           asos dot com, it's kind of, it's in English, there are all kinds of accessories
           and such like, fancy clothes, then I got lost in some sort of Swedish blogs
           and fashion blogs and so on, well I didn't get much out of them but it was
           still kind of nice and so to read

In Extract 2, Eeva talks about her reading French and German fashion magazines, saying that she does not understand much but they are good anyway. In Extract 3, Siiri tells about her practice of surfing on the internet and how she found some Swedish fashion blogs, which again she did not understand much of. Here the practice is more important than the language involved; one copes in a less familiar language if one must get the social action done. It is important here that the young people's practices concern their hobbies or other personal interests, and therefore there is clearly investment (see e.g. Norton 2000) in getting something out of these magazines even though the language is not very familiar. What is perhaps more important than the language of the text is being part of the (imagined) community (Anderson 1983; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013) around the hobby through these magazines. One could contrast this with a situation in which these young people were given a task at school for which they had to read a text in German: I am quite convinced that they would say they could not do it because they do not know any German.

What is *the language* then that these young people use in their literacy practices? Eeva explains quite nicely how she sees *the English* she uses when writing on discussion forums:

Extract 4 Not real English

Interviewer   huomaattekste kun te kirjottelette siellä että tuleeks siellä sitä
              englantia kirjoteltua onks siellä onks teillä jotain vakiojuttuja tai
              do you pay attention, when you write there, do you write in English,
              is there some regular stuff there or

Eeva   no ei ei ehkä hirveesti sellasta ihan varsinaista englantia no tietysti
                niitten kans kenen kaa puhuu englantia mutta nii sellasia niinku
                englannista niinku tulevia sanoja vähän sellasta niinku
                well no, maybe not so much kind of real English, well of course with
                those who you always speak English with, but it's more like words
                that come from English, kind of like, you know

When the interviewer asks whether the girls also write in English, Eeva replies
that it is not really proper English, except when you use English all the time with
somebody. But the language they use is words based on English. This again is an
indication of both the fixity and fluidity of language: sometimes the participants talk
about whole languages and sometimes they describe their language use as bits and
pieces of language, depending on the context and the needs of the people involved
(cf. Pennycook and Otsuji 2016).

The data also shows that language learning is connected to literacy practices. In
the following extract (Extract 5), Taavi and Erik talk about song lyrics. Checking
lyrics online was a practice that all these young people engaged in.

Extract 5 Lyrics

Interviewer   mites teillä teillä tais kummallakin olla näitä näitä tota noin niin
                tämmösiä kappaleitten sanotuksia ja tämmösiä niin tota oliko käy-
                käyttekse kumpikin sellasia hakemassa kattomassa luette niitä
                how about these lyrics, you both had these these, well like song
                lyrics and the like, so was it- do you both search for these and
                read them
Taavi   kyl mää ainaki
                yeah I at least do
Erik   kyl mää ainaki käyn just joku uus kappale minkä on just kuullu ni
                sieltä saattaa ihan mielenkiinnosta vaan kattoo että kattoo et miten
                sanat menee ja hoilaako ite ihan väärin tai jotain
                yeah I do at least when there's a new song that I've just heard, so
                I can just out of curiosity go and go and check what the lyrics are
                and whether I'm singing it completely wrong or something
Taavi   just joku sana jota se lausuu sen jotenkin ouosti ja sit ei ite tajua ni
                käy varmistaa sitte että mitä siel on
                if there's a word that someone pronounces in a weird way and
                then you don't get it, so you go and check what it really is

The literacy diaries of both Taavi and Erik included lyrics, and the interviewer
asks about these. Erik says that he looks for the lyrics of new songs he has heard to
check what exactly the lyrics say, so that he can avoid singing it completely wrong.
Taavi adds that he checks words that he does not catch because of the way they are
pronounced in the song. This practice involves an element of language learning that
is very close to the traditional dictionary work learnt at school but is now connected

to everyday practices and personal interests. Even though the focus of discussion was everyday literacy practices outside the classroom, school features quite prominently in young people's lives. For one thing, they are learners of languages at school and there is a leaking of practices between different domains, to use Barton and Hamilton's (1998) formulation. Therefore, literacy practices and language learning – and the concepts of literacy and language – seem to be connected.

What does this data on young people's literacy practices tell us about the relationship between language, literacy, and learning? To summarize the main observation in just a few words, one could say that the practice (or the social action) comes first and the language follows, and language learning takes place as a side product. When the young people talk about their literacy practices, it becomes evident that these practices are related to their hobbies and personal interests. In their practices, their goals of getting information or being part of a community around that particular interest are intertwined with language: they use the resource that is relevant. If it is a foreign football team, they turn to language other than Finnish. What is remarkable here is that even languages in which they have very limited knowledge (to use the conventional terminology) play a role in these practices and there seems to be no language barrier. Knowledge of the key terminology related to one's favourite hobbies (e.g. snowboarding) gives access to languages of which one has very limited, if any, knowledge. It may also be that images, i.e., all semiotic resources, are used when trying to get access to international communities around their personal interests. As the hobbies in question were sports and fashion, photography plays an important role in magazines and web sites. So it seems that language is embedded in the practices and that literacy practices are intertwined in language use and language learning. When we look at language through the lens of literacy practices, language no longer seems to be a skill, a proficiency level or a product but a resource that is used to reach a goal.

5.2 Data Set 2: Multilingual Sámi Children Conceptualizing Language

With this data set, I will argue that understanding and making use of one's varied and multilayered language repertoire is highly contextual and that the nature and purpose of the literacy practice may set boundaries to the use of this repertoire. In contrast to the previous example, the children in the following example are engaging in a more formal and public literacy practice which is being carried out in the school context. In the following, I will present one child as a case example.

Oona was 8 years old at the time of data collection and she was in Inari Sámi medium education at school. To begin the activities related to raising multilingual awareness and the literacy practice of designing the picture book, all the children filled in a questionnaire (Fig. 2), which included questions on their language use and feelings and metaphors related to the use of different languages. In this chapter, only the questions related to language use are analysed, and for the sake of clarity, these questions are presented in English after the Figure.

Kielitarinat – hanke

Nimi: _____

Ikä: 8.

Kieliä, joita puhun
paljon, usein: Saamea
jonkin verran, silloin tällöin: Suomea
muutamia sanoja: englantia

Merkitse seuraavaan taulukoon mitä kieliä itse käytät ja kuinka usein.

Päivittäin	Muutaman kerran viikossa	harvoin, jonkun kerran kuussa	hyvin harvoin, ehkä muutaman kerran vuodessa
Suomea saamea	englanti	Pohjoissaamea	ranskan kieltä

Merkitse seuraavaan taulukkoon millä tavoin käytät kieliäsi

Käytän sujuvasti useissa eri tilanteissa	Käytän jonkin verran muutamissa eri tilanteissa	Osaan muutamia sanoja	Tunnistan mikä kieli on kyseessä, vaikka en itse käytä
suomea	englantia	ranskaa	englanti

Näitä kieliä kuulen ympäristössäni: pikkaveljin kiljumista englantia ranskaa

Äitini kanssa puhun suomea saamea

Isäni kanssa puhun suomea

Sisarusteni kanssa puhun suomea saamea

Sukulaisten kanssa puhun suomea

Puhun saamea, kun pitää

Näitä kieliä haluaisin puhua aikuisena englantia ranskaa ~~mojaa~~

Fig. 2 Oona's questionnaire form

Laita rasti itsellesi sopivaan kohtaan jokaisen kieltä koskevan väittämän kohdalle.

saami   läheinen ✗——— vieras
saami   helppo ————✗—— vaikea
saami   hyödyllinen ✗—— turha

suomi   läheinen ✗——— vieras
suomi   helppo ✗—— vaikea
suomi   hyödyllinen —✗————————————————————————————————————— turha

Valitse seuraavaksi itse mistä kielestä haluat tehdä kuvauksen

ranska läheinen ——————————————————————————————————✗———— vieras
ranska helppo ——————————————————————————————————✗———— vaikea
ranska hyödyllinen ————————✗——————————————————————————— turha

Saamen kieli on minusta *hieno kieli*

Suomi kieli on minusta *hyödyllinen*

Saamen puhuminen tuntuu minusta *kivaloa*

Suomen puhuminen tuntuu minusta *kivalta*

Kun puhun saamea tunnen itseni *hyvältä*

Kun puhun suomea tunnen itseni *hyvältä*

Tähän voit kirjoittaa omia kommenttejasi tai vaikka piirtää:

Kiitos vastauksestasi

Fig. 2 (continued)

Questions on language use (the first page of the questionnaire):

- Languages that I speak

    – a lot, often
    – a little, sometimes
    – a few words

- Mark in the table what languages you use and how often (daily, a few times a week, seldom/a few times a month, very seldom/maybe a few times a year)
- Mark in the table how you use your languages

    – I use it fluently in several different situations
    – I use it a little in different situations
    – I know a few words
    – I recognize the language even though I don't use it myself

In her questionnaire, Oona lists several languages that in one way or another belong in her repertoire (representation by the author of Oona's repertoire in Fig. 3). The languages she lists are Inari Sámi, Northern Sámi, Finnish, Norwegian, English, French, and the Screaming of my little brother. What is interesting in this list is that the screaming of my little brother is a language in Oona's repertoire and tells in a powerful way how a bottom-up conceptualization of language may differ quite considerably from our conventional way of categorizing languages. For Oona, this screaming is obviously a means of conveying meaning, and maybe often heard at home. Another interesting point is that Oona has not started to study any foreign languages at school and yet she readily lists several languages in her repertoire. Many of these languages may be present in Oona's life through tourism in the North. On the basis of the questionnaire, one could say that Oona has a very wide language repertoire.

Fig. 3 Author's representation of Oona's language repertoire
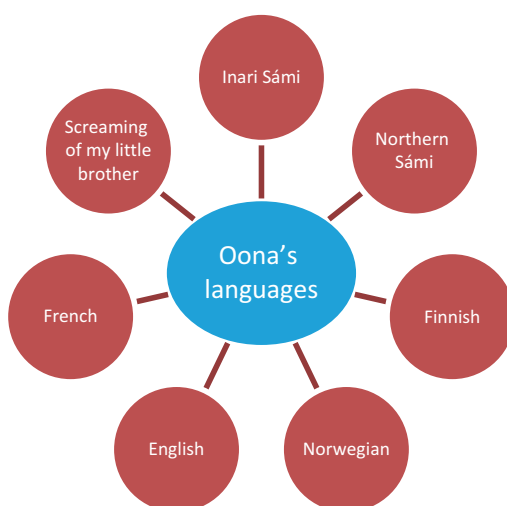
The questionnaire also asked in different ways how the different languages were used, how often, and with whom. It is interesting that the same language might be placed in different boxes in the questionnaire. Oona put English, for example, in three different boxes: I use it a few times a week; I use it a little in different situations; I recognize the language even though I don't use it myself. This may say something about the child's view of language use: it varies depending on the situation and the use may contain different elements, from seeing to actively using.

Oona described the use of the languages she mentioned in the following way:

- Inari Sámi: uses it a lot; uses it with mother, siblings, relatives
- Northern Sámi: hears in her environment
- Finnish: uses it a lot; uses it with father, mother, siblings, relatives
- Norwegian: would like to use it as an adult
- English: knows a few words; would like to use it as an adult
- French: knows a few words; would like to use it as an adult
- Screaming of my little brother: hears it in her environment

The use of languages reveals an interesting network of people and languages in Oona's environment. Inari Sámi and Finnish are used a lot and with all the people near to Oona. Some languages are heard in the environment (Northern Sámi and her brother's screaming) but not really used. Then there is a category of languages Oona would like to know as an adult (Norwegian, English, French). We need be bear in mind, of course, that the questionnaire gave the children these categories, but the children chose the languages or left some parts blank, and there was considerable variation among the children.

After the questionnaire, the drawing task and the related discussions (see Fig. 1), the children started to work on their picture book. Working on the book took several lessons. The children could decide on the topic, but the teachers provided help when needed. It was agreed in class that each child would include his/her own Sámi language and the other Sámi language spoken in the area, so everyone would have at least Northern Sámi and Inari Sámi in their book. In addition, the children could choose any other languages they wished to have, and their text would be translated into these chosen languages. The children were also aware that the books would be officially printed, launched and circulated in the community (for details see Pitkänen-Huhta and Pietikäinen 2014).

Figure 4 shows a double-page opening in Oona's book, the topic of which was a girl who wanted to be in a jungle. In the finished product Oona did not include all the languages she had mentioned in the questionnaire, but in addition to Inari Sámi and Northern Sámi she chose to include Norwegian, Swedish, and English.

This may reflect Oona's actual physical surroundings. Norwegian and Swedish are spoken in the neighbouring countries and the borders are easily crossed: relatives might well live in the parts of Sámiland stretching into Norway and Sweden. English, on the other hand, enters the children's environment via tourists, TV, music, and the internet. It seems that Oona, like the other children, was alert to the formality of the task and the audience of the book. Oona's fairly limited selection of languages in her book was typical of the choices in the books of the other children as
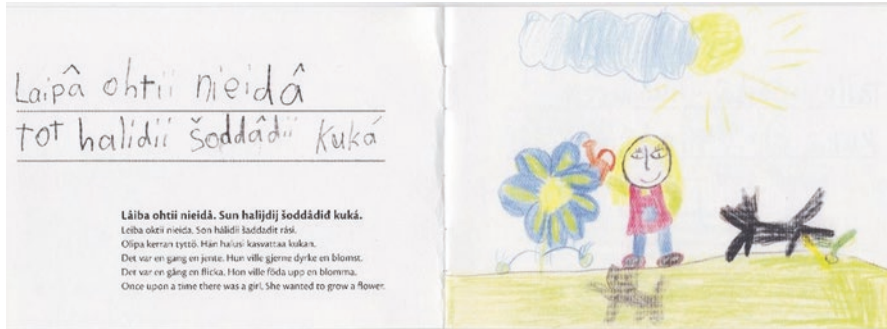
Fig. 4 Opening in Oona's book

well. This may indicate that the children mostly relied on a conventional and canonized literacy practice and resorted to named languages present in the immediate environment (see also Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013).

To sum up the observations from the second data set, one could infer that the children in this particular multilingual context appeared to be well aware of the languages in their lives and had varied and creative language repertoires. However, it also became evident that when the context for literacy is formal and public, creative multilingualism is reduced and children easily resort to normative and conventionalized views of language and literacy.

6   Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to bring the concepts of *language* and *literacy* into dialogue in the context of multilingualism, and to look further into their relationship to learning through an examination of two different data sets. In the first data set, the understandings of language and language learning that emerge when young people talk about their literacy practices were examined. The second data set examined how children conceptualize their multilingual repertoires and how they make use of their resources in literacy practices. Both the data sets had literacy practices at their centre. In the first case, the focus was on everyday literacy practices, while in the second case the literacy practice was a formal and public one, carried out in the school context.

So what kinds of conceptualizations of *literacy, language, and language use* emerge from the data? The data discussed here shows that using language does not mean the use of *a full language*. It might only be a fragment of language, one may know hardly anything of it, or one may only recognize the language, but one might still be able to use it in one's literacy practices. Language use may also be passive, meaning one is just the recipient of language, or it may be a creative means of communication that would not be categorized as language in the conventional sense. Language use is also networked and contextual: different language resources are

used with different people, in different contexts, and for different purposes. All this points towards the conceptualization of language as a resource. For these young people and children, language is not only a structure or a system in which they need to reach a particular threshold before they are able to use it; on the contrary, they happily engage in activities that involve languages of which they have very limited knowledge, or they include in their repertoire languages they do not know (in the conventional sense), or that are not languages at all in the conventional sense.

However, the concept of language seemed to be given different meanings in different contexts. When the focus was on everyday encounters with texts, literacy practice seemed to be primary and language secondary; language was embedded in social practice. Language was fluid and emerging, and also connected to wishes, future aspirations, and imagined communities. When the context for the literacy practice was a more formal one, embedded in a school task, it seemed that the literacy practice constrained creative and varied language use, and there was reliance on norm and convention, on a named and fixed conceptualization of language.

The issue of *language learning* and knowing a language also emerged from the data. Language learning appeared to be embedded in social practice and to be a by-product of social action, as in the examples of the young people checking song lyrics. Learning, to these young people, was not just making a conscious effort to develop as a language user; learning also seemed to be about being interested in and observant of the languages around one, recognizing languages and making use of whatever resources were available. Hopes and desires were connected to the future and to imagined communities, so there was potential investment in language learning. The concept of language learning is not only *what I know and what I can do* but it is also *what I want to do and want to know*.

The relationship between the concepts of language, literacy, and learning in multilingual contexts thus seems to be complex and changing. Language appears to be intertwined in literacy practice and language and literacy seem to be developing side by side. On the other hand, the concepts are changing and contextual. Literacy can be both liberating and constraining; language can be both fluid and fixed.

It is also evident that the participatory methods we used in the projects enabled us to bypass fixed and naturalized views of language, competence, proficiency and skills, and provide space for awareness raising and emancipation. It has to be kept in mind that one of the aims of the research projects was to raise the participants' awareness of their own literacy practices and language use as they were co-participating in the study. Further, the focus was on subjective experience. But when we are concerned with language, literacy, language use, literacy practices, and learning, it is the learners' and language users' understanding of these concepts that should be the starting point for the theorizing. As The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 29) points out, "when it comes to explaining what learning is, at least conceptually and often empirically, our various theories stipulate the mutual entailment of the cognitive, the social, and the emotional".

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The Anatomy of Learning a Foreign Language in Classroom with a Textbook: An Interactional and Multimodal Approach

Augustin Lefebvre

Abstract From the perspective of an ethnomethodological (Garfinkel H, Studies in ethnomethodology. Polity Press, Prentice-Hall, 1967) approach of learning (Nishizaka A, Res Lang Soc Interact 39:119–154, 2006; Berducci D, Pragmat Cogn 19:476–506, 2011) and of a conversation analytic and multimodal approach of writing (Mondada L, Svinhufvud K, Language and Dialog 6:1–53, 2016), this chapter proposes to reconceptualise the connections between language, learning and literacy by examining their temporal and multimodal dimensions in social interaction. I focus on the case of the interactional processes through which a teacher and students teach and learn a foreign language with a textbook. Examination of the interactional processes specific to foreign language learning in the classroom presents two heuristic interests: (1) to show that within social interaction, practices such as talking, listening, reading and writing, are not strictly separated but are embedded within a single course of action. (2) observation of how participants articulate these practices within their interaction reflexively indicates how they organize the teaching/learning of a foreign language in an institutional setting.

Keywords Conversation analysis · Ethnomethodology · L2 learning · Classroom interaction · Multimodality · Writing · Reading · French · Japanese

1 Introduction

In this paper, I argue that one way of reconceptualising the connections between the phenomena of language, learning and literacy is to analyze their interactional dimension. As situated phenomena, language, learning and literacy are interconnected through two dimensions: temporality and multimodality. The data analyzed in this paper – video-recordings showing the interaction between a Japanese teacher and her students during a lesson of French as a foreign language – offer a

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perspicuous site for understanding the interactional, temporal and multimodal dimensions of learning a foreign language in the institutional setting of a classroom when the teacher relies on a textbook for organizing the classroom activities. The specific phenomenon examined here is how the teacher and the students implement the textbook in their interaction, and how the textbook provides resources for teaching/learning a foreign language. Reflexively, the study examines the interactional dimension of literacy practices.

2 The Institutional Aspects of Learning a Foreign Language with a Textbook: The Textbook-as-a-Plan and the Textbook-as-Situated-Action

For an institution such as a school, using textbooks is a pervasive way of guaranteeing that students to have choice among clearly distinguished levels, (*e.g.* "beginner", "intermediate" "advanced"). For the students the textbook is a guarantee of a course corresponding to their own level.

As a domain of study, *textbook research* analyses the different dimensions of textbooks. For instance Weinbrenner (1992) proposes three types of research concerning textbooks: *process-oriented research*, focusing on the lifecycle and access to schoolbooks, *product-oriented research,* focusing on the textbook as a teaching and visual medium, and *reception-oriented research* focusing on schoolbooks "as independent socialisation factors in teaching with regard to their effect on teacher and pupil" (p. 23, in Lubben et al. 2003, p. 110). Even if researchers distinguish between the "text per se" and the "text in use" (Luke et al. 1989 in Lubben et al. 2003, p. 111) few studies focus directly on the interactional aspects of textbook use in the classroom with students, *i.e.* how does the teacher actually use the textbook in order to organize learning activities in the classroom and how do the students participate in these activities.

Indeed, from the teachers' viewpoint, the textbook provides a basis for organizing learning activities. This does not mean that a teacher using a textbook does not have to prepare what he or she will do during his class, nor that the activities which will occur with the students are predefined. Even if a teacher has been using a textbook for years, he/she needs to organise and manage *in situ* the activities proposed within it.

For the researcher, to understand those learning processes which happen in the classroom when a teacher relies on a textbook to organize activities, simply knowing the textbook is not enough, just as knowing a *plan* of action is very different from knowing the action as it occurs in its unfolding. Suchman (1985) conceptualizes this difference by distinguishing between *plan* and *situated action*. The notion of situated action

underscores the fact that the course of action depends in essential ways upon the action's circumstances. Rather than attempting to abstract action from its circumstances and reconstructing it as a rational plan, the approach is to study how people use their circumstances to achieve intelligent action. Rather than build a theory of action out of a theory of plans, the aim is to investigate how people produce and find evidence for plans in the course of situated action. (Suchman 1985, p. 35)

A textbook can be seen as a pedagogical plan: it proposes problems to solve taking the form of exercises aimed at specific domains. To understand how a teacher and their students rely on this pedagogical plan to organize learning activities, researchers need to examine how the classroom participants implement the textbook during their interactions, *i.e.* to examine the moment-by-moment interaction between the teacher and the students.

The opposition between plans and situated actions, and the question of how textbooks are implemented during the classroom activities echoes a problematic largely examined in the research on second language learning dealing with task-based language learning activities. Task Based Language Learning is "an approach which seeks to develop language learning by prompting learners to achieve a goal or complete a task" (…) "providing a task and then using language to solve it" (Preston et al. 2015, p. 7). Ellis (2003) defines the first characteristic of a task, from a pedagogical viewpoint as:

a *plan* for learner activity. This *workplan* takes the form of teaching materials or of ad hoc plans for activities that arise in the course of teaching (…). *The actual activity that results may or may not match that intended by the plan*. (Ellis 2003, p. 9, emphasis added)

The gap between the "intended activity" and the "actual activity" is pervasive, prompting research on classroom interaction to conceptualize it. For instance, Seedhouse and Almutairi (2009) distinguish, after Breen (1989), between *task-as-workplan*, which is "the intended pedagogy, the plan made prior to classroom implementation of what the teachers and learners will do", *task-in-process* which is "the actual pedagogy or what happens in the classroom" and the task-as-outcome which can be any piece of classroom output, such as "a piece of writing" (Seedhouse and Almutairi 2009, p. 311–312).

The present chapter contributes to this question by examining specifically the articulation between the intended pedagogy available in the written textbook and the interaction that actually happens between the teacher and her students. The paper focuses on the implementation of the textbook in the organization of classroom interaction, and on the consequences of this implementation in the organisation of learning a foreign language. In so doing, it contributes to understand the possible connections between language, learning and literacy.

In the data we will observe, the textbook provides a plan for learning how to conjugate French verbs. Following the previously quoted research (Suchman 1985; Breen 1989; Seedhouse and Alumutairi 2009) I will call the textbook *textbook-as-a-*

plan, as it is available previous to its implementation in social interaction. I will use the term *textbook-as-situated-action* to designate all the activities which derive from the *textbook-as-a-plan* in the local circumstances and situated goals of the interaction between the teacher and her students. To understand how the textbook-as-a-plan provides a frame for organizing the classroom interaction and learning, one needs to examine finely how classroom participants organize their interactions.

3   Conversation Analysis and Classroom Interaction

Conversation analysis introduced temporality in the analysis of language by describing the turn-taking-system of conversation (Sacks et al. 1974), opening the possibility of understanding the interactional construction of intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992) among the participants to any interaction. The turn-taking-system of conversation is defined by two components: a) the turn-constructional component and b) the turn-allocation component (Sacks et al. 1974, p. 702–703). Conversation analysis assumes then the intersection between the emergent syntax of turns at talk and the transfer of speakership among participants: following the ongoing increment of a turn furnishes a resource for taking, or not taking, the floor and contributing to the activity.

Conversation analysis also provides an accurate methodology to follow the participants' interaction turn by turn in more formal settings, such as classrooms. McHoul (1978) shows that understanding classroom activities implies taking into account how the teacher organizes the speakership and how the students participate in the moment-by-moment unfolding of their interaction. More recent studies in Conversation Analysis applied to classroom interaction focus on multimodal aspects of interaction for instance by developing the notion of *embodied completion* which corresponds to "launching a turn at talk, and then at a point where some trajectory of the turn is projectable, ceasing to talk and completing the action that had been initiated by the particular turn through gesture or embodied display" (Olsher 2004, p. 221, see also Mori and Hayashi 2006: 196). In addition to this, Conversation Analysis studies has also focused on the writing practices in classroom examining the interactional, collaborative and embodied aspects of the writing (for an overview, see Jakonen 2016).

The present paper contributes to the paradigm of Conversation Analysis applied to classroom interaction by analyzing how the teacher organizes the classroom speakership by relying on the textbook-as-situated action, how the teacher and her students implement the textbook during their interaction, the role of reading and writing in this process and the consequences of that implementation in the learning process.

4   The Data

In L2 classroom interaction, the fact that "language is the object as well as the vehicle of interaction" (Seedhouse 2013, p.1) explains in part the use of textbooks: the textbook-as-a-plan proposes tasks in which the targeted language can be manipulated as an object. At the same time, the fact that the textbook is a written resource introduces a variety of practices through which the teacher organizes the learning activities. In the data we will observe, students are mainly exposed to and manipulate the targeted L2 through practices of reading and writing. The written version of the L2 available in the textbook-as-a-plan becomes for the teacher a resource for organizing practices of reading in groups or writing verbal forms on the board (i.e. the textbook-as-situated-action). The data analyzed in this paper document how specific forms of learning a foreign language in classroom occurs at the intersection between different practices involving literacy. Indeed, in this type of learning situation, the students face the problem of learning at the same time the written and the spoken version of the target language contrarily to children who learn first the oral mode of language (the "oral" dimension of language itself is complex as it can include the stories read by a caregiver, that is, a verbalised version of written text) and, if they ever learn it, the written mode only when they are already able to talk. The use of a textbook, generates a situation of learning in which the oral and the written versions of language are interconnected, creating very specific practical problems for the observed students.

   In this chapter I will analyze how a Japanese teacher of the French Institute of Japan (Yokohama), uses a textbook with a group of beginners. The observed group of students is constituted by six Japanese beginners, adult women between 20 and 60 years old, attending the class once a week for 2 h for a 3 months period. The learners have no fluency at all in French and can only produce basic sentences or decipher words with uncertainty. They would correspond to the very beginning of the CEFR A1 level (CEFR 2001, p. 25).

   One central challenge for these Japanese speakers, induced by the textbook, is how to *read* and *pronounce* the written version of the French words available in the textbook. These problems of verbal production of French can be subdivided into two problems. The first problem is of phonetic-phonologic order, linked then to the differences between the phonological systems of French and Japanese (number of vowels, consonants, and differences in the syllabic structures). The second problem is of correspondence between the graphemic and phonemic levels, i.e. a *reading* problem linked to the archaic spelling of French words, which makes it problematic to deduce "how to pronounce" the written words from their spelling. In the case we will observe, the problem is that the graphemes "e" and "ent" in the final position of an item may correspond to the same phoneme or not according to the nature of that item. In order to read correctly they have to learn for instance that when "ent" appears in the final position of a verb it corresponds to a different phoneme than when it appears at the end of an adjective.

5 Reconstructing and Making Visible the Foreign Language Being Learnt: An Ethnomethodological Approach of Learning

The perspective on learning I will adopt in this paper is inspired by the ethnomethodological (Garfinkel 1967), and conversation analytic (Sacks et al. 1974) approaches developed by Nishizaka (2006) and Berducci (2011). According to these approaches, learning, rather than being a disembodied cognitive phenomenon, is a process which occurs in social interaction. This conception of learning is linked to a re-specification of cognition which can itself be approached as a social phenomenon:

> there is reason to suspect that what we call cognition is in fact a complex social phenomenon. The point is not so much that arrangements of knowledge in the head correspond in a complicated way to the social world outside the head, but that they are socially organized in such a fashion as to be indivisible. "Cognition" observed in everyday practice is distributed – stretched over, not divided among – mind, body, activity and culturally organized setting (which include other actors). (Lave 1988, p. 1)

The same respecification of cognition is attempted also for instance through the notions of *distributed cognition*, (Hutchins 1995) or *embodied cognition* (Anderson 2003). In the perspective of cognition as a social phenomenon Berducci (2011) proposes that the *learning process*,

> rather than being conceived of as some empirical object to be discovered, a process hidden within the mind/brain, is rather a public act, an act performed by human actors for all to see, describe, argue about, agree with, disagree with, and so on. (Berducci 2011, p. 483)

Berducci's statement is anchored in the ethnomethodological notion of *accountability* (Garfinkel 1967), which refers to the fact that any social and interactional action is reflexively produced with accounts which publicly manifest its intelligibility. Accounts may, and most of the time are, *seen but unnoticed* (*ibid*.). This means that when a member of society interacts with another, they are able to interpret what the other is doing by relying on shared expectancies, even if these expectancies are not oriented to among participants during the circumstances in which they are interacting. But in other cases, often when problems of interpretation occur between the participants of an activity, they can focus their attention on what they are exactly doing, on which rules are relevant at that moment, or they can even negotiate the content of the rule itself and then produce a new, situated, definition of that rule (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970). Accountability refers then both to *seen but unnoticed accounts* and to *explicitly noticed and described accounts*. In both cases the accounts are reflexively produced with the activity itself. In that sense, as any social activity in general, any activity of learning is accountable: participants to an activity of learning or to an activity in which learning occurs, reflexively manifest, explicitly or not, that they are in a process of learning.

> We, as mature members of society, including learning theorists and neuroscientists know, under normal circumstances, in particular cases, without undertaking any special training,

if (not *how*, how being the job of analysts) someone has learned something, for example, we can perceive in one's action if someone has learned to add, repair a bicycle, paint, and so on. Thus, we can, if we are so analytically inclined, advance claims as to when the learning process is proceeding or has taken place. (Berducci 2011, p. 478)

From an ethnomethodological point of view, investigating the question of learning becomes: How do participants in a specific (kind of) setting manifest their engagement in an activity of teaching and learning? In other words, if learning is a process taking place during an activity, what are the *specificities* of an activity of learning, from the participants' point of view?

According to Nishizaka, *any activity of learning implies reflexively a reconstruction of what is learnt* (Nishizaka 2006). Nishizaka (2006) investigates how, during a violin lesson involving a 4-year-old child and a professional violinist,

participants perceive and make use of structures of the environment to restructure that environment. The achieved structure is thereby involved as an integral part of what the child learns. (Nishizaka 2006, p. 119)

In the observed setting, in order to play a new sound, the teacher shows the child the different parts of the violin's bow, and the relevant part for playing a specific sound. What Nishizaka shows is that "the structuring of the world to be learned is achieved and visibly oriented to in the completion of the assigned task." (Nishizaka 2006, p. 123). The child could not learn to play this kind of sound without becoming aware of which part of the violin's bow she needs to use, and which part should not be used. Both from the teacher's and the child's perspectives, learning this new sound implies to reconstruct her perception of the violin's bow. This reconstruction is accomplished step by step during their interaction.

If we come back to consider now the activity of learning a foreign language in classroom, we can already suspect that participants reconstruct audible and visible bits of the taught/learned language through the practices of talking, reading aloud and writing on the board. Reflexively, these practices constitute the accounts of the learning process as it is organised from the participants' – the teacher's and the students' – viewpoints. To treat the foreign language learning, and more largely, learning-in-interaction, as a situated phenomenon accomplished within social interaction implies examining it in its multimodal aspect, that is: how participants rely on various practices such as talk, gestures, gaze, body movements, writing, and reading. As Mondada and Svinhufvud (2016) state about writing, it is relevant to observe how learning activities are "implemented through embodied conduct":

A multimodal analysis of writing-in-interaction allows us to specify the anatomy of writing as constituted by a complex and subtle series of embodied micro-practices, timely coordinated with talk and other actions. (Mondada and Svinhufvud 2016, p. 26)

A multimodal analysis of learning-in-interaction should allow us to specify the anatomy of learning of a foreign language in classroom as it is constituted through collaborative and bodily practices of writing, reading and talking, allowing participants to reconstruct elements of the language being learnt. A first step to enter in a multimodal analysis of learning-in-interaction is to observe how participants shape the classroom space, or more precisely their *interactional space* (Mondada

2009, 2013) in order to organize specific tasks and transition between different tasks relying on different practices.

6   The Classroom Spaces and Tasks

In the extracts we will observe, the participants are correcting a homework exercise. The exercise consists of conjugating verbs contained in simple sentences in the infinitive form. The textbook provides the following type of sentence to complete with the conjugation of the verb in the present tense:

"Claire (*lire*) ---------------- beaucoup de livres"
("Claire (to read) ------------- a lot of books").

The expected answer is:

"Claire <u>*lit*</u> beaucoup de livres"
("Claire <u>reads</u> a lot of books").

This type of sentence provides the *plan* of the exercise. However, from the teacher's viewpoint, organizing the classroom activity on this basis, i.e. transforming the textbook-as-a-plan into the textbook-as-situated-action, implies the development of methods for organising the interaction between her and her students, or among the students alone. The teacher's way of organizing the situated action when correcting this textbook exercise is to give instructions to the students to read the sentences aloud, to repeat them, to write them on the board, to ask for translations, to explain rules and so on.

With the textbook exercise as a resource, and by working on it through the above practices, the classroom participants *reconstruct* bits of the foreign language. This reconstruction occurs firstly through the teacher's multimodal, organization of a common focus of attention with her students. The teacher implements the tasks available in the textbook-as-a-plan in the classroom by walking from one place to another, formulating instructions, writing answers or explanations on the board, and so on. The teacher moves mainly through two spaces. Let's call the first space the *students' area* (image 1 below; thereafter, *im*.1). In this place, the teacher stands among the students producing talk in French or about French in Japanese; also reading or explaining instructions before starting a new task. Let's call the second place the *board area*. The moments when the teacher stands near the board, often but not always (see below), correspond to moments when the accomplishment of the current task makes it relevant to focus on writing or on using the written resources available on the board, for instance for producing explanations (im.2 below) after a student's question or after the identification of a mistake by the teacher. What the teacher writes or explains on the board is directly linked to the textbook's content (e.g. grammatical rules, new vocabulary) and to problems that occur in the tasks organized by its content (e.g. using a new grammatical rule in an exercise). The students remain seated but follow and participate in the tasks proposed

by the teacher through gaze orientation and shifts in their upper body positions (mainly head movements) as well as by reading or writing in their textbooks and notebooks.

The moment when the teacher moves from one space to another often corresponds to changes between types of relevant tasks and practices, for instance shifts between repeating a sentence and correcting a word pronunciation by writing it on the board. However, the teacher may reconfigure her *interactional space* with the students without moving from one space to another.

6.1   Reconfiguring the Interactional Space by Initiating a Correction

In the following extract, the teacher reconfigures the students' engagement in the current task by initiating a sequence of correction without moving from the board space.

In response to the teacher's instruction (line 1, hereafter *l.*1), the students engage in the common task of reading aloud a sentence in their textbook (ll.2–9). As shown by image A, the students organize their participation to that task by orienting gaze toward their own textbook, creating an interactional space in which the coordination among their *chorally co-produced turn elements* (Learner 2002) becomes possible.

The practice of reading aloud and listening to each other, allows students to coordinate their own reading-aloud with each other. In that case, to engage in the reading practice also implies that each student will orient their gaze toward their own textbook. Their interactional space can be verbally and acoustically-produced because the written sentences provide a shared device allowing participants to coordinate their contribution. This acoustic organisation of their interactional space allows them to segment the sentences they are reading almost word-by-word, without looking at each other. The teacher also participates in the acoustic interactional space as it is shown by her audible interruption – by knocking on the board, (l.9) – of the students' reading aloud after hearing a student's repetition of the verb termination

```
1 TEA      ok/ (0.8) eu:h jia saigo minna san de ikimashou
                      uh   well lastly everybody    let's go
          (1.6)
   gr      students are gazing toward textbook im.A -->
2 ???      [le
3 ???      [le
4 ???        [la
5 ???        [les
6 ???      [les français\] [sortent ]
7 ET5      [les français\] [s:ortin -ten
8 ???      s:ou-
9 ???       $*souvent=
   te       $knock on the board under the written verb sortent im.1
   gr       ->*orient gaze toward the board im.B
```



```
10 TEA     =encore une fois\$ les [français/
   pr      ---------------->$
   st      look twd whiteboard im.B
```

Extract 1 Organizing the classroom space through embodied actions
(Transcript conventions are inspired by Mondada 2001–2014, Mondada and Svinhufvud 2016, see at the end of the paper. *TEA* Teacher)

(l.7). Indeed, by twice repeating a different phoneme (l.7) one of the students manifests a problem in the reading of the verb termination.

By knocking on the board, the teacher makes the student's non-standard reading publicly salient and initiates a correction sequence. Her action is responded to by all of the students by a shift in the current visual engagement in the task (im.B). The initiation of correction sequence implies then for the entire participants to reconfigure their interactional space, mainly by shifting gaze from their textbook toward the board area and by stopping their reading-aloud.

After knocking on the board, the teacher asks the students to reinitiate the in-group-reading from just before the problematic segment – the verb (she repeats the sentence' subject l.10). After this sequence, the student who encountered a reading problem produces a standard reading, manifesting that, at this moment, she is able to reconstruct the relevant pronunciation and has learnt it. In this case, it is by hearing the others repeating the standard pronunciation that the student can correct her production.

This first extract shows the reflexive link between the interactional organization of the classroom space, the interactional organization of the textbook-as-situated-action tasks and the interactional organization of learning. Different ways of organizing their interactional space open up on different ways of organizing reading-writing-talking tasks and then on different ways of reconstructing the target language. Here, by stating that learners "reconstruct the target language" I refer to

their situated production of items of the target language on the basis of the textbook-as-a-plan: they use the written version of the target language in order to produce a phonological version of that language. By reading and repeating sentences, learners produce the target language as an object, focusing on its phonetic/phonological dimension. In so doing, they organize the opportunity to appropriate these phonological forms. They also create the opportunity for the teacher to check the relevance of their production and to correct it if necessary.

I turn now to a more detailed analysis of the reconstruction of the target language as it is co-managed by the teacher and the students. In the following extract, I examine the fact that from the teacher's viewpoint, leading classroom activities, implies the management of the transitions between tasks at specific moments.

6.2   Embodied Transition from Reading Aloud to Spelling-Writing on the Board

Extract 2a occurs just after a sequence in which the teacher announced that the next activity would be to correct a homework exercise from the textbook. The teacher formulated the instruction to read aloud the first sentence in which students are expected to conjugate the verb "lire" from the infinitive form to the third person singular in the present tense (see above, Section 6, the sentence "Claire (lire) -----beaucoup de livres"). The extract first shows the *multimodal work* during which the teacher organizes the transition between the task of reading the sentence aloud and the task of spelling-writing the verb of that sentence on the board, and then how, in response, the students progressively engage in the new task proposed by the teacher.

6.2.1   Initiating the Reading Aloud

The following extract shows how the teacher and the students engage step-by-step in the task of reading aloud a sentence in the textbook in response to the teacher's instruction. Note that the instruction of reading aloud is not written in the textbook but added by the teacher as a method for implementing the plan available in the textbook and organizing the students in a task-as-situated-action.

At the beginning of the extract, the teacher is standing in the student area and produces a turn (l.1) in which she repeats a part of the instruction she previously initiated (not transcribed here) *i.e.* to read aloud the first exercise sentence. From the beginning of her production of the instruction, the teacher orients the textbook toward the students and points with right hand toward the first sentence, producing a visible account of its position on the page for the students (im.1). During the production of her instruction, the students orient gaze toward their textbooks (im.a), initiating the task of reading by positioning their upper bodies part and gazing in a relevant position for the reading. One student initiates the reading (l.3) and in a

```
1 TEA   la phrase a (1.0) a/
        the sentence a (1.0) a/
   te   oriented toward the group and points toward the sentence on
        the textbook page im.1---->
2       (0.2)
3 ET2   claire/
   st   looks twd textbook im.a
4 TEA   mh claire
```


Extract 2a Initiating reading the textbook

"third turn" (Schegloff 1992), the teacher confirms that it is the correct sentence that has been initiated (l.4).

6.2.2 Projecting the Action of Writing on the Board

The following extract shows how the teacher, through multimodal practices, organizes the transition between the students' verbal reading of the textbook exercise and the practice of writing the answer on the white board.

After the teacher's confirmation (l.14), the students read the sentence in groups, coordinating their voices by segmenting word–by-word the textbook sentence. The students segment their reading according to the written structure of the exercise sentence in the textbook: the pauses between each segment of the group's turn (ll.5–12) corresponds to the segment relevant for answering the exercise: the subject (*claire*), the verb (*lit*), the complement (*beaucoup de livres,* see Section 6). The students produce the pronunciation *[li]* in answer to the task of conjugating the verb "lire", which is the correct standard pronunciation. The teacher remains oriented towards the students until the end of their reading (l.13) which she minimally *assesses* (mh/, l.14).

We can observe with the teacher's turn (l.14) the completion of a pervasive sequential organization of classroom interactions, i.e. 1- teacher's initiation (Extract 2a, l.1)/2- student's reply (Extract 2b)/3- teacher's evaluation (Extract 2b, l.14) (Initiation – Reply – Evaluation or IRE sequence, Mehan 1979). In the observed

```
 5 ET?  [claire
 6 ET?  [claire
 7       (1.0)
 8 ET?  [lit
          reads
 9 ET?  [li(se)
10       (0.4)
11 ET? [beaucoup
          a lot of
12 ET? [beaucoup d[e
13 ET?              [de: li:vres
                      of: boo:ks
14 TEA     +$mh/ claire/ (3.3)
    te      $walks twds, reaches board im.2 and writes «a» im.3
```


Extract 2b Initiating writing on the board

extract, the teacher's instruction to read aloud is followed by the students' response, which takes the form of a reading in groups. However, what can be specifically noted here, is that the teacher produces her assessment while turning back toward the board, immediately projecting the next task. Indeed, at that moment, the textbook exercise is only partially corrected. By reading the sentence, the students manifested the correct *oral* form, but not the correct *written* form which, as mentioned, is not directly deducible from the former. By walking toward the board (im.2) in coordination with her evaluation, the teacher projects the task of writing something on the board, probably the written version of the answer, – she also verbally projects the writing of the answer by repeating the first segment of the exercise' sentence (l.14). The teacher's multimodal turn (l.14) shows that the positive evaluation of the students' reading creates a relevant context for initiating the action of writing on the board, showing the intertwined nature of reading and writing practices in classroom interactions.

The teacher suspends her verbal contribution to the current activity while walking toward the board, opening a verbal pause of 3.3 s during which the students remain silent. When the teacher reaches the board she writes the letter "a" (i.e. each sentence of the exercise in the textbook correspond to a letter, "a", "b", "c", …) projecting the action of writing the answer.

6.2.3   A Moment of Wavering When Orienting the Next Task Toward the Board

The following extract shows a wavering moment during the transition between the tasks of reading aloud and writing on the board. Indeed, although the teacher's bodily movement toward the board's area visibly projects the task of writing something related to the exercise on the board, the verbal part of her instruction does not mention explicitly any new task to perform related to writing, the students interpret the teacher's demand or repetition as a negative evaluation.

After having written "a" on the board, the teacher turns back toward the classroom saying "one more time" in French (l.15, im.4). In response, three students initiate a new in-group reading, beginning the repetition of the sentence at two different positions: KAO and ETO repeat the sentence from the beginning, while IKI only repeats the verb (ll.17–19). The students' in-group-reading format is very different to the in-group-reading observed in Extract 2b. Rather than coordinating their voices by reading the entire sentence, they read it partially, stressing on the verb – the element on which the exercise focuses. IKI repeats the sentence subject (l.20), maintaining gaze toward the teacher. She stops just after the subject suggesting by a 0.8 s pause a possible problem in the proposed conjugation of the verb. During this verbal pause, KAO gazes first towards IKI and then toward the teacher, completing IKI's reading by repeating the verb (l.21). Both the non-coordinated in-group-reading and the frequent changes of gaze direction of the students engaged in the reading manifest their uncertainty of the exact nature of the task to accomplish at that moment. The teacher herself maintains this uncertainty by not evaluating the students' reading. Instead, she remains with her right hand raised (im.5), continuing to project the action of writing, indicating that the task is not achieved by nodding. After KAO's repetition of "lit" (l.21), the teacher first exhibits the textbook by turning the opened page toward the students (im.6). Then she points with her right hand toward the board, visually establishing by this gesture a transition or a link from the textbook to the board. Through these gestures the teacher is attempting to orient the activity toward the board, and toward writing. However, the students' repetition of the verb (l.22–23) demonstrates that the teacher's gesture is not interpretable.

What is happening here is that the teacher's demand to repeat the sentence (l.15) may appear from the students' viewpoint as a negative evaluation of their previous reading. Mehan (1979, p. 290) shows that when teachers negatively evaluate an incorrect reply, the Initiation-Response-Evaluation sequence remains opened until the correct response is provided by a student, the positive evaluation ends a sequence. In our case, from the students' viewpoint, only the teacher's correct evaluation could close the task of reading the sentence. The numerous repetitions of the verb among the students, the absence of reading of the sentence complement, the fact that they see that the teacher stands in the board's area, and the fact that they almost all gaze toward the teacher, and not toward their textbook, manifests that for the students, the activity had reached a moment of wavering. From their viewpoint, the task is not closed, because they see the teacher's demand of repetition as a negative

```
15 TEA *encore une fois/ claire/
         one more time/  claire/
       *turns back twd the classroom (im.4)
16  ik turns gaze toward teacher im.B---> (0.4)
17 KAO >clai:[re (lit?)<
18 IKI       [lit
19 ETO       [claire lit
20 IKI claire/ (0.8)
   ik  -----> (im.C)
   ka  looks toward iki (im.C) then toward teacher
   te  nods

21 KAO lit (0.5)
   ka  looks twd iki
   te  nods, shows textbook, points toward board (im.5-6)

22 IKI lit (0.3)
23 KAO lit=
       students look toward the teacher (im.D)
```


Extract 2c Defining the activity

evaluation of their reading. It is precisely at that moment that the teacher explicitly formulates her instruction to spell the verb, as shown by the next extract.

6.2.4 Initiating the Task of Spelling/Writing on the Board

This extract shows the teacher's production of an explicit instruction and the students' engagement in the new task of spelling.

The teacher formulates her instruction (l.24) in French by coordinating it with a gesture mimicking the action of writing. At this moment, most of the students are gazing toward her (image D). Just at the end of her turn, all of the students reorganize their embodied engagement in the new task of spelling by gazing toward their textbook (image E). After a pause of 0.6 s, one student gives the first letter of the

```
23 KAO lit=
     st look toward teacher im.D---->

24 TEA $=comment ça s'écrit/*(0.6)                           $
              how do you spell it/
     te $ mimes writing looks twd board twd clsr im.7,8 $
     st --------------------->*look twd their textbook im.E
```
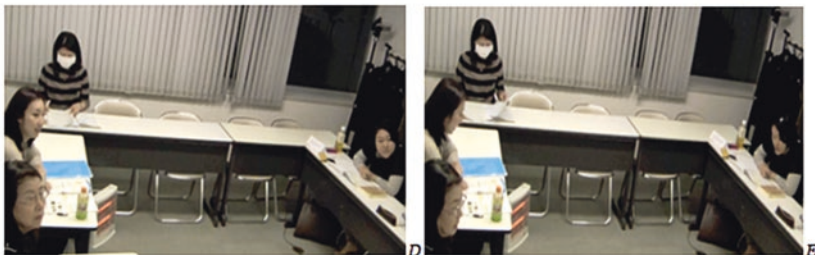
```
25 ET? 1/
26 ET? 1
     en  writes 1 on the board im.9
```

Extract 2d Writing the correct form

verb (l.25), and the teacher validates the student's answer by writing it on the board. From that moment on, and for two additional letters, the teacher writes on the board in coordination with the students' spelling.

In this Extracts 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d, we observed the temporal, sequential and multimodal dimensions of the shift from the task of reading aloud to the task of spelling-writing on the board. This sequence shows that in learning activities occurring in a classroom and relying on a textbook, the teacher and the students can face problems linked on the one hand to the production and interpretation of instructions, and on the other hand to the production of assessments about the actions accomplished in the frame of the previous instruction. We observed an instance of a problem in the production of an instruction when, by moving toward the board, the teacher projected the practice of writing on the board without producing a verbally explicit account, for instance by naming the practice she is expecting next.

The teacher projects the task of writing by moving toward the board and by repeating the subject of the sentence to be read (2b, l.14). In her practical logic of producing an instruction, re-reading the sentence is the step opening up the task of spelling/writing on the board: she initiates the task of writing the answer on the board by asking the students to read-once-again the sentence being corrected. However, from the students' viewpoint, the teacher's demand to re-read forms part of an instruction/response/evaluation sequence: the fact that the teacher asks them to repeat the response indicates that their previous response is probably not correct. To summarise, from the teacher's viewpoint, her demand to repeat the sentence projects the next task to accomplish (spelling/writing), while, from the students' viewpoint, it projects the teacher's assessment. The extract shows how the teacher and students mutually construct the definition of the situation and the transition between the practices of reading-aloud and writing on the board through temporal and multimodal adjustments. I turn now to examine the embodied accomplishment of the task of spelling-writing on the board.

7 Correcting the Spelling of a Verb While Writing It on the Board

The task of spelling implies that participants speak each alphabetic letter of a word to each other. It is therefore a practice intrinsically standing at the frontiers between *talking*, *reading* and *writing*. It implies a *reading* when each alphabetic letter of the word is uttered through the direct visualization of its graphic materiality. It implies a sort of *writing* when the students reconstruct the word letter by letter (i.e. grapheme by grapheme), only a sort of writing however because the inscription on a material is replaced by the verbal naming of the alphabetic letters. Even if there is no direct material graphic work/action, what is said are the names of graphic forms or graphemes – the alphabetic letters -, keeping to the particular order of the written

word. On the other side, during the task of spelling, *talk* is structured by the written form being reconstructed.

The task of spelling may be specifically relevant for the learners of French as foreign language because of difficulties in writing-reading which appear due to the fact that in French, for historical reasons, some alphabetic letters are written but not pronounced, the fact that the same letters can represent different phonemes in different contexts, or the fact that the same phoneme can be written through different letters or sequences of letters.

From the teacher's viewpoint, spelling a word is a method to reconstruct publicly the correct-standard orthography, and to organize an activity in which the written and acoustic versions of the word will be learned. The practice of spelling is therefore a good candidate to observe the process through which students, with the teacher, reflexively reconstruct *in situ* bits of the foreign language by relying both on literacy and oral resources, with the implementation of the textbook-as-a-plan within their interaction.

7.1   Writing on the Board Under Dictation

In the following extract, in coordination with the students' spelling of the verb, the teacher writes the graphemes one-by-one, making the correct spelling publicly available on the board. For the teacher, making the students spell a word affords a method to check the correctness of the spelling they reconstructed at home and, if needed, a method to correct the students' production. In the following transcript, "l", "i", and each alphabetic letter are named by the participants according to the French alphabet naming (Extract 3).

We can observe in this extract a sequential organization of turns in which the students say the verb's letters one by one, while in coordination the teacher writes them on the board. In this interactional organization, the teacher makes the students' verbal turn visible by producing writing material on the board during her turn. This interactional space (the students gazing toward the teacher writing on the board) gives the teacher the possibility to visibly fix and share the students' oral production and to engage in a procedure of evaluation of their spelling.

By writing "l" and "i", the teacher validates the students' answers (ll.1,2). However, the third letter ("s") proposed by KAO makes it relevant for the teacher to stop writing and turn her gaze toward the classroom. By removing the pen from the board and gazing toward the students (image 2), the teacher reconfigures the current interactional space. Stopping writing and gazing toward the classroom is here the teacher's method for identifying the reparable and making this identification public: she makes visible that the last proposed letter is not correct, and prompts the students to make another proposition. In so doing, she makes it possible for the students to propose another form, as IKI does (l.4), by proposing another letter just when the teacher's gaze is oriented toward the students. She is followed latched by another student (annotation "=", l.5, indicating a latching). The teacher also verbally initiates

```
1STUs  l
    ka   gazing toward her textbook im.A --->
    te   writes "l" on the board im.1

2STUs  i: (0.3)
    te   writes "i" on the board
    ka   -->

3>KAO  s *(0.7)
    ka   ->*gazes toward teacher im.B
    te   removes pen from the board, looks toward classroom im.2

4 IKI   t/=
5 ST?   =t=
6 TEA   =i/
7 IKI?  t
8 ST?   t
9 ST?   t
10TEA   t/ *oui/ l- i-    * (0.6) t-
   te        *writes t im.3* turns back toward the classroom
   ka    corrects on her notebook im.C
```


Extract 3 Spelling, writing and correcting

the correction by repeating the previous letter of the verb "i" (l.6). Another group of students then propose the same letter as IKI.

After getting the correct answer ("t"), the teacher closes the sequence of this verb's spelling by writing it (im.3) while verbally repeating the whole sequence of letters (l.9). Here, writing the correct letter corresponds to a positive evaluation.

For understanding the role of each of these practices in the process of reconstructing the foreign language and therefore in the learning process, it is interesting to follow how KAO engages in the task of spelling and correcting this verb. During the whole task of spelling and until the sequence of correction which she causes by proposing a non-appropriate letter, KAO is orienting her gaze toward her textbook, reading aloud each letter of the verb she wrote in it (image A). Just after proposing the last letter of the verb (l.3) she gazes toward the teacher, manifesting the end of her reading and *displaying recipiency* (Heath 1986, p. 45) for an assessment of her proposition (image B). After the closing of this verb' s spelling by the teacher (l.9), she engages in the task of writing in her notebook to correct her homework writing (image C).

By spelling the verb she previously wrote in her notebook "at home" aloud, she makes how she answered the textbook's exercise available for the teacher. The practice of spelling-aloud opens an interactional moment and space to check the relevant spelling of the verb the student began to learn at home by writing it. Spelling the written verb in her notebook aloud makes it possible for her to connect the classroom moment to the moment she first constructed the verb at home, and to reconstruct it under the assessment of the teacher's knowledge. From the teacher's viewpoint, writing on the board opens an interactional moment and space to publicly check the relevance of the student's answers and to share the relevant written form of the verb to be learnt.

The students' reading aloud of each letter of the verb, and the teacher's writing on the board are two modes of participation coordinated in a sequence of turns in which the teacher answers by writing the students' reading on the board. It is within this sequential and multimodal organization that they share the task of reconstructing bits of the foreign language being learnt.

7.2   Creating a Visual Resource for Explaining a Grammatical and a Reading Rule

The following extract shows another possibility offered by the implementation of the textbook in the classroom: the possibility of producing unplanned grammatical explanations when the students face a specific problem. The textbook-as-situated-action implies that grammatical reconstructions of the target language are produced among the participants as a response to a problem that appeared during the accomplishment of a task.

In the following extract, after the identification of a reading problem, the teacher relies on the written resources on the whiteboard to construct and share a grammatical/reading rule. The problem emerged during the correction of the following sentence:

"*Les français (sortir) ----- souvent le samedi soir*", and the correct answer:
"*Les français sortent souvent le samedi soir*"
"*The French often (to go out > go out) on Saturday night*".

Just before the next extract, the teacher identifies a problematic reading (i.e. the reading of "ent" at the end of "sortent") making it relevant for her to open a sequence of correction (see Extract 1).

7.2.1   Initiating the Construction of the Grammatical Rule

The identification of the reading problem offers a relevant sequential position to formulate a grammatical-reading rule, allowing the students to identify a morphological position (the verb termination) in which the same ambiguous sequence of letters ("ent") always corresponds to the same reading. In so doing, the teacher finely coordinates talk, gesture and writing. The students on their side visually follow her multimodal turn and interestingly, one of them anticipates and co-formulates the rule therefore manifesting that she is learning it. At the beginning of the extract, the teacher is referring to the sentence "*Les français sortent souvent le samedi soir*" (translation above) focusing on the verb "*sortent*" (Extract 4a).

In the first part of the extract, the teacher asks the students to find the grammatical subject of the problematic verb (l.1). As she obtains an answer in Japanese, she asks for the translation in French (l.5) and after receiving it, she asks to which grammatical pronoun this subject corresponds (l. 10). Through these questions, she transforms the single case of the particular sentence into a grammatical class of phenomenon, projecting the production of an explanation that will be relevant not only for this single verb but for the whole class. Note that while asking her third question, she projects the action of writing on the board by starting to take her pen. However, in the absence of immediate response from the students (pause of 0.5 s, l.10), she suspends her movement to specify her question by recalling the whole paradigm of the French pronouns (l.11). Here, from the teacher's perspective, the possibility of pursuing the action of writing, and of constructing the grammatical rule, is dependent upon the student's possibility to answer.

She obtains the correct answer (l.13) after 1.4 s (l.12), and while starting again the action of writing by taking the pen, she specifies the pronoun among the whole paradigm (third person plural, l.14). The relevant pronoun having been selected by one student, she writes it in front of the verb (im.2).

```
 1 TEA    unn\ (0.7) $kono bunsho no shugo ha nan desu ka/
          yes (0.7)  $this phrase      subject   what is
   pr                $points twd the written verb 'sortent' and keep hand in
          position

 2        (1.3)
 3 IKI    furansu°jin°
          french people
 4        (0.4)

 5 TEA    unn furansugo de iu to/
          yes if you say it in french/
 6        (0.7)

 7 ET5    [le(s) français
           the french
 8 ???    [les franç[ais
 9 TEA            [unn\ les/ français\ (0.4)

10        $ninnshou de iu to/      $ (0.5)
           if you say the personal pronouns
   te     $initiates taking a pen$

11        £itsumo no je\ tu\ il elle\ nous\ vous\ ils elles\ de iu to/  £
          as usual  i\  you\ he she\  we\ you\  they they\ if you say/
   te     £turns back toward classroom                               £
12        (1.4)

13 ???    ils
14 TEA    £ ils desu (yo) ne/  £  unn\ ils (1.0) s no tsuku ils £
          yes it's they          yes  ils       with s
   te     £ turns toward board £  takes pen and opens it         £

15 IKI    *un
   ik     *nods in assertion---->
   te     (1.7)
   te     writes «ils» on the board im.2
```
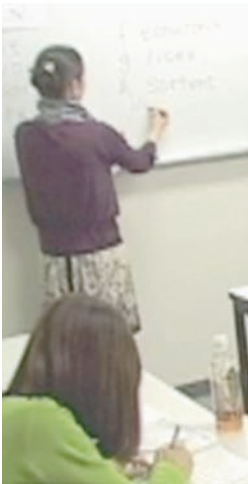

2 (the teacher writes "ils" in front of "sortent")

Extract 4a Formulating a grammatical rule

7.2.2　Multimodally Co-constructing a Reading-Rule

The following extract shows how the teacher coordinates talk and gestures toward the written verb on the board to explain the rule and how one student relies on this multimodal description to co-formulate the grammatical rule, manifesting that she learnt it (Extract 4b).

```
16 TEA    %ils no fukusuu kei no toki no% (0.5)
               in the case of the plural form of ils
     te   %circles ils wth finger im.3   % moves finger toward verb
     ik   nods--->

17 TEA    £doushi no katsuyou       £* no saigo no                  *
               the verb conjugation       the end of
     te   £ im.4 underlines radical£* underlines termination im.5*

18        $         (1.7)                                           $
     te   $points one by one 'e','n','t' im.6 then gazes toward classr $
```



```
19 IKI    °yomanai° yomanai
               is not pronounced is not pronounced
     ik   head's negative movement im.B
```


B (Iki saying "yomanai")

Extract 4b　Multimodal correction of the grammatical rule

This sequence of co-construction of the grammatical rule is produced in Japanese, with a large number of pointing gestures. From the teacher's viewpoint, to construct the grammatical rule implies the construction of a *new perception* (Nishizaka 2006) of the verb written on the board. The teacher first segments the written sentence by delimiting spaces within it through pointing gestures (ll.16–17). In coordination with the segmentation of the written elements, she categorises them through talk. Her multimodal description follows the French left to right reading direction: The teacher gesturally distinguishes three zones in the written sentence. By circling the pronoun (l.16, im. 3), she creates a spatial point of departure from which the perception of the problematic segment to be read can be (re)constructed. Then, she goes through the verb radical (l.17, im. 4) by underlining it with her index finger and saying '*doushi no katsuyou*' ("verb conjugation"). By this underlining practice, she does not focus on the particular meaning of the written radical but on the fact that this segment is the support of a termination. Finally, she underlines the verb termination with her index finger, once by making noise on the board by pressing her finger on it, and another time by pointing one-by-one to each of the three letters ('e' 'n' 't') of the termination (l.17, images 5,6). It is just at the end of this pointing and as the teacher turns her gaze toward the classroom that Iki completes the turn initiated by the teacher with the negative form 'yomanai' (literally "do not read", l.19, meaning here "do not pronounce", the same formulation is used by the teacher just after this extract). Note that Iki's turn is a self-selection (i.e. she has not been selected by the teacher as is normatively preferred, McHoul 1978) and that her participation to this how-to-read-grammatical-explanation is not part of a planned exercise. Her completion is made possible thanks to the teacher's multimodal work of building a new perception of the written verb, at the intersection between the visual, gestural and verbal resources. By accomplishing a relevant completion of the rule (i.e. the termination "ent" is not pronounced at the end of this type of verb), and participating in its construction, Iki manifests that she learned it.

For the teacher, the written words afford a space in which she can verbally categorize each of the segments she is gesturally delimiting. The written form provides a resource making it possible to isolate and to point out morphological elements of the verb in order to explain its reading. Writing as a resource for producing a grammatical rule has the advantage in the classroom context of providing a visual support that can be manipulated or pointed at. From the student's perspective, the teacher's multimodal construction of the grammatical rule accomplished on the basis of the written verb offers crucial facilities for participating in the construction of the rule and learning it *in situ*. In the last extract, it is at a very specific moment in the visual production of the rule, i.e. when the teacher points at the three letters one-by-one without talking, that the student completes the core element of the rule: the fact that these letters are not pronounced. Finally, writing on the board affords classroom participants crucial visual resources for sharing a common focus of attention, to collaboratively construct a new perception of it and to learn elements of the written foreign language.

8   Conclusion

I have attempted to show that the analysis of classroom interactions in which participants rely on a textbook offers a perspicuous field for understanding the *in situ* articulation between the oral, listening, reading and writing practices, and the role of this articulation in the L2 learning process.

Research on L2 learning in the classroom points the opposition between the planned-tasks constructed previously to actual interaction and situated-action that actually happens in classroom interaction. One cause of the apparent opposition between the planned-tasks and the situated-tasks is that the planned-tasks are available as written materials while the situated-tasks occur through verbal, embodied and unpredictable actions. The paper attempted to show that, rather than being opposed, these entities are articulated in social interaction: tasks-as-a-plan are crucial resources during the temporal, interactional and multimodal accomplishment of task-as-situated-action. From the classroom participants' viewpoint, conceiving tasks-as-a-plan in isolation from their situated implementation makes no sense.

One central aspect of the perspective followed in this paper is the choice – in line with the ethnomethodological program of research (Garfinkel 1967) – to examine the teaching and learning processes as they are coordinated and managed from the participants' viewpoint. The focus on the temporal and multimodal aspects of the classroom interaction derives from this endogenous perspective: when classroom participants engage in teaching/learning a foreign language, which resources do they make relevant for so doing, and how do they use them? This is the question underlying the whole analysis and it is through this standpoint that the paper could bring a contribution to the triple question of how to reconceive the phenomena of language, learning and literacy. Its proposition is to tackle these phenomena as they are organized and accomplished *in situ* by real participants engaged in naturally-occurring-interactions (i.e. interactions which are not generated by the researcher in experimental settings, see Heritage and Atkinson 1984). The reason for so doing is not only that the data available in such perspective are of unpredictable richness and complexity. The main reason is that by analyzing finely this type of data, the researcher can understand the recurrent and systematic methods through which, in any specific setting, human coordinate and organize their interactions. In consequence, regarding the specific setting examined in this paper, language, learning and literacy need to be respecified under two dimensions: (i) temporality, and (ii) multimodality.

(i) Language, learning and literacy are temporal: these phenomena emerge reflexively within the unfolding of social interaction. As shown in the extracts, language, learning and literacy correspond to sequences of actions which are systematically and methodically initiated, responded to, evaluated. The units of these sequences are turns of action having the property of projecting something coming next. Outside their temporal, and more specifically *interactional* dimension, language, learning and literacy are only abstract and inert entities.

(ii) Language, learning and literacy are both multimodal phenomena. They are pro-
     duced by the participants through complex combinations of resources. Language
     is produced through talk and writing practices in coordination with whole body
     postures and movements in the classroom space.

Literacy practices (reading and writing) are embedded within embodied and inter-
actional actions, as for instance when the teacher engages in writing only after a
specific verbal action has been completed by the students.

   Learning – if we accept the definition proposed in the introduction, that is: learn-
ing is a *process* occurring in social interaction, it is accountable or publicly mani-
fested among the participants, and it implies the reconstruction of what is learnt – is
organized reflexively with the multimodal reconstruction of bits of the learnt
language.

   Furthermore, the analysis of the interactional and multimodal organization of the
classroom practices shows the reflexivity between learning and the reconstruction
of bits of the L2. In other words, understanding learning a foreign language in
classroom interaction implies the examination of the moment-by-moment interaction
among the students and the teacher and their reading and writing practices.

   Lastly, the learning process examined here is *institutional*. Indeed, it is the use of
a textbook for organising the institutional learning of a L2 that leads participants to
rely on practices of reading-aloud, writing on the board, spelling, constructing
grammatical rules. Through these practices they reflexively accomplish the
institutional dimension of their interaction: an expectancy linked to the institutional
context is the fact that participants constitute the foreign language as an object to be
read, repeated, written, described, rather than as a resource to accomplish an activity,
as in everyday life occasions or less formal situations (in which learning can also
take place). In the institutional situation of classroom, the written form affords a
resource to materialize and make visible bits of that language, opening the possibility
to describe and reconstruct it, and therefore to learn it.

   The goal of this paper was not to proffer prescriptive statements about the rele-
vance of using writing resources for pedagogical purposes, but rather to observe
how the institutional context of classroom of *naturally-occurring-interactions*
makes it relevant for the teacher and for the students to orient toward a very specific
articulation between the reading and writing practices in order to produce and learn
bits of the targeted language.

Conventions of Transcription
– Japanese is transcribed by relying on the *romaji* system.

In this paper I rely on the following conventions for transcribing talk (Mondada
2001–2014; Mondada and Svinhufvud 2016):

– **"["** overlapping:
– **"="** latching, i.e. the absence of micro-pause between two turns.
– "(0.n)" timed pauses (in tenth of second, measured with Audacity).
– **"°"** indicates a low voice volume

Conventions for annotating multimodality:

"∗∗ Gestures and descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between two iden-
tical symbols (…) and synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk.
∗---> The action described continues across subsequent lines
---->∗ until the same symbol is reached." (Mondada 2001–2014:1)

If an image (im.n) is included in the transcript, the screen shot is done at the precise
moment following the symbol "∗" or "$" in the line of talk. The screen shot shows
the movement, gesture or gaze as it becomes visible at that specific moment.

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"No, I'm Not Reading": How Two Language Learners Enact Their Investments by Crossing and Blurring the Boundaries of Literacy and Orality

Johanna Ennser-Kananen

Abstract This chapter makes an argument for bridging the gap between Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Literacy Studies from the perspective of so-called transmodalities, i.e. ways of using language that merge and blur the modalities of writing, speaking, listening, and reading. This argument is based on data from a qualitative case study that describes the transmodal practices of two trilingual high school students in a German classroom in the Midwestern US. More precisely, the study investigated how the high school students Jana and Karina (both pseudonyms), users of English, Latvian, and German, engaged in activities that mixed and blurred oral and literacy modalities in their German classroom. In addition, their multiple investments as language learners were examined. Findings showed that it was common for the two students to transgress and blur the boundaries of modalities, especially between writing and oral modes ("writing-speaking"). This helped them enact and display their investment in swift and accurate task completion as part of their good student identities, but could at times also threaten these investments. Transmodalities further played an important role in students' navigating of their investments in their social standing and peer relationships.

Keywords Modalities · Transmodalities · Investment · Language learning · Foreign language · High school · Qualitative case study

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1   Introduction

The divide between Second Language Acquisition and Literacy Studies, and especially the resulting absence of reading and writing instruction in second and foreign language classrooms, has been commented on (Harklau 2002). This chapter makes an argument for bridging the gap between Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Literacy Studies, specifically regarding the area of second language (L2) literacy, from the perspective of so-called transmodalities. These are ways of using language that merge and blur the modalities of writing, speaking, listening, and reading. Although it is widely accepted knowledge in the areas of literacy and L2 education, that modalities occur together and in integrated ways (e.g., Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Gibbons 2002; Rowsell and Walsh 2011), a blurring of modalities, a transmodal approach, has not been proposed yet. An examination of this blurring of modalities will provide an argument for reconceptualizing the ways in which we think about the orality and literacy in second language contexts.

The case study this chapter reports on described the transmodal practices of two trilingual high school students in a German classroom in the Midwestern US. More precisely, it asked how the twin sisters Jana and Karina (both pseudonyms), users of English, Latvian, and German, engaged in activities that mixed and blurred oral and written modalities in their German classroom. In addition to their transmodal discourses, their multiple investments as language learners are examined.

In this study, I approached language, literacy, and learning from a postmodern, post-structural perspective (see for example Norton and Toohey 2011; Pavlenko 2002). Such a view operates on the understanding that languages, literacies, and learning are contextual processes that change, shift, and develop throughout time and space. Rather than viewing them as monolithic, fixed, or given, and rather than framing them in categories of accuracy and inaccuracy, my intention is to understand how these practices are constructed in interaction between individuals and between individuals and their environment and what role they play in these contexts. For instance, rather than analyzing the students' speech as corresponding or not corresponding to grammatical rules, I describe the socio-cultural purposes or possibilities of their linguistic practices as response to and part of instructional activities during German lessons. Put differently, languages, literacies, and learning are viewed as social practices that shape and are shaped by the particular contexts in which they occur.

2   Intersections of Orality and Literacy

The study of intersections of orality and literacy spans many decades, contexts, and disciplines (see Bigelow and Watson 2013, Gee 1986, 2015 for overviews.). As scholars of applied linguistics and second language education, Bigelow and Watson (2013) have emphasized the importance of recognizing the two areas of literacy and

SLA with its distinctive histories as possible spaces for critical, decolonizing peda-
gogies. Watson's (2010) critical view of hegemonic Western literacy standards has
helped put the education of students with low/interrupted formal education (SLIFE)
on the radar of SLA as well as literacy scholars and frame it as a matter of urgency
and equity. This work illustrates the importance of recognizing the distinct histories
of oral and written scholarly and educational traditions while at the same time
bringing them together for the benefit of learners.

Within literacy studies, most studies at the intersection of orality and literacy
stem from a line of scholarship that examines the relationship between writing and
speech and has been referred to as "cross-modality research" (Weissberg 2005,
p. 93, emphasis removed). It is defined as "any study of language in use in which the
researcher investigates a point of juncture where speech and writing intersect and
interrelate" (p. 94). Although the vantage point of this line of work is the writing
process, to which speech production is secondary, it underlines the importance of
orality and provides an argument for the integration of modalities. More recently,
Gee (2015), with reference to work by Scribner and Cole (1981), rejected the notion
that literacy (reading and writing), is associated with higher-order cognitive think-
ing. Instead, he points at the very specific socialization that happens through formal
literacy education that tends to be privileged in modern Western societies but has
little value outside of these cultural contexts. Gee proposes to approach language
and literacy as social practices that shape and are shaped by particular values and
world views.

With the manifesto of the New London Group (1996), language and literacy
education were brought together in the common goal of integrating multiliteracies
in classrooms and curricula. Moving away from an understanding of literacy as
decontextualized, stable, and limited to print, the group described multiliteracies as
dynamic, multimodal (Kress 2010) social and cultural practices of meaning making
that include "linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, and spatial meaning, and multimodal
interplay" (Lotherington and Jenson 2011, p. 230), to which the important compo-
nent of participation (Web 2.0) was later added. This turn in the field brought about
epistemological and methodological considerations and changes, for example, Kern
and Schultz's (2005) reconceptualization of the epistemological foundations of
"language", "learning", and "text" with an emphasis on context, meaning, and iden-
tities. Interestingly, Kern and Schultz did not include a revision of individual modal-
ities in this process. Hornberger's (2003) continua of biliteracy represent another
important move towards a more dynamic view of literacy and bilingualism, but,
again, although the development of individual modalities is conceptualized on a
continuum, they are not fundamentally reframed. Instead, key figures of the New
London Group have argued for a (continued) separation of written and oral modali-
ties: In their foundational work, Cope and Kalantzis (2009) emphasized the wide
range of modalities (written, oral, visual, audio, tactile, gestural, etc.) that are rec-
ognized and used, often simultaneously, in multiliterate environments. Yet, they
defined written and oral modalities as "fundamentally different" (p. 178) and as
encapsulating different meanings. The co-occurence of modalities that is commonly
described and attributed to purposes of meaning-making has also been foregrounded

in screen-dominated environments. For instance, Rowsell and Walsh (2011) ana-lyzed how users of digital media practise "a merging and synchronising of text, images, sound and movement" (p. 59) when reading or writing. Yet again, although the authors reframed the processes of reading and writing as multimodal, the con-cepts of the individual modalities remained intact. Complementing these existing academic discourses of multiliteracies, the focus of this chapter is in the blurring and merging of modalities in an off-screen context that does not necessarily view them as separate.

In the absence of cross-modality research outside of the field of literacy and the general hesitation of addressing multimodalities in L2 education, it seems critical to provide studies that look closely at the way language learners engage in oral and written modalities. To begin to fill this gap, the present study is situated in a quite different context than most of the cited work above, namely foreign language edu-cation[1] in the US. The two featured focal students come have high proficiency in two languages, Latvian and English. Although Latvian remains the dominant lan-guage of their parents, the twin sisters Jana and Karina (both pseudonyms) use mostly English in their daily lives. They received all of their formal schooling in English in the US. As they learn their third language, German, in the fairly tradi-tional context of a US high school foreign language program, they engage in oral and written classroom activities, which are the main focus of this chapter.

3   Dynamic and Multiple Learner Investments

The literature on investment has helped shed light on the different and fluctuating ways in which learners engage in a language learning experience. Already in the early 1990s (e.g. Norton Peirce 1995), Bonny Norton called for power- and context-sensitive conceptualizations of social identity and introduced the concept of invest-ment, which "offers a way to understand learners' variable desires to engage in social interaction and community practices" and their "socially and historically con-structed relationship to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton 2013, p. 6). This concept views language learners as histori-cal, multidimensional beings with "a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton Peirce 1995, p. 9), who negotiate their investments with their social envi-ronment based on their aspirations and expectations:

> 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 in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. (Norton 2013, p. 6)

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[1] Although, in the US, "world language education" and "modern language education" are becom-ing common alternatives, foreign language education is still used to refer to programs that offer language courses for non-L1-users, for example in Spanish, French, German, Japanese, and Mandarin. It is also still in the name of the biggest professional organization of the field, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL).

Such a process of negotiating investment and thereby a sense of self is inherently permeated by power dynamics in so far as learners are seeking entry into speech communities and "powerful social networks that give [them] the opportunity to speak" (Norton Peirce 1995, p. 13). Resources and capital learners hope or expect to acquire are sometimes described as becoming part of an "imagined community" (Norton and Toohey 2011), a concept Norton adapted from Anderson to refer to social groups that individuals strive to get access to through target language proficiency. Pittaway (2004) summarizes this economically inspired notion: "Learners must acquire capital that they can redeem for a profitable return. In the case of language learning, the return can be acceptance into an L2-medium community of practice." (Pittaway 2004, p. 204) These dynamics have also been found to apply to foreign language learners (Kinginger 2004).

Already in Norton's original investment work it becomes clear that language learners nurture multiple and dynamic investments throughout their language learning trajectories. Her participants, five migrant women in Canada from Poland, Vietnam, former Czechoslovakia, and Peru, were using English outside of the course with different levels of frequency and different expectations and outcomes, depending, for example on their familial situation, work environment, and social positioning. Their multiple investments were contingent on their communicative and social opportunities, needs, and goals.

Norton (2013) points to several studies that have used an investment framework. Many of these studies illustrate not only the multiple and dynamic investments of language learners, but also the various aspects of a learning experience learners are invested in. For example, participants in Gao et al.'s (2008) ethnographic study of an English Club at a Hong Kong university were highly invested in community-building aspects of the of the course as well as in discussing "sensitive topics" (p. 23) and furthering their success and professional opportunities. Acquiring English was usually (not more than) a means to this end, and one of the participants even stated that "[l]earning English is not [her] interest" (p. 17). This study not only illustrates the potential coexistence and dynamic nature of different types of investments, it also shows the potential investments in parts of the learning process that go beyond the actual course.

Similarly, Gu and Maley (2008) reported from their work with four Chinese students that their investment into learning English reached beyond the linguistic endeavor, for example as investments into constructing legitimate (professional) identities, furthering their societies, moving up socially, and integrating in the community. Learners were constantly balancing these investments, for example when they were considering English learning goals with freetime activities with the priority "to be fun and cool" (p. 145). This study illustrates how the presence of multiple investments can make commitment to language learning seem fleeting or partial.

Arkoudis and Love's (2008) study with eight international students in a Chinese secondary school in Australia can be read as evidence for how investment surfaces in a Specialists Math class. One interesting finding was that some participants were highly invested in what they defined as math skills (as part of their goal to land a university position), rather than in the linguistic or social aspects of their math class,

which their teacher viewed as lack of motivation and ability. Arkoudis and Love remind us that the students' complex and dynamic investments may clash with teachers' expectations and interpretations of students' actions.

Such a clash also becomes evident in Potowski's (2007) study of Spanish output in a dual immersion classroom, which suggests a relationship between students' language use and their various investments such as "being perceived as a well-behaved good student or as popular and funny, […and] in receiving praise at home and at school for their Spanish proficiency" (p. 95). Potowski concludes that students' identity investments and target language investments do not necessarily align, and the former can even be detrimental to the latter.

Byrd-Clark (2008) echoes and expands on these ideas. Finding contradictory and shifting investment in her 2-year ethnographic study with multilingual, multicultural youth in a French teacher education program in Canada, she proposed a multi-dimensional investment framework that moves away from asking "[W]hat is a the learners' investment in the target language"? (p. 9) towards questions about "the varied degree(s) to which an individual invests in and engages with social categories, discourses, and representations of languages, cultures, and language learning in relation to certain ways of being … at different moments through different interactions" (p. 9). Such a more complex and more encompassing concept of investment is necessary if we acknowledge the multiple and ever-shifting nature of investment.

Also, Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) study with four Cambodian women in an adult ESL (English as a second language) program, and Kinginger's (2004) investigation of "Alice", a Canadian learner of French underline the ever-changing nature of different identities and investments and their important role for second and foreign language learning.

As this brief literature survey has shown, language learners can be invested in many parts and aspects of a learning experience. In other words, rather than thinking about learners as "invested" versus "uninvested", we have to consider language learners' multiple displays of investment at different times for different aspects of and beyond the language learning process. Since investment is discursively constructed, negotiated, and enacted, it can be expressed through a multitude of linguistic practices and modalities. Especially when investment occurs in different forms and to varying degrees, like in classrooms where multiple interests and relationships are negotiated, it is important to consider new ways of noticing constructions, negotiations, and enactments of investment, for instance through interactive practices that mix or blur multiple modalities. Although investment has become an established concept that has been applied across contexts, research that investigates language use patterns in connection with investment, like Potowski's, is scarce. No studies to date have analyzed the interaction of transmodal language use and learner investment, a gap that might have left many expressions of investment unnoticed and unrecognized. In order to understand language learners' investments as well as their transmodal language use more fully, this study begins to fill this gap. It is guided by the following research questions:

- How do two multilingual high school learners of German use L2 oral and written modalities in their classroom interaction?
- Which investments do these practices help them enact/foreground in this context?

4 Context, Data Collection, and Analysis

4.1 Clearwater High School

At the time of investigation, Clearwater High School (a pseudonym) served a population of 1183 students, 60 of whom were taking German, 48 of whom spoke non-English first languages, and 42 of whom were registered English language learners (ELLs). With 7 Native American, 89 Asian, 52 Black, 50 Hispanic, and 985 white students, the school population was predominantly white. The world language department of Clearwater High School offered classes in Spanish, Mandarin, American Sign Language, and German.

Two German teachers filled 1.5 positions, of whom Frau Zeller (a pseudonym) was the older, more experienced one. After teaching ESL for 10 years, she was in her fifth year of teaching German at Clearwater High and Middle School. She had first learned German in high school herself, participated in an immersion camp in her youth, and studied German in the US, Austria, and Germany. After receiving her licensure for teaching ESL and German, she worked as an ESL teacher first and was later offered a job as German teacher at Clearwater High School. About her current position, Frau Zeller said "Every year has been very different. I have a completely new job every year, so I feel like a first-year teacher for the fifth time in a row." She also admitted that it her biggest challenge remained "convincing people that it [learning German] is worthwhile" (Interview, December 11, 2012).

Frau Zeller's classroom consisted of 34 students of German 3 and 4, which means that students had learned German for 3 or 4 years. The 12 boys and 22 girls gathered every school day at 7:30 am in a classroom that was used by German and American Sign Language teachers. The two focal students, Jana and Karin (both pseudonyms) had been learning German with Frau Zeller since middle school. The 15-year-old twin sisters were freshmen at Clearwater High School and started taking German as their foreign language elective requirement in 6th grade. As second-generation immigrants, they spoke Latvian at home and with almost all of their relatives and were part of a small local Latvian community, which, according to them, was dying out. While on the surface the sisters seemed rather reserved, when doing partner work together, they were not too shy to express their opinions very directly and emphatically.

4.2   Data Collection and Analysis

This investigation was designed as a case study with two focal students, Jana and Karina, at its heart. As Yin (2009) stresses, "[t]he case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion" (p. 18). Taking this advice to heart, I collected data consisting of classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, and video recordings. I conducted participant observations of German classes, some other subjects (e.g., Psychology, History, and Math), and breaks for 1–5 h per day two to five times a week throughout one semester. This equals an amount of about 145 observed hours. I interviewed Jana and Karina twice throughout the semester and held two group interviews with both of them. As the data presented here is part of a larger study, I also interviewed 30 of the 32 other students in the German classroom, as well as the German teacher. Interviews were semi-structured and open-ended, and questions focused on the participants' language learning experiences, their being and becoming multilingual, and their use of different languages, especially in their school and classroom context. Video recordings had an important role in the data collection process, as they allowed me to gain a detailed and in-depth understanding of the focal students' discourses and capture data from different points in the classroom that I would otherwise have missed. Two or three cameras were located in the room during German lessons. Within a few days, students started to play with them, film or "interview" their classmates, provide impromptu interpretations of goings-on and document their written or oral work. To some degree, the recordings replaced a collection of artifacts and documents, because students and I were frequently filming notes, posters, the board, worksheets, and other classroom materials. Classroom (inter)actions were recorded two to five times a week for about 1 h per day during German classes and breaks throughout one semester. This equals about 38 h of recordings, with about twice as much footage due to multiple camera use.

I produced fieldnotes after every observed lesson and synthesized them in 38 field logs, each of which consisted of a summary of the main activities and observations, an analytic memo, and a reflexive memo.

My analysis of interviews and classroom recordings mostly focused on content and themes and therefore lent itself to a fairly broad way of transcribing. Initially, fieldnotes and interview transcripts were analyzed inductively. More precisely, I engaged in a process of open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1997) for about 2 weeks' worth of data. I used in vivo codes (Strauss and Corbin 1997), which were based on participants' language, as well as my own code names. To facilitate the process, I entered the data into the Internet-based software *Dedoose*, which allowed me to code transcripts but also raw video footage, add memos to any part of my data, and see and apply codes across data sources. After this first round of coding, I ended up with 26 types of codes, each with two to six sub-categories, which I used for further data analysis. Throughout the process, several codes were changed, merged, dropped, and created, as they became more focused and I made a more conscious effort to tie them back to my research questions and theory. In other words, my data

analysis became more deductive (Patton 2002) and I began to use 14 categories of codes more consistently and strategically throughout the process. I identified recurring patterns in the data that spoke to the students' literacy and language use and molded them into more abstract themes in response to my research questions.

5 Findings and Discussion

Findings from this study showed that it was common for the focal students to transgress the boundaries of modalities, especially between writing and speech ("writing-speaking"). Their transmodal interaction helped them enact and display their investment in swift and accurate task completion as part of their good student identities, but could at times also threaten these investments. Transmodality further played an important role in students' navigating of their investments in their social standing and peer relationships.

5.1 Writing-Speaking to Get Things Done

To begin with, writing-speaking was the most common transmodality in Jana and Karina's interaction. In almost every lesson, the students were asked to engage in partner activities that involved producing some written output, either as short text, phrases, or as individual words. The following extracts stems from an activity during which the students were shown a picture of a car and a tramway standing in the middle of a busy crossroad. Working in pairs, their task was to write down as many German sentences as possible that describe this picture. Jana and Karina collaborated on this activity at a very high pace and with little to no negotiation or disruption. The following field note describes their working style:

> While most students are still sitting and slowly getting together in groups, Karina has already moved next to her sister. They exchange a friendly greeting/nod and Jana tears a page out of a notebook to write on. Frau [Zeller] is trying to pair up some students whose assigned partners are absent, but she meets resistance ("I'm not working with him."). It's quite loud, so I try to move closer to Jana and Karina's table. The video camera is sideways on their desk, facing Karina's hands and piece of paper. I am surprised to see that they already have one sentence written down on their paper. Most of their classmates have not started yet.
> (Fieldnotes, October 15, 2012)

The following extract illustrates the collaborative construction of their first sentence.

Extract 1: Co-constructing a Sentence

1. K: Das Auto
2. J: Okay.
3. K: Das Auto, uhm, how do you say faster than?

4. J: The train
5. K: Uhm
6. [Teacher speaks loudly.]
7. K: Schneller als die
8. J: Die train, I don't know how to say train.
9. K: [starts writing, speaks as she writes] Kannst das Auto schneller
10. J: Als
11. K: Als die train [both laugh loudly, K keeps writing]
12. J: Fahren
13. K: Fahren [finishes writing the sentence "Kannst das Auto schneller als die train
14. fahren?"]

(Classroom recording, October 15, 2012)

Karina started the process of constructing their first sentence by offering the subject "das Auto" in line 1, which was immediately accepted by Jana. Again, Karina makes a suggestion in English for how to continue (line 3), and Jana confirms it by building on to it (line 4) before Karina even translates it into German. Jana can't remember the word for "train" (line 8) but adds the (incorrect) German article to the noun (line 8), and the girls decide a little later, without debate, but obviously amused (line 11), to use the English word. In line 9, Karina adds the modal verb "kannst" in the beginning of the sentence. Finally, Jana completes the sentence with the infinitive "fahren" (line 12). Karina begins to write halfway through this exchange (line 9), once she has identified the first word.

What is remarkable about this extract are the simultaneousness and correspondence of oral and written modalities: What is spoken and what is written down is almost entirely identical, negotiation for form and meaning is almost completely absent with the exception of "Okay" (line 2), "How do you say faster than?" (line 3), and "I don't know how to say train" (line 8). This overlap makes it difficult to disentangle the writing from the speaking process, which is in contrast to Cope and Kalantzis' (2009) notion of written and oral modalities being separate and distinct. On the one hand, one might argue that this episode shows a writing process, to which oral output is secondary as it is structured and shaped by the goal of writing a sentence. This goal prompts most oral output, specifically in lines 9–14, and defines the end of the episode. On the other hand, this could be viewed as an episode of oral production around a task, where students interact, laugh, coconstruct language, comment, even if briefly, on the process, and complete each other's utterances, while also putting a sentence down on paper in the end. However, none of these two perspectives would do the process justice or recognize the modalities in their interwovenness. The process Jana and Karina engage in is fundamentally different from what literature on cross-modality or mixed modalities describes. Conceptions of modalities, whereby speech moves (Weissberg 2005) or instructional routines (Cumming 1992) scaffold the writing process or where oral strategies maybe be employed in the production of written texts (Tannen 1980) do not apply when the boundaries between modalities are blurred. Jana and Karina's interaction also goes beyond a view of multimodality that insists on the distinctness of writing and reading (Cope and Kalantzis 2009). Rather than merely occurring at the same time, writing and speaking are inseparably blended into one process and, as

we will see more clearly in the following examples, one informs the other. In short, the extract above is a first piece of evidence that students might not only switch between but merge oral and written modalities.

From an investment perspective, Jana and Karina's dedication to completing the task is noteworthy, especially because it stands in contrast with many of their peers. Quick pace, absence of negotiation, and focus on the task itself were typical characteristics of their in-class interaction. From this first glimpse at the data, the sisters can be described as displaying high investment in class activities and not only complying with the teacher's orders but even carrying them out promptly and swiftly. In this sense, their investment differed from participants in prior studies who strived for professional goals, societal advancement, or social belonging and integration (Gu and Maley 2008, Kinginger 2004, Norton 2013, Skilton-Sylvester 2002) which sometimes clashed with the teachers' expectations (Arkoudis and Love 2008, Potowski 2007). The following sections will complicate this initial analysis of Jana's and Karina's investment.

5.2 Writing-Speaking as Opportunity and Challenge

As the most commonly occurring transmodality, writing-speaking helped Jana and Karina notice errors in their target language output. The following extract is a continuation of extract 1. Jana and Karina are still working on constructing questions in response to a picture prompt.

Extract 2: Noticing Errors

1. J: Uhm
2. K: Uhm, warum, warum ist
3. J: Die Auto, das Auto nicht fahren
4. K: Yeah, die Auto.
5. [K writes "Warum ist die Auto nicht fahren?"]
6. J: Das Auto
7. K: Uhm, we can say, wie viele Minute hast die Auto
8. J: Yeah.
9. [K writes "Wie viele Minute hast die Auto?"]
10. J: Das Auto, uhm, warum, uhm, we have already
11. K: Wo [writes "Wo"]
12. J: Wo ist das
13. K: Was, wo ist das.
14. J: Or wo hast das passiert.
15. K: Uh-huh. [writes "Wo hast das passiert?"] Uhm, wohin gehst die Auto [reads her
16. notes and calls out] Oh nein! [Hectically erases the wrong two wrong articles "die"
17. in her notebook.]
18. J: What? [leans over to read Karina's notes] What is the, where is the car? Das
19. Auto.
20. K: I know, I didn't hear you. [replaces Artikel "die" with "das" and writes "Wohin
21. gehst das Auto."]
22. J: Mhm.
23. K [looking at notes]: Think it's gehst, gehst.

24. J: [looking at notes, pointing at verb]: Geht?
25. K [drops pen]: Uhm, I don't like this [leans back, takes camera and starts to film
26. her surroundings]. I'm not filming you, don't worry.

(Classroom recording, October 15, 2012)

What is noteworthy here is the discussions around the article of the German word "Auto" (car). Although Karina uses the correct one (das) earlier (first extract, line 1), she switches to "die" in this extract. Jana proceeds to correct Karina twice (lines 6 and 10 and reaffirming her correction in line 17) but Karina does not correct until line 15. In the subsequent lines, Jana corrects Karina's grammar, specifically the verb form of gehen once more with a recast question. After these two corrections, Karina stops writing (line 25), expresses her dislike of the situation, and engages in other activities (filming).

In situations like this, the combination of writing and speaking provided the possibilities for corrective feedback and self-correction. Despite Jana's oral feedback, Karina only noticed her error when she began to write, potentially primed by Jana's earlier corrections. The discrepancy between the oral corrective feedback and the written text may have been what caused her to self-correct. Similarly, in the second instance (line 24), Jana orally corrects Karina by pointing at her notes and reading out the incorrect form with rising intonation. This type of question is a common corrective feedback move, a recast (with rising intonation), whose effectiveness has been controversial (Mackey and Philp 1998). As in this case, recasts may help language learners notice their errors and prompt them to self-correct (Nicholas et al. 2001). Although L2 writing has been considered as potentially valuable for second language learning (Williams 2012), transmodalities have not. Nevertheless, from an SLA perspective, these data show that the process of writing-speaking supported opportunities for noticing and error correction in the context of the sisters' interaction.

In terms of Jana's and Karina's investments, the extract illustrates the importance of producing grammatically correct German for the young women. Especially Karina expressed frustration verbally and through her actions (disengaging from the task) after her German output was identified as incorrect for the second time. Karina expressed frustration in similar situations throughout the time of data collection, for example only a few turns later:

Extract 3: "I Feel Stupid"

1. K: [...] Uh, was ist der sign saying. Sign?
2. J: Like what does the sign say? Was ist das?
3. K: Yeah what is the sign for?
4. J [quietly]: Was, was. [more loudly] You can say was bedeutet.
5. K: [writes "Was bedeutet"] bedeutet das [writes "das"].
6. J: How do you say sign?
7. K: Das sign, I feel like we should have learned that, das sign.
8. J [looks it up in dictionary]: Schild, oh.
9. K: Oh wow, see, this happens to me a lot.
10. J: [reading in the dictionary] das Schild
11. K: Ja, it's das Schild, I knew it, I knew it. [writes "Schild"]
12. J: I think we're running out of questions.

13. K: There's only so much you can ask. I want to film [takes camera], I'm just gonna
14. film where Frau B goes.
15. J: We have like seven, so.
16. T [approaches their desk]: Ihr habt schon viele Fragen.
17. J: Oh, wie sagt man train auf Deutsch?
18. T: Zug.
19. K: Oh wow.
20. T: Aber das ist die Straßenbahn.
21. J: Oh okay.
22. K: Wow, I feel stupid. Alright then, Straßenbahn [writes Strabenbahn], it sounds
23. cooler to me.
24. T: [to the whole class] Okay, stop.

(Classroom recording, October 15, 2012)

Karina's frustration becomes evident in lines 7, 9, 11, 19, and 22. Given that, in each case, her expression of frustration is triggered by not remembering a specific vocabulary item (Schild, Zug, Straßenbahn) or a grammatical error (see previous extract, lines 16ff.) it seems that something else is at stake here. Prior literature on students' identities and positioning can help us understand Karina's frustration more deeply. (Good) student identities have been found to be flexible and shifting over time, co-constructed by teachers and students, and dependent on local school and classroom cultures (Bartlett 2007; Wortham 2004a). For instance, Wortham's work (2003, 2004a, b, 2009) theorizes students' classroom interactions within the framework of (good) student identities and describes how students use and adapt locally available and commonly known identity models ("sociohistorical models"), curricula, and discourses to build those identities. The moments of frustration we witness in the excerpts above, can be understood as part of a larger trajectory during which Karina, with her response to teacher-driven activities (and rather normative views of language), positions herself as a good student. In her trajectory of building her student identity, transmodal writing-speaking both supported and impeded Karina's investments by enabling her (and her sister) to work at a high pace on the one hand but also making Karina aware of mistakes and causing frustration and disengagement on the other hand.

Similar to good student identities, good language learner (GLL) identities were a focus of Pomerantz' (2008) study on language ideologies and academic identities of US college students in an advanced Spanish course. The students expressed ideologies of Spanish as a monolithic and fixed unit and argued to maximize the use of Spanish in the classroom, even to a degree of Spanish monolingualism. Just like in Karina's case, an analysis of the classroom discourse in Pomerantz' study revealed that using English or not knowing a Spanish word be a serious threat to one's GLL identity and result in being identified as incompetent and illegitimate Spanish speaker.

Further evidence for Karina trying to position herself as a good student comes from interview data.

Extract 4: "They don't Really Care"

JEK: If anything was possible and you could change anything, like, you could do magic, what would you change about your German class?

K: Uhm, well, like, for I think, like, for like, if there is everybody, like, actually wants to learn or it's actually a majority then it's actually a fun class but -

JEK: Mhm.

K: You learn a lot, but, like, sometime it doesn't really, like, there is just, like, some people just take it just to get their language requirements and they don't really care about German so, uhm, yeah.

(Interview with Karina, November 15, 2012)

In this interview extract, Karina used the interview setting as an opportunity to position herself in contrast to her peers as someone who is highly invested in learning German, someone who "wants to learn" and "cares about German". This further supports the notion that she was invested in constructing herself as a good student, a process that she saw jeopardized by grammatical or lexical gaps, which, in turn, explains the intensity and repeated occurrences of her expressed disappointment and disengagement.

The extract is also of interest because it illustrates once more the simultaneous occurrence and blending of multiple modalities. Not unlike digital users in studies that focus on multimodalities (Rowsell and Walsh 2011), Jana and Karina engage in several processes: writing, reading quietly, reading out loud, consulting a dictionary, talking to each other, talking to the teacher, talking to themselves, commenting on the process, and expressing emotions. Karina starts with a partial and literal translation of the English sentence "What does the sign say?", which is enough to trigger the co-construction process. Together the sisters build the sentence and Karina writes down the agreed-on products of this process. Importantly, this integration of multiple processes could be seen as being part of a literacy process, to which the oral processes (interaction, self-talk) are subordinate. At the same time, one could view this as a process of oral interaction with the writing and reading being limited to specific moments (5, 8, 10, 11, 22) and specific purposes (task fulfillment, tapping language resources). However, neither interpretation captures the interdependence of the modalities which creates a situation where writing informs and becomes integral to speaking and vice versa and the distinctness of orality and literacy becomes questionable. Thus, this extract provides additional evidence for Jana and Karina's engagement in a transmodal activity that not only integrates oral and written modalities but actually blurs their boundaries.

5.3   Enacting Multiple Investments Through Multiple Mand Blurred Modalities

We have already seen that transmodality had multiple functions for Jana and Karina. It played a role in task completion, error noticing, and (de)constructing their good student identities. The following extract stems from a lesson when the class had a substitute teacher. Although Frau Zeller had left behind some activities to be completed, her absence was clearly a reason for many students to disengage from the lesson. They were sitting on the floor, on desks, and on radiators in small groups, eating, laughing, chatting, or looking at their phones. In this context, Jana and Karina's sitting at the desk and looking at the teacher was noteworthy. They were

the only ones who completed the whole worksheet as instructed by Frau Zeller via the substitute teacher (Fieldnotes, November 7, 2012). After they were done with their worksheet, they took the Walt Disney version of Cinderella (Aschenputtel) from the German book shelf in the room, opened it and began to look at it together. This German edition of the story included several side plots (e.g., one of mice being chased by a cat). As they moved through the story of Cinderella, Karina followed along with the video camera, pointing it (and sometimes also a finger) at the characters in the book they were referring to. In brackets, this transcript includes information about Jana and Karina's pitch and the pictures Karina was filming.

Extract 5: Cinderella

1. K: Mhm pictures, yeah yeah yeah. [High-pitched voice, picture of mice who are happily
2. running around] Deedeedeedeedeedeedoodoo. [High-pitched voice, picture of concerned
3. mouse who is pointing at a cat] Oh nein!
4. J: [high-pitched voice] Oh nein!
5. K: [deep voice, looking at a fierce cat who i trying to catch a mouse]
6. Hah-hah-hah-hah-haah. [High-pitched voice, picture of a rooster talking to a mouse] Buks
7. buuh.
8. K and J: [picture of a cat] Meeaoow.
9. K: [Close-up of the evil cat] Heeheeheeheehee. [High-pitched voice, looking at a mouse
10. running away] Oh nein! [Looking at the picture of worried Cinderella] Oh nein! [Camera
11. pointing at the dog] Wuff wuff! [Looking at a picture of Cinderella, walking up stairs,
12. balancing three trays full of dishes on her hands and head] Ich möchte, {ich muss
13. J: Ich habe}, ich such, ich komme.
14. K: Ich muss das Ding doing.
15. J: Okay, you trying to read the first.
16. K: No, I'm not reading.
17. J: It's okay.
18. K: I'm tired. [High-pitched voice, picture of mail carrier who delivers a letter to Cinderella]
19. Halloooo, schönes Mädchen. [Picture of the stepsisters] Oh, hee hee {hee.
20. J: [high-pitched voice, picture of stepmother and stepsisters] Ein} Ball!
21. K: [high-pitched voice, picture of Cinderella] Ein Ball? Kann ich auch?
22. J: [deep voice, looking at picture of stepmother] Nein!
23. K: [high-pitched voice, picture of Cinderella] Ein {[unintel.]
24. J: [deep voice, stepmother]: Loser!}
25. K: [mice]: Tweet tweet hah-hah-hah-hah-m.
26. J: [Cinderella, washing the floor on her knees]: Waschen.
27. K: [high-pitched voice] heeheehee, blahblahblahblahblablahblah, hi.
28. J: [deep voice] das
29. K: [high-pitched voice, picture of a dress] Kleid [picture of mice] Ooooooh. [Deep voice,
30. picture of cat] Heeheeheeh. [High-pitched voice, Cinderella staring at a castle] Oooh,
31. aah, das schön ist. [Cinderella and the bird] Uhhmm, uh, tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet
32. tweet. [Cinderella hugging the dress] Heee, haaah, das ist sooo schöööön. [Stepsisters
33. dressed up in ball gowns] lalalaaa. [Crying sound, Cinderella crying in front of a ghost]
34. Huhuhuuu. [Whispering, picture of ghost] She's a ghost. [High-pitched, mice]
35. bibedibabediboo, bibedibabediboo. [Picture of scared mouse] Oh nein, a ghost!
36. [Background noises of other students and teacher are getting louder, K and J get more
37. quiet.]
38. J: [picture of prince on a horse-drawn carriage] Click clack click clack [unintel.]
39. K: [picture of castle] Das Ball!
40. [Substitute teacher introduces the next activity.]

(Classroom recording, November 7, 2012)

In trying to describe the modalities Jana and Karina use, it is helpful to look closely at the various processes they engaged in: They produced sounds that carry meaning, related to the characters depicted in the book, and showed their familiarity with the story and the genre of fairy tales. For example, they adjusted their pitch or lexicon to indicate gender, mood, emotions as well as good vs. evil, and human vs. animal. Jana and Karina also dialogued with each other, for instance in lines 16–18 when they negotiated whether or not they would "read" the text, and co-constructed utterances together as in lines 12–14, when they were trying to put Cinderella's thoughts into words. All this could be read as evidence of the sisters engaging in a meaningful speaking activity. However, several of Jana's and Karina's behaviors also resembled a reading process: They drew and interpreted meaning from pictures to build a plot, they turned pages and pointed the camera at characters to support this process, and they applied their background knowledge about the genre and the characters to create meaning, all of which can be important aspects of reading. Interestingly, they did not decode actual written text and even explicitly declared not to be reading (lines 15–18). In all, the actions of the young women cannot be described in the framework of traditional modalities, multimodalities, or cross-modalities because the modalities do more than "intersect and interrelate" (Weissberg 2005, p. 94) – they have merged into a new practice which makes disentangling them impossible. Jana and Karina are blurring aspects of reading and speaking and thus, once more, engaging in a transmodal process, this time speaking-reading. In a conversation, Jana later said about this instance:

Extract 6: "Not Really Reading"

> I don't know, like, we were bored I guess and, like, we took a we took th- a book from the class library, Frau [Zeller] said, she said we can always take books from there, and, and like read them, so yeah. And I guess we didn't have anything else to do [laughs]. I mean, it was a sub lesson! It was fun, just like, not really reading, but like, doing the voices and stuff." (Classroom conversation, November 9, 2012)

As in the moment of speaking-reading Cinderella, Jana emphasizes again that she and her sister were not reading (see also line 16), which is likely due to the fact that she has come to understand reading as including the decoding of written language. This evaluative description of her practices points to questions of linguistic legitimacy, or social validation and acceptance of language practices (Ennser-Kananen 2014, 2018). In other words, even though students may regularly engage in processes that carry linguistic and social meaning and purpose, they may feel a sense of inappropriateness or illegitimacy about them. This is even more the case, when such practices divert from what has traditionally been understood to be an accepted modality, such as reading or speaking, in the language classroom. Thus, although students may regularly intertwine oral and written practices, a blurring of modalities has not been explored extensively and deserves closer investigation, especially in terms of its legitimacy or acceptedness (Ennser-Kananen 2014, 2018). As Jana's example illustrates, students may engage in transmodal processes without attributing them much (or any) pedagogical and linguistic legitimacy or value. However, transmodality may have both, and may in addition be a valuable practice to build and enact social relations.

Something else is noteworthy about this event and her comment about it: "not really reading" was associated with doing something very casually, for fun, without any real purpose or goal. This is in stark contrast to the good student identities Jana and Karina usually enacted, which were goal-oriented and focused on accuracy and task completion. Jana's reference to the "sub lesson" helps us understand another aspect of the Cinderella episode. Jana indicates her awareness of students' common behaviors during "sub lessons". Although the sisters were positioning themselves as good students throughout most of my time in the field, here they may have encountered a moment when their investment into learning German needed to be mitigated in order to foster their peer relationships and build their social status among their classmates. In other words, they had to negotiate their investment in maintaining a good social standing and fitting in within their peer group with their investment in being seen as good students by teacher, not unlike the students in Potowski's (2007) and Gu and Maley (2008) studies. The activity the sisters chose fulfilled this purpose perfectly: They had completed their assigned work and were using a book from the classroom library. However, they made it very clear that they were "not really reading" and "just doing the voices". Thus, Jana and Karina resolved an investment conflict by engaging in a transmodal activity. By performing reading but claiming not to be reading, i.e. by engaging in a process that blurs reading and speaking (in this case casual storytelling), they managed to reconcile both their investment in the teacher's plan for the German class and the investment in their peer relationships. Transmodality was instrumental in achieving that. To conclude, what might superficially look like students who are uninvested or unmotivated in the activities of their German lesson can also be viewed as a balancing act of multiple investments. Transmodality can offer students opportunities to enact different, even conflicting, investments, for example by signaling their peers solidarity without threatening their good student identities.

6   Conclusions and Implications

Based on the data I collected and the analyses I conducted, the following conclusions and implications seem pertinent:

First and foremost, students who learn language in formal settings may engage in processes that do not neatly fit into any modality category and go beyond a parallel use of modalities during which said modalities remain distinct. I call those blurred processes "transmodal" activities. In the present study, writing-speaking was the most common one. Although fairly common in this German classroom, transmodal activities were not always met with a sense of validation and acceptance. In fact, Jana explicitly expressed her views of speaking-reading as "not reading". This may point to a legitimacy issue that needs further exploration. What can be said at this point is that given its complexity and potential for meaning making, blurred modalities deserve to be seen as discourse practices in their own right. Future research could look into how these practices can be strategically and purposefully used, and thus legitimized, in language learning contexts.

Second, such transmodal processes can support students' investments, for example by facilitating task completion and supporting their process of building of good student identities. They can further be an important tool for language learners who negotiate their different levels of investment in a variety of expectations and norms of a language classroom with their (desired) identities and social relationship. For instance, engaging in transmodal activities can enable students to enact different investments and social relationships without having to sacrifice one for the other. For teachers and researchers, in turn, paying attention to these transmodal practices widens the scope of recognition of different kinds and degrees of investment, thus providing opportunities for a fuller and more nuanced picture of how and how much language learners invest in different aspects of the language learning (or overall schooling) process.

Additionally, transmodal activities can aid error noticing and self-correction, which, in turn, can promote second language development, especially when they lead to self-correction or uptake. However, like any corrective feedback, noticing of errors or being corrected can also result in students' frustration and disengagement. Therefore, managing expectations and establishing appropriate feedback cultures remain important in classrooms that aim to foster second or foreign language acquisition.

Besides the direct impact transmodal activities can have on second/foreign language learning, transmodal activities can shape the process of learning languages more indirectly by allowing students to balance their multiple investments. For instance, investments in academic achievement, relationships with teachers, and solidarity with peers can sometimes be experienced as tension that can only be resolved by compromising one of them. Transmodality can help release this tension by creating practices that allow a simultaneousness of a multiple investments, for example as a hybrid of reading and speaking that balances some aspects of literacy activities with a display of a "fun attitude".

What is important to note is that transmodal activities are not inherently supportive of or detrimental to second or foreign language acquisition. Their role and effectiveness strongly depends on how they are used. In order to understand if and how transmodal activities can be used to support language learners, more research is needed that investigates, first of all, how common this phenomenon is in language classrooms. If further research warrants it, transmodality could then be introduced to students as a tool that supports their L2 learning.

Last but not least, the present research has far-reaching consequences for the fields of SLA and (L2) Literacy Studies. The study provided evidence for the inseparability of literacy and orality in student discourse. If a blurring of these processes is possible at the micro-level of student interactions, a separation of the fields that investigate such processes seems questionable, to say the least. Transmodal processes can only be understood if scholars across disciplines collaborate to further investigate the intersections and merging of reading, writing, speaking, and listening, and, if research supports it, begin to integrate such skills into teacher education and curricula.

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Learn*ing* Languag*ing* Matters. Contributions to a Turn-on-Turn Reflexivity

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Abstract Ideas encapsulated in the "Linguistic-Turn" drew attention away *from* mental experiences *towards* linguistic behavior. Many newer (often overlapping) turn-positions, such as the complexity-, colonial-, mobility-, multilingual-, social-, including my work on the boundary-turn, take cognizance of the role of language in (re)presenting and (co)creating realities. Drawing inspiration from peripheral Southern framings, this chapter highlights a dual-gap regarding conceptualizations of language and learning and the paucity of scholarship that empirically explores the *performance of language*, in particular from peripheral perspectives. This chapter thus makes visible the marginal engagement with alternative discussions on (re)presentational issues, including the limited focus on how (re)presentations themselves (co)create specific ways of understanding what language is, where, when, why and for whom it exists. Drawing inspiration from turn-positions, the pitfalls and strengths of current ways in which conceptualizations in the language domain contribute to issues of *learning in a globalized world* are highlighted. Drawing upon sociocultural theories of communication and learning and decolonial framings of communication and identity, salient findings (from previous empirical studies) of performative ways-of-being-with-words or *languaging* in social practices are contrasted with the ways in which language is itself conceptualized in educational arenas.

Keywords Linguistic-turn · Boundary-turn · Learning · Southern · Languaging · Decolonial · Performatory

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1 Introduction

Two conceptual issues are draw upon in this chapter: so called turn-positions and the units-of-analysis implicitly at work in research. Both can potentially (re)vitalize the domains of language research and language education. Building upon my long-term engagement with empirical, multi-scalar ethnographically framed research inside and outside Sweden and across physical-digital settings,[1] I argue here for the need to make visible,

(i) the (continuing) *marginalization* of studies where social actions or practices are center-staged, and

(ii) the *naturalization* of Northern hegemonies in how language is itself routinely conceptualized in the domain of language studies and educational settings.

This means that the issue at stake is analytically identifying and tracing the movement of conceptualizations vis-à-vis language both within scholarship and educational arenas. Thus, what is framed in relation to the use of one or more language-varieties and modalities? How does this make visible complexities relevant for language learning or socialization? By drawing upon my engagement in different research projects that focus upon *language-use* or *languaging* (Linell 2009) across time, digital-physical and geopolitical North–South spaces, I argue for the need to center-stage alternative, peripheral epistemologies for reframing what language, including different named language-varieties and named language-modalities (like written, oral, signed, etc.) are (or can be). A similar need exists in relation to the nature of language *learning* inside, outside and across physical-digital settings.

In this chapter I thus engage with some current concerns related to institutional language learning given the recognition being accorded to increasing "multi/pluri-lingualism" and "multi/pluriculturalism" in Northern settings (like Europe). Scholars recently highlight how such concerns reinforce and augment reductionist conceptual "webs-of-understandings" related to language, culture and identity (Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2017, 2018; Pavlenko 2014, 2018), and call attention to the pitfalls and strengths of current ways in which mainstream conceptualizations of language themselves marginalize issues of learning in a globalized world. I substantiate my case by focusing upon the educational settings of global-North geopolitical spaces like Sweden.[2]

Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holms, Jaffe and Coupland (2016) call for a "change in sociolinguistics as an academic discipline, driven by the need to understand language in late modernity" (2016, p. 31). This includes tweezing out the whats, where, whos and whens of *language* (Finnegan 2015) and the whats, where, whos and whens of *learning* (Säljö 2009). It is in this light that I draw attention to a dual-gap regarding,

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[1] This study presents analytical reflections based upon the cumulative results from analysis of ethnographic empirical data in projects within the research group CCD (Communication, Culture and Diversity; www.ju.se/ccd).

[2] See for instance, Bagga-Gupta (2002, 2017a), Gynne (2016), Holmström (2013), Messina Dahlberg (2015), Rosén (2013).

1. the relative paucity of empirically framed scholarship that center-stages language-use or languaging in educational contexts, and,
2. conceptualizations or representations in the area of language itself.

I attend to this by weaving together different theoretical framings in a progression wherein each section/sub-section draws upon issues presented in the previous ones. The next Sect. (2) explicates some of the many turn-positions related to the Linguistic-Turn that have emerged in the scholarship recently. Thereafter, in Sect. 3, I first discuss conceptualizations vis-à-vis language and language learning from both sociocultural and decolonial framings (in Sects. 3.1 and 3.2). In the last part of Sect. 3, i.e. Sect. 3.3, I go on to present an important on-going epistemological shift in the human sciences relevant for both language studies and the educational sciences, before illustrating these conceptual discussions. The final section in this chapter i.e. Sect. 4 raises issues related to alternative, peripheral epistemologies including how empirical research can potentially enable shifts relevant for the language and learning sciences in the new millennium.

2 Alternative Epistemologies and Unpacking Turns

Recent turn-positions, like the boundary-turn, colonial-turn, complexity-turn, embodied-turn, mobility-turn, multilingual-turn, performative-turn, semiotic-turn, social-turn, etc., are related to ideas that emerged in European nineteenth–twentieth century discussions on the relationship between language and philosophy encapsulated in the concept of the Linguistic-Turn, LT. LT became popularized through the works of Rorty (2007, *The linguistic turn. Essays in philosophical method*) and others. LT emphasized a change "in the discourse of the humanities and social sciences reflecting a recognition (beyond the bounds of linguistics itself) of the importance of language in human meaning-making" (Oxford Reference 2016). As Rorty highlights, LT "was useful […], for it turned philosophers' attention from the topic of experience towards that of linguistic behavior" (2007, p. 3). Salient here was the challenge (within Northern philosophy) to leave behind a view of language as mirroring reality, to its role of (co)creating reality, thus leading to the premise that reality builds upon conventionalized linguistic behavior that we call language. The relevant issue for my purposes is that the newer turn-positions explicitly or implicitly share a fundamental premise of LT i.e. an understanding regarding the significance of language itself. Thus, while they may have emerged within different disciplines or specific domains and draw attention to specific issues, they overlap. While it is problematic to say that one "turn" is more important than another, I center-stage some that call attention to alternative, peripheral epistemologies particularly relevant in the intersections between language studies and the educational sciences, and thus, contribute to a "meta-turn" or a *turn-on-turn reflexivity*. Furthermore, a composite turn-on-turn reflexivity takes cognizance of the short-comings embedded in the specific vantage point of each turn separately. This means

that when research focuses upon certain areas or concepts through the lens of separate turn-positions, it is unable to draw traction from the composite contributions of the post-LTs that have been proposed.

The Sanskrit terms तत्व (tattva), implying thatness, feelingness, reality, and मिमंसा (mimamsa) that points towards critical reflections and investigations, can provide inroads to alternative epistemologies, illuminating conceptualizations of language, including different named varieties and modalities, in salient ways. For instance, inspired by "mind-as-action" analytical perspectives (Wertsch 1998), I have previously discussed the need for scholarship to go "beyond oral-written-signed-virtual divides" (Bagga-Gupta 2017a, p. 49), and instead focus on the meaning-making potentials of peoples' communicative actions. Such a stance draws upon empirical analysis framed within peripheral epistemologies that get glossed as Southern or decolonial alternative framings, including perspectives of minority groups (for instance, the Sami or deaf communities). Here my work on a boundary-turn (Bagga-Gupta 2013), the critical philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2011) and others' writings on a decolonial-turn, the applied linguist Stephan May's (2014) work on a multilingual-turn and the scholarly contributions that are recognized as a performative-turn are important.

Following on the tenants of LT, Dirksmeier and Helbrecht (2008), Säljö (2005), Wertsch (1998) and others have argued that performativity points to the fact that language behavior does not constitute neutral action; a linguistic expression does something – it refracts and creates a perspective on reality. Such a stance is related to the complexity-turn (Hult 2010; Urry 2005) that emerged as a reaction to the acceptance that cause-and-effect discussions are inadequate when tasked with illuminating social processes. Critical to the hegemonic naturalization accorded to Northern knowledge-regimes, a critical, dynamic peripheral framework highlights that,

> commonsense ideologies among linguistics have not just reinforced but also shaped thinking about languages as fixed, bounded entities […] it is crucial that we constantly revisit and scrutinize new ways of thinking about language so that these do not become only the latest commonsense ideologies, occluding other viewpoints until they, too, become the only ways to think about language. (Pietikäinen et al. 2016, p. 26–27)

It is here important to caution against interpreting Northern-Southern in terms of temporality, physical places or "fundamentalisms" (Deumert and Mabandla 2017). Going beyond issues of time (for instance, the end of colonial rule) and place (for instance, nation-state boundaries), decoloniality emphasizes a non-dichotomized stance wherein hegemonies vis-à-vis identity-politics, language issues, etc. exist inside and across the boundaries of all geopolitical units. Recognizing that the colonial project is thriving in *both* the global-South as well as the global-North, decoloniality calls for understanding power relations that frame human lives in terms of *spaces* and not merely geopolitical *places*. What is referred to as Southern or Northern or West/European needs therefore to be seen as "the place of hegemonic epistemology rather than a spot on the map" (Aman 2014, p. 22). Since a South exists in global-North places and global-North spaces exist in many parts of global-South places, decoloniality constitutes a lens that offers a dialogical arena for alternative refractions or perspective-creating opportunities.

Constituting one source of alternative epistemologies, the decolonial-turn, brings center-stage "the idea that we do not produce rigorous knowledge by adhering to the questions, concepts, and standards on the basis of the views or needs of only one region of the world, and even less of a region that has been characterized by either colonizing or ignoring other regions" (Maldonado-Torres 2011, p. 10). Dwelling on the pluralistic language situations of South Asia, Khubchandani,

> questions the obsession with well-knit enclosures of 'being' conceived around normative *entities* such as the concretization of *standard* languages, and directs our attention to the self-organization and the role of transactive and fluctuating characteristics in living speech as an ongoing *process*, that is 'becoming'. (*1997*, p. 32–33, emphasis in original)

Such ideas are significant, not least in helping to "explain the persistence of the overall northern-centric pattern of global knowledge production" (Connell 2014, p. 218). The hegemonic stance embedded in mainstream Northern epistemologies vis-à-vis language can be illustrated through a 2017 conference call:

> A central concern of postcolonial linguistics is to open up new spaces for a discussion of concepts and models of language. Colonial and postcolonial resources on the world's languages were based – and often still are – on a particular model of language that follows Western conceptualizations of bounded, individual codes and structures. These are constructed with descriptive concepts and tools, such as strings of sounds and words, word lists, paradigms, idealized morphosyntactic structures and compositional semantics etc. However, the speakers of the languages described with the help of such conceptualizations often see them not as individual codes with boundaries around them but as parts of repertoires in their social context including diverse signs, looks, gestures, and even silence. (https://linguistlist.org/issues/28/28-4105.html, 8 Oct 2017)

Webs-of-understandings that account for performances of social actions are interrogated in the stance spelled out in such conference calls. Such a stance is, as the educational psychologist and sociocultural theorist Roger Säljö posits, dependent upon "how sensitive our theoretical perspectives are when it comes to showing what is happening and why" (2009, p. 206). Calling for extending "existing discussions of multilingualism within critical applied linguistics beyond the recent (at least in the West) recognition and valorization of the multilingual repertoires of urban migrants", May (2014, p. 216) points to ironies vis-à-vis the recognition accorded to multilingualism in the global-North in the twenty-first century. He highlights that this recognition itself "reveals its own lack of historicity and not a little ethnocentrism" given that what is termed bi/multi/translingualism in Northern scholarship has long been a recognized human state in many other regions of the world (ibid). In a similar vein, Pietikäinen et al. (2016) note in their contributions to a "sociolinguistics from the periphery" that "[w]hat we are noticing may not necessarily be entirely new, therefore; instead, it may be *the way of noticing that may be new* – although, given the impact of segregationalist thinking in linguistics and beyond this change is not an insignificant one" (2016, p. 27, emphasis added).

These newer insights not-withstanding, May cautions that "[d]espite an increasing interest in, and engagement with, multilingualism, 'mainstream' applied linguistics remains to this day largely untouched, uninterested, and unperturbed by such developments" (2014, p. 2). Such concerns point towards a recognition of a

monolingual and a monocultural bias that remains fragmented and confusing. Gal and Irvine (1995), Gramling (2016), Heller (2007) and others, explicate this bias by calling attention to the routine use of more than one language-variety and modality across the global-North/South, including the problems associated with the boundary-*making* and boundary-*marking* terminology deployed in language and educational scholarship. It is here that a boundary-turn is significant: it highlights a paradoxical invisibility accorded to the ubiquitous boundaries in mainstream Northern epistemologies where boundedness explicitly and implicitly dominates conceptualizations of language (like *bi/multi*lingualism, named language-varieties/modalities), identity (in terms of individual and group characteristics, or nation-state allegiances) and culture.

Such turn-positions collate and call for a "methodological evolution" in the social sciences wherein "messy methods" (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2008) need elaboration and epistemologies that go "beyond the mainstream" need to be engaged with (Bagga-Gupta 2017b; Bagga-Gupta et al. 2019). Issues of representation and power are salient in the turn-positions discussed so far. That not-withstanding, post-humanistic scholarship tends to argue that language and cultural representation have "been granted too much power" (Barad 2003, p. 802), thus suggesting the lack of attention to *materiality* and its relationship to language. Of significance to my line of argumentation is that even this philosophical discussion needs augmentation by an empirically-oriented tradition. Materiality – in terms of physical and cultural tools – in sociocultural theoretical perspectives on communication and learning, are seen as central dimensions of interlayered human action (Säljö 2005; Wertsch 1998).

तत्व मिमंसा points towards the paradoxical invisibility accorded to boundaries in Northern epistemologies where bounded*ness* explicitly and/or implicitly continues to dominate conceptualizations of language, identity and culture. The next section focuses on boundary-spaces as well as the need to revisit concepts like hybridity and intersectionality – a need that arises from paying attention to this paradox.

3   Reconfiguring Center-Periphery Dynamics and Tensions

Engaging with alternative epistemologies can – as I have argued so far – be relevant for tracing and understanding shifts in conceptualizations related to language and learning. Taking a turn-on-turn reflexive stance calls for raising questions that are uncomfortable and that necessitate "taking a step back". For instance, while LT highlighted representational dimensions of language, contemporary concerns relate to how representations in themselves (co)create specific ways of understanding what language is, where, when, why and for whom it is. A key issue here is "a critical unpacking of mainstream literature in a field of practice – textbooks, established paradigms and bibliographies – revealing northern dominance of the discourse, and extraversion in the global-South" (Connell 2011, p. 218). In similar vein and focusing upon cultural and linguistic pluralism specifically, Bagga-Gupta and Surian (2014) critique the growing disparity in new-colonial power relationships in research, including access to and the acknowledgment of different epistemologies

in the learning sciences. Thus, going beyond understanding peripheral Southern framings in terms of geographical places or developmental directionality and engaging with sociocultural epistemologies, boundary-spaces allow for critically unpacking fuzzy boundary-concepts in the language and learning sciences.

Section 3.1 points to some structural constraints in current discussions related to *hybridity* and *intersectionality*, with the intent of unpacking the hegemonies of boundaries and explicating a fluid stance on meaning-making. Section 3.2 focuses upon the nature of the unit-of-analysis deployed in research on language and language learning across epistemological traditions. Bringing these analytical framings together, Sect. 3.3 touches upon an (ongoing) epistemological shift and its relevance for both language studies (research) and the professional field of language education. The relevance of these analytically framed ideas is illustrated through the norms that frame connections between language categories and imagined communities of learners in the Swedish educational landscape.

3.1 Boundaries, Hybridity and Intersectionality

A decolonial stance offers an important vantage point for discussing key interrelated ideas that emerge through concepts such as boundaries, hybridity and intersectionality, salient for areas such as language, language learning and identity. For instance, the location and constitution of language and identity is related to threshold and in-between liminal spaces Bhabha (1994) calls "liminality". In-between boundary-spaces, instead of boundaries, become the interesting sites of beginnings (and endings) including what lies beyond,

> there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the 'beyond': an exploratory, restless movement […] here and there, on all sides […] hither and thither, back and forth. (Bhabha 1994, p. 2)

Barth (1994), Hall (1996) and others have also called for shifting the focus from the study of the core or the essence of communities to their boundaries, including relationships between groups. They argue that it is important to understand how boundaries are conceptualized and maintained. Such a *reconfiguration* of the center necessitates, on the one hand, focusing upon invisible norms or the given, and on the other hand, navigating boundaries that are marked by "sociocultural differences leading to discontinuities in action and interaction […] rather than about sociocultural diversities per se" (Akkerman and Bakker 2011, p. 152). Thus, the center-periphery relationship is a key site of scrutiny: for instance, for whom, by whom and in what spaces do such relationships get operationalized (Pietkäinen et al. 2016). Here attention has been called towards boundary-spaces, boundary-objects, boundary-concepts and boundary-work in the domains of the learning and educational sciences, the sociology of education and knowledge, identity and nationalism.

A boundary-object "does not describe the details of any one locality or thing. It is abstracted from all domains and may be fairly vague. However, it is adaptable to

a local site precisely because it is fairly vague. It serves as a means of communicating and cooperating" (Star and Griesemer 1989, p. 412). In similar light, boundary-concepts are "loosely defined concepts, which precisely because of their vagueness, are adaptable to local sites and may facilitate communication and cooperation" (Löwy 1992: 374–375). Together they create shared spaces that are "robust enough to maintain unity but plastic enough to be manipulated in different social worlds [and are] a means of cooperation and a place where conversations can start; their usefulness does not depend on their accuracy or shared meaning" (Sataøen 2016, p. 3).

While a focus upon boundary-spaces is not new in domains like identity and nationalism (Lamont and Molnar 2002), boundary-work has been discussed more generally in terms of involving legitimacy and gaining authority (Gieryn 1983, 1999). Inspired from global-South perspectives, Sataøen (2016) conceptualizes boundaries in terms of "shared space", suggesting that it is in liminal alternative spaces where complexity and hybridity are the norm that non-linear processes of languaging can be observed and studied. The move from "fixity" to complexity and hybridity points to "openings between spaces of uncertainty [indexing] a break with essential colonial categories" of language and identity (Bailey Jones 2011, p. 30). Such performative understandings of language and identity (see further below) are related to domains within emancipatory postcolonial discourses, ethnicity and cultural studies. Other areas where static, fixed notions of language and identity are challenged include performance pushed positions within feminism, sociocultural theory and anthropology.

Furthermore, and an issue that I have raised previously, a performative stance calls for empirically researching social actions, rather than *accounts* of those actions. This means that it is peoples' interactions with others and engagement with tools that is important, rather than *primarily* focusing upon what they report about these interactions. Such a stance was framed as a naturalistic agenda, introduced in the very *doing of research* over three decades ago; here,

> data are not viewed as given by nature but as stemming from an interaction between the inquirer and the data sources (human and nonhuman/tools). Data are, so to speak, the constructions offered by or in the sources; data analysis leads to a reconstruction of those constructions. […] the 'givens' of nature – cannot be assumed to be independent of the *inquirer's values of the theoretical language he or she brings to bear*. (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p. 332, emphasis added)

A central issue of concern in the language and learning sciences, such a naturalistic agenda means that the *notions about language* used in analytical accounts themselves create webs-of-understandings that are salient in the knowledge-production enterprise (see also Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2017, 2018). Such a naturalistic socioculturally oriented perspective also calls for the scrutiny of how the human-tool continuum (and key anti-essentialist concepts like hybridity and intersectionality) play out in social practices. Bringing a turn-on-turn reflexivity into dialogue with hybridity and intersectionality and engaging them in empirical investigations (of language and identity) potentially contribute to advancing theoretical-methodological framings.

While hybridity encompasses individual, group identity, culture and race, it itself retains a large dose of essentialist framings; it builds upon the key assumption that a hybrid state arises by mixing two previously distinct, boundary-marked states of being. Furthermore, academic discourses that draw upon hybridity seep into everyday parlance where it further gets consolidated with the sense of "mixing". The notion of intersectionality on the other hand, arises in and continues to be individual-centered. It too focuses on boundary-spaces where power-structures and individual identity categories are salient. While intersectionality originally highlighted the positions of gender *with* race and color, other identity categories related to functionality and class have become salient in its framework more recently. Like hybridity, intersectionality too builds upon distinct states of being that intersect (Gunnarsson 2015). Despite efforts to elaborate on the entwined, performative nature of identity (Butler 1999; McCall 2005), an essentialist individual-centeredness continues to frame intersectionality discussions as well.

While hybridity remains contested, it nevertheless exists at the periphery of many mainstream discourses in the human sciences. Furthermore, while hybridity and intersectionality are significant for reconceptualizing language, they continue to exist in, what can be termed, an "empirical ghetto" (Clark et al. 1998). Thus, while both are used in theoretical discussions to counter essentialist framings, they are marginally deployed, if at all, in empirical research that focuses upon social action in the language and educational sciences. A recent shift in how the concept hybridity is shaping domains in the human sciences as well as in the public imagination relates to discourses of globalization. Hybridity here is connected to the "cultural logic" of the effect of globalization. Thus, for instance, recent demographic mobility, including digitalization, reinforces essentialist conceptualizations of identity and culture (Kraidy 2005). Moving beyond the taken-for-granted nature of boundary-marked categories vis-à-vis individuals, communication, including activities, places or specific scales, a turn-on-turn reflexivity pushes conceptualizations of hybridity and intersectionality in terms of an *expanded continuum*. Such a stance is analytically related to the sociocultural premise of the irreducibility of the human-tool continuum. It also calls attention to pre- or weakly-theorized essentialist, boundary-marked notions that inform popular thinking, policy vis-à-vis language and identity as well as the organization of learning in educational settings (see Sect. 3.3).

While the *location* of language and identity continues to engage scholars (see Finnegan 2015), challenging boundaries between languages or questioning their very existence is not new (see Bakhtin 1981; Khubchandani 1997; Landri and Neuman 2014; Wittgenstein 1999). Herein lies an important tension:

> It is in fact very difficult to avoid endorsing normative understandings of what a language is and treating languages as bounded, autonomous codes that speakers can choose or switch between [However, as increasing number of studies] have underscored, an array of conventional forms of reference to language – metalinguistic tropes such as 'endangerment', 'vitality', 'language choice' and 'code-switching' – has had the effect of naturalizing and essentializing languages in their effort to document the outcomes of language contact, shift and revitalization. (Pietkäinen et al. 2016, p. 10)

In addition to a turn-on-turn reflexivity, the hegemonic unit-of-analysis that dominates global-North research in the language and learning sciences can illuminate this tension.

3.2 *The Nature of Unit-of-Analysis – The Four W's of Language and Learning*

While many concepts related to named language and/or named modality circulate in the scholarship (including the boundary-marked notions *bi/multi*lingual/ism, *first/second* language, oral, written, signed language etc.), framings of language in general and language learning specifically continue to be embedded within different epistemological traditions. This means, for instance, that there exists a growing conceptual convergence and a lack of analytical clarity in the language studies domain. Notions like language, bilingualism, etc., including neologisms like translanguaging, newspeakerism, etc. on the one hand, and concepts used to study social actions and language-use (like ethnography, classroom observations, etc.) on the other hand, risk becoming all-encompassing as well as catch-words (compare Pavlenko 2018; see also Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2017, 2018). They become vague boundary-objects that "do not accurately describe the details of any one locality or thing" (Star and Griesemer 1989, p. 412). However, discussions regarding the what, where, who and the when of language and the what, where, who, and when of learning i.e. the *four W's* of language and learning bring to the forefront the need to consider ontological and epistemological differences between traditions in addition to the hegemonic positions that some are explicitly/implicitly accorded. Here the unit-of-analysis that is (implicitly/explicitly) deployed in the scholarship is salient for understanding some of the conceptual issues at play, including assumptions that frame the organization and practices of language learning.

The sociocultural tenant that views *learning as lived experience* calls for scrutinizing the four W's of "learning [so that] we might understand how practices evolve and what happens to people in terms of their capacities, intellectual repertoires and identities as part of such processes" (Säljö 2009, p. 206). Such a unit-of-analysis implies attending to people's embodied communication, not just in relation to the four W's of language, but significantly to peoples meaning-making in any specific context. This means that while the primary issue at stake for participants is the meaning-making potential of communication, it is the named language-varieties/modalities deployed in social action that is center-staged by researchers and professionals in education.

Another unit-of-analysis that is key in the domain of language and language learning is related to the critical work on the *imagined* nature of bounded named communities (Andersson 1991; Bagga-Gupta 2017c). This calls into question the naturalization of the nation-state as a unit-of-analysis in domains as diverse as history, political science, identity, education, language studies, etc. An illustration of the analytical tension related to how a monolingual-monocultural one-nation-one-

In an attempt to celebrate multiculturalism in a preschool setting in a rural part of the nation-state of Sweden, five-year-old children, presented with a chart depicting national flags, have been instructed to "draw your flag". A teacher reprimands a girl who is drawing the blue-yellow Swedish flag, and asks her to draw the red-white flag of Turkey instead. The child complies and at the end of the activity, the children's photographs are pasted under their individual drawings and displayed on the classroom wall. A child comes up to the five-year-old in focus and says, "I did not know that you come from Turkey" to which the five-year-old responds, "I did not know that I come from Turkey either".

Fig. 1 Boundary-marked framings based on nation-state belonging in educational spaces

language-one-culture imagined stance plays out within educational institutions is presented in Fig. 1.

Assigning membership to imagined communities or named collectives is not only a contentious issue from a turn-on-turn performative reflexive position, as the example in Fig. 1 illustrates, it becomes pre-theorized or naturalized at a more general level. It's taken for-grantedness is problematic because of the unit-of-analysis that it implicitly deploys. Boundaries are created, as Fig. 1 illustrates, on the basis of imagined membership in collectives, or imagined named/political language-varieties (Gal and Irvine 1995) or imagined identity/labels attached to pupils (Hjörne and Säljö 2013). In comparison, a unit-of-analysis that takes cognizance of a socio-cultural perspective on languaging and learning, takes social action as a point of departure wherein hybridity and intersectionality become freed from essentialistic constraints. This means that the construct human-beings-in-interaction-with-tools constitutes the unit-of-analysis, rather than individuals *from* different nation-states or other traditional categories. Thus, socioculturally framed premises where the human-tool continuum is salient, privileges languaging data – including languaging in policy contexts, rather than pre-theorized essentialist boundary-marked notions (see below). In other words, people in interaction with one another and tools (including the intellectual tool of language) constitutes a *fundamental* unit-of-analysis, wherein its hybrid and intersectional performative nature needs to be acknowledged and engaged with. This, furthermore, means that it is analytically significant to make visible metaphors and conceptualizations that have become pre-theorized or naturalized. Section 3.3 illustrates how such epistemological shifts and webs-of-understandings create, but also reduce, the complexities of meaning-making to तत्व (tattva) i.e. an imagined normative, static reality.

3.3 Moving Conceptualizations of Languaging and Learning. Norms and Othering in Educational Settings

> the choice of a conceptualization of a phenomenon corresponds to a theoretical perspective.
> (Säljö 2009, p. 206)

The essence of boundary-concepts or boundary-objects, such as named language-varieties/modalities, bi/multilingualism, and the pupil categories these are implicitly or explicitly connected to, become relevant because of their vagueness. This fuzziness itself paves the way for scholars to communicate and cooperate (Löwy 1992). It is here, and as I have argued elsewhere, that "bilingualism" and "diversity" become interesting as key boundary-concepts and boundary-objects that are legitimized and naturalized through specific webs-of-understandings (see Bagga-Gupta 2017b, d). Such concepts themselves give rise to other commonsensically framed concepts in the language sciences which in turn allow Northern spaces (like Sweden) to organize learning for boundary-marked groups. Southern framings offer an important aperture for understanding diversity since "its central concern [is] the ways in which differences are formed and sustained through references to cultural identities" (Aman 2014, p. 18; Maldonado-Torres 2007).

The tensions related to commonsensical naturalized framings and the unit-of-analysis deployed in the language and educational sciences can furthermore be situated within a larger paradigmatic shift in the human sciences. In cognizance with a turn-on-turn reflexivity, the constitutive and mediational functions of language and the human-tool continuum constitute a call to replace boundary-marked/marking dimensions with performatory perspectives (see Fig. 2). Framed by the relatively recent focus upon performativity, language and learning become conceptualized *as* action, rather than as essentialist, static, bounded nouns. Moving conceptualizations in the scholarship – knowledging, instead of knowledge (in terms of stuff, commodities), meaning-making instead of learning structures (grammar), languaging instead of language (structures) and identity-positioning and identiting (instead of identity categories) – mark such a shift (see Fig. 2). This epistemological change points to the relevance of social action and concomitantly peoples' participation in communities of *practices*, rather than their membership in imagined collectives. In the former, experiences are reframed in and through social interactions; communication is recognized as seamless, constituted by a continuum across language-varieties/modalities that people deploy for the purposes of meaning-making, i.e. languaging – irrespective of the number of named language-varieties or named modalities in play.

Social (inter)action – central in sociocultural perspectives – thus requires a focus upon the deployment of both material and cultural tools. Given that language is understood as an integral part of the *human-tool continuum*, the cultural tool of language gains meaning within social (inter)action. While human beings "are a *languaging* species" (Jørgensen et al. 2011, emphasis in original), the key cultural tool of language itself constitutes a boundary-marking tool in social action. This constitutive and boundary-marking function of language (co)creates specific labels and categories which in turn *refract* and *mediate* (Wertsch 1998) the world back to us.
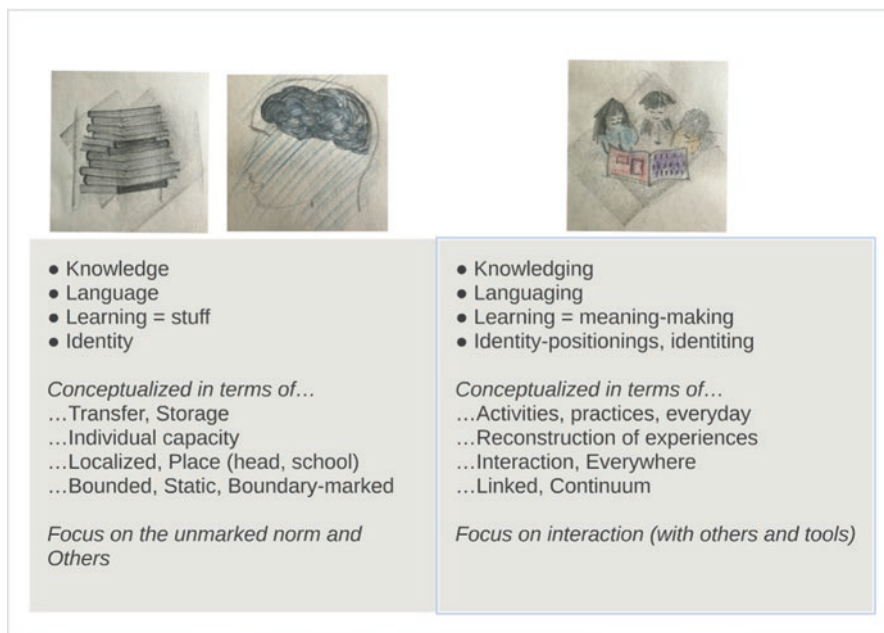
Fig. 2 Moving conceptual webs-of-understandings. (Adapted from Bagga-Gupta 2017b)

For instance, categorizing two pupils who lie on opposite ends of an audiological continuum as "deaf-hearing", offers different webs-of-understandings as compared to using the labels "deaf-normal". A similar point can be made by comparing "differently-abled and able-bodied" with "handicapped and normal". Different meanings are embedded in both the paired categories.

Languaging, in this sense, potently, explicitly and implicitly, demarcates things, feelings, actions, groups, etc. as well as conceptualizations of language and learning within both scholarship and educational settings. The important issue is that while human-beings (analysts included) can never escape language, paying heed to the constitutive and boundary-marking dimensions of language means that there exist openings for scrutinizing the boundaries that are enabled/disabled in different contexts.

A backdrop for understanding the tensions between a shift in epistemologies and the situated, rather static nature of bounded notions, relates to how norms and Othering are embedded in these positions (Fig. 2). The recent past has seen an "intensified preoccupation with the Other as part of a broader turn towards difference in education, anchored in ethics, tolerance and cosmopolitanism" (Aman 2014, p. 15). Descriptions of the Other, as Clifford (1986) highlights, are always related to a positioning of oneself, and it is in this construction that the Other learns to see himself/herself/themselves *as* Others. Fanon (2008) succinctly showed that it is in boundary-space meetings when and where whites position blacks, that the latter come to see themselves *as* blacks. For present purposes, such processes imply that the naturalization of monolingualism and monolingual learning does not only con-

stitute the unmarked norm, but that these are constituted through an Othering of the more common human condition where the deployment of more than one language-variety/modality, including embodiment is the norm.

Another relevant issue in the epistemological shifts, regarding language and learning, relates to an often-neglected difference between language education as a *research field* and language education as an *activity and institutional field*. In a research enterprise, the viewing of the activity glossed as bi/multi/translingualism or where bi/multi/translingual education is in focus, the key agenda is the critical analysis of the institutional activity of bi/multi/translingual education. It is the key assumptions vis-à-vis language, identity and learning that need tweezing out here. It is these assumptions that shape research agendas and constitute the lenses with which different methodological and conceptual tool-kits are deployed.

The salient point is that research into language and identity, differs significantly from the work done in institutions like the one-school-for-all or life-long-education or work places. Thus, what is glossed in terms of bi/multi/translingual pupils or adults or disabled or immigrant pupils in institutional activity fields such as bi/multi/translingual education, special education, equity work, etc. has significantly *different agendas* when compared to research work where bi/multi/translingual education, special education or equity work constitute phenomena under scrutiny. In the latter, the analytical enterprise calls for critically (re)viewing and *re*searching not only specific institutional activity fields but also the very assumptions that underlie the analytical research enterprise. It is this difference that frames the moving conceptual webs-of-understandings upfronted in Fig. 2.

A specific instance of an on-the-ground explicit conceptualization of language and the implicit webs-of-understandings related to learning, as these get spelled out both currently as well as across time in the Swedish educational landscape can illustrate these analytical tensions. An analysis of the compulsory school curricula across 1960–2011 for language subject titles in two institutions – mainstream schools and segregated special schools – highlights a number of salient shifts (see Fig. 3).

The emergence of a clear-cut boundary-marked/marking nomenclature related to language subjects emerges in the 1990s national curricula for both the mainstream and segregated schools. Thus, for instance, not only do three bounded conceptualizations emerge for the language subject "Swedish" in the 1990s, but these three subjects become explicitly connected to three imagined bounded learner categories (Lpo 94 and Lpo 96; 1, 2, 3 in Fig. 3). The semantic signs "Swedish", "Swedish as a second language" and "Swedish (as a second language) for deaf/hard of hearing" build upon assumptions regarding the specific learning trajectories of pupils who can be boxed into specific categories, namely hearing-ethnic-Swedes, hearing-ethnic immigrants and deaf-ethnic Swedes, including deaf-immigrants (1, 2, 3 in Fig. 3). These essentialist connections created between named language labels and categorizations of pupils build upon normatively framed assumptions: "bilingual" chil-
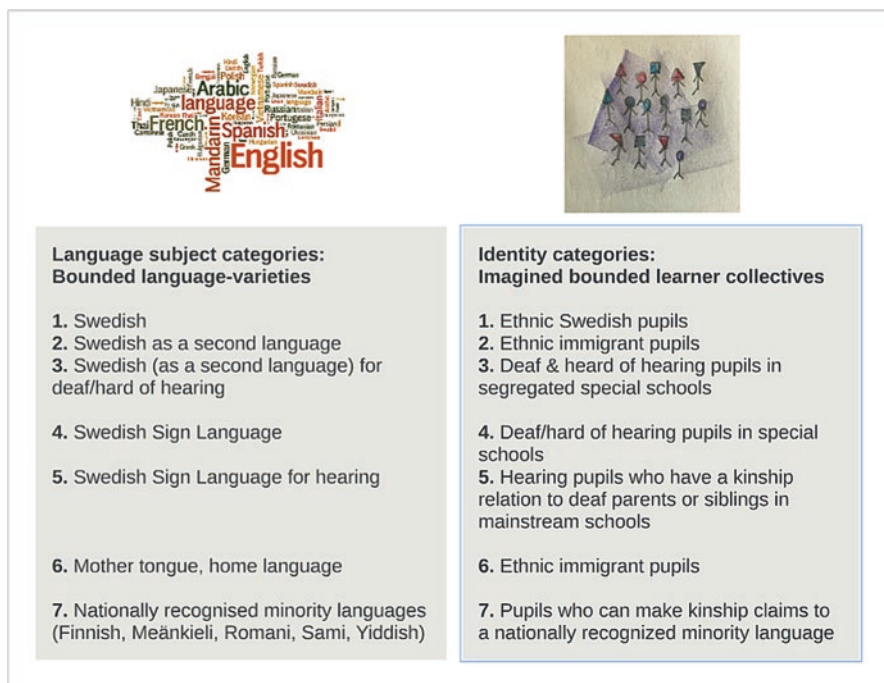
Fig. 3 Boundaries and connections between bounded language-varieties and imagined learner collectives in the Swedish school landscape. (Adapted from Bagga-Gupta 2012)

dren[3] learn in ways that differ from the learning pathways of imagined monolingual children (Douglas Fir Group 2016), or that deaf bilingual children learn in ways that differ from the learning pathways of hearing mono- and bilingual children. It is boundary-marked notions of language that are embedded in the webs-of-understandings that frame language learning for these essentialized pupil categories (see also Bagga-Gupta 2019a, b). The labels themselves mediate the learning that is organized for different groups. Here a homogenizing principle of imagined collectives reduces the pupils' communicative repertoires to named "first" and "second" language-varieties, and the school placement of pupils. Thus, as studies of both mainstream and segregated school settings have previously shown,[4] deaf pupils in mainstream school settings have access to the school subject "Swedish" (and not "Swedish [as a second language] for deaf/hard of hearing"). Similarly, it is the placement in the segregated special schools that enables immigrant deaf pupils to access the school subject "Swedish (as a second language) for deaf/hard of hearing" (and not "Swedish as a second language").

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[3] Here it is also pertinent to note that it is the use of more than one language-variety that is the salient demarcating issue. Children who have access to two or more language-varieties outside schools are reduced to a bi-lingual status in language learning school contexts.

[4] Conducted at the CCD research environment since the 1990s.

Swedish Sign Language, SSL, too gets boxed into two specific imagined categories – "SSL" for the deaf group, irrespective of the students' inscribed ethnic status, and "SSL for hearing", irrespective of the students' inscribed ethnic status (4, 5 in Fig. 3). However, it is only *normal* hearing students in mainstream schools who can claim kinship with deaf family members (parents or siblings), that can assess the language subject "SSL for hearing". Ironically, deaf pupils with cochlear implants, who have been placed in mainstream schools since the turn of the century, do *not* have access to the language subjects "SSL for hearing" or "Swedish (as a second language) for the deaf". This differs for deaf pupils – with or without cochlear implants – who study in the segregated schools. The latter have access to the language subjects "Swedish (as a second language) for deaf/hard of hearing" and "SSL" (3, 4 in Fig. 3).

Other illustrations of how language notions play out in educational settings can be found in the subject "mother-tongue", MT, and named minority/heritage language-varieties, ML, that have received political recognition (6, 7 in Fig. 3). Previously called "home language", MT is offered/available for specific groups, namely immigrant pupils (6 in Fig. 3). The five nationally recognized ML in Sweden are available to pupils who can make a claim to a kinship-based heritage (7 in Fig. 3). Instruction in MT and a nationally recognized ML is available for pupils irrespective of whether the language is used in the context of the pupils' private life settings.

Unpacking the connections that have been established between bounded named language-varieties, imagined pupil groups and institutional settings indicates that these themselves create specific learning opportunities (and constraints) for pupils (see Bagga-Gupta 2019b). Furthermore, scholarship in these domains – even when social practices within schools are focused upon – builds upon the essentialist naturalization of labels deployed in educational settings. In other words, the research enterprise *buys into the mediation* offered by the categorization itself. It is through the embeddedness of labels like "Swedish", "Swedish as a second language", "Swedish (as a second language) for deaf/hard of hearing", "mother tongue", etc. in social practices that specific issues become subscribed to them: specific criteria and aspects related to a named language subject are targeted in specific social practices framed by the labelling behavior itself. It is in this manner that language subject labels and pupil categorizations become infused with meanings that are far removed from a hybrid, intersectional expanded continuum. It is here that तत्व मिमाम्सा (tattva mimansa) becomes relevant and a turn-on-turn reflectivity can function as an inspiration. This stance invites scholars engaged in the domain of language learning to critically reflect upon their engagement with the very conceptualizations of language: *as* meaning-making tools, i.e. languaging or *as* representational means.

4   Learn*ing* Languag*ing* Matters

The conceptual move from language to languaging calls for refocusing and revitalizing *assumptions* about learning. Given that communication/languaging is a fundamental dimension of all educational work, it is important to ask what such a shift

means for doing research on the one hand, and the organization of learning for pupil groups focused upon in research on the other hand. In other words, what are the invisible assumptions regarding learning that steer work for researchers and for professionals? Rather than being an innocuous query, this constitutes a key analytical issue.

The shift to a performatory-focus (Fig. 2) pays allegiance to a larger consensus regarding the key role that language-use itself plays in shaping our understandings of processes in educational settings. This turn-on-turn reflexivity is a salient dimension of a critical social humanistic perspective that I have attempted to spell out in this chapter. Inspired by तत्व (tattva) मिमम्सा (mimamsa) as a lens, the analytical discussions presented here contribute to a growing reflective stance in the scholarship that both recognizes the multiple ways-with-words across social practices as well as the constraining nature of languaged lives we as analysts have at our disposal: people, analysts included, live lives *within* languaging. This however does not mean that we analysts cannot enhance our sensitivities towards the naturalizing essentialism related to named language and named learner categories (illustrated in Sect. 3.3).

While my arguments differentiate between (i) reflecting critically upon the work carried out in the institutional field of education (i.e. doing research) from the (ii) activity of being engaged as a professional within education, there is, especially when more than one language-variety/modality is deployed, an acute need to also highlight a significant limitation of the research enterprise. While research builds upon a web of interlinked key assumptions (that may or may not be articulated explicitly), regarding a specific or more general phenomenon, it is far from a neutral tool from which we can distil teaching methods. The nature of the research task implies that it cannot (at least not in the short-term) be deployed to fix issues related to learning. Having said that, it is equally significant to emphasize the potency of research to illuminate issues in newer ways, not least by drawing inspiration from "eureka moments", multidisciplinary projects and cross-sector endeavors.

Intersectionality and hybridity discussions tend to take place in philosophical and theoretical arenas. While intersectionality has primarily focused upon individual identity, diversity discourses that have become prominent in Northern geopolitical spaces in the twenty-first century are occurring in novel ways; difference-hood, not least spurred by re-viewings of old and new migrations from previous colonies, including more recent conflict related mobility, is increasingly marked through concepts like "super- and hyper-diversity" (Vertovec 2006; see also Blommaert 2015). A parallel development in the area of language studies, has more recently seen the emergence of neologisms like "translanguaging" and "newspeakerism". Such neologisms, like previous naturalized nomenclature, build upon ideological stances that fall short of alternative, peripheral epistemologies (see Bagga-Gupta and Messina Dahlberg 2017, 2018; Pavlenko 2018) and a turn-on-turn reflexivity. Taking the performative nature of communication and identity-positionings to task, as analytical discussions in this chapter illustrate, brings center-stage the hybrid, intersectional expanded continuum to which attention needs to be drawn. Recognizing the essentialism of labels like "Swedish", "Swedish as a second language", etc. and an

expanded continuum stance that tasks scholars to privilege the multifaceted nature of languaging and identity-positionings at the individual *and* group levels constitute key dimensions of going beyond boundary-marked/marking epistemologies.

While it is a challenge to "avoid endorsing normative understandings" related to language in the analysts own languaging, Pietkäinen et al. (2016) highlight that currently available mainstream notions have "had the effect of naturalizing and essentializing languages" (2016, p. 10). Here concepts like *chaining* and *linking* that have emerged in the analysis of languaging in social practices where participants deploy more than one language-variety/modality, including embodiment, across settings in the global-North/South and across the digital-analog divide, hold promise. Chaining has, for instance, been identified as a fundamental dimension of meaning-making in mundane communication across many academic domains since the mid-1990s.[5]

Here visual, oral, written, tactile/haptic, and other sensory dimensions have been identified as being interlayered across language-varieties/modalities in individuals' meaning-making in social activities across institutional and analogue-digital boundaries. For instance, the pointing towards a light hanging from the roof and the orally articulated semiotic sign "light" by an adult who is carrying a baby in his/her arms constitutes chaining. So is a teachers' written signage "lampa" (Swedish: light) on the whiteboard when she points to the written word and uses the SSL sign "LAMPA", linking it to the finger-spelled haptic moves in the air "L-A-M-P-A". Reading aloud from a printed book is the mundane chaining of oral and written resources both inside and outside classroom situations, as is the performance of languaging across analogue-digital divides when adults learning a language-variety through a digital platform participate in both synchronous and a-synchronous online meetings. Empirical illustrations of such chained meaning-making in everyday languaging across analogue-digital boundaries have been highlighted in the scholarship that adheres to a naturalistic agenda and takes alternative performative perspectives as points of departure.

The meaning-making enterprise of communication, made salient through a concept like chaining, avoids endorsing normative hegemonic understandings irrespective of whether people deploy one or more named language-varieties/modalities. Humans language, irrespective of which and how many varieties/modalities, etc. they engage with. This means, among other things, that privileging a monolingual, mono-modal, mono-identity norm builds upon work done unsuspectingly by researchers. It also means that emphasizing the use of two or more named varieties/modalities wherein boundaries are taken as a naturalized point of departure is contentious. From such a stance, the multidimensional nature of languaging needs to be recognized in terms of a complex hybrid, intersectional expanded continuum that goes beyond both mono and bi/multi positions. Such complexities, I have argued in this chapter, need to be illuminated through a closer analysis of languaging by scrutinizing social practices across timespaces and an alignment towards a turn-on-turn

[5] For instance, deaf studies, language studies, migration studies, CALL etc. See for instance, Bagga-Gupta (2002, 2004, 2017a), Gynne (2016), Hansen (2005), Holmström (2013), Messina Dahlberg (2015), Padden (1996).

reflexivity. This means that while ideas about diversity, pluralism etc. (for instance, as spelled out in discussions that pertain to a politics of representation or identity) build upon fundamental democratic notions of everyone's equal rights in the contemporary globalized world, there exists a need to relate as well as down-scale such ideals to the boundary-marked/marking and representational functions of languaging in mundane social practices, including policy textual arenas. Herein lies the importance of recognizing the imagined existence of all communities of practices, including the arbitrariness of specific individual and group traits that shape essentialist identity-positions and learner collectives.

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Part II
Examining Different Constructed Connections

An Odd Couple? Literacy and Multilingualism in Day Care Centers

Lars Holm

Abstract In order to understand literacy and language in education, it is no longer enough to direct research attention to schools and universities. In the Nordic countries, day care centers have become important arenas for numerous political initiatives intending to enhance children´s language and literacy learning. The poor results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) have drawn much attention to literacy and language in day care centers and resulted in the development of a considerable number of interventions intended to improve children's literacy and language skills. In this chapter changes in categorizations in Danish day care centers are analyzed focusing on the interplay between language and literacy and multilingual learners. The analysis reveals that the space for multilingualism is considerably narrowed or even deleted when the concept of language is moving closer to a PISA-related concept of literacy, and that standardized, and age-appropriate measurements of language and literacy appear as a monolingual construct reflecting theoretical assumptions related to the "factory-like nature of mass schooling" (Anderson-Lewitt, Behind schedule: batch-produced children in French and US classrooms. In: Levinson BH et al (ed) The cultural production of the educated person. Suny Press, New York, 1996). The implications of this development for multilingual children´s language learning in day care centers and for education of migrant children in general are discussed.

Keywords Day care centers · PISA · Interventions · Conceptualization of literacy · Categorizations · Multilingual learners

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1   Introduction

Since the establishment of compulsory public schooling in Western Europe, language and literacy learning has been a fundamental concern for schools. However, poor national results in The Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) in countries like Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have resulted in a number of political initiatives and interventions aiming at making language and literacy learning a concern also for day care centers.

In articles and reports, the day care centers[1] in the Nordic countries are often described as representing a "Nordic model" characterized by a sharing of common holistic values and understandings of childhood (Jensen 2009, OECD 2011, Meland et al. 2016). In the OECD report from 2011 "Starting Strong", this holistic oriented understanding of the day care centers in the Nordic countries is termed a "comprehensive approach" and contrasted to a "school readiness approach", which – according to the OECD report – is found in many other western countries. The main research interest of this chapter is to analyze the implications of making language and literacy learning a concern for day care centers for multilingual children. The analysis is based on the categorizations and concepts in the dominant interventions aimed at improving children's´ literacy and language skills in day care centers. The categorizations and concepts are analyzed in a historical and situated perspective (Green and Cormack 2015), focusing on the scientific foundation and knowledge construction of categories and on the framework these categorizations offer for understanding literacy, language, and learning in relation to multilingual children.

This approach is inspired by Freebody (2007) and Green and Cormack (2015), who argue that history quite often is absent in literacy studies in education. This blind spot in literacy research is – according to Freebody (2007) – related to a specific historical identification of reading in its mainstream form as a scientific field of study, in which historical sensitivity has been marginalized. Looking in general at the research field of New Literacy Studies (NLS), Green and Cormack (2015) point out that this research tradition seems to put an emphasis on the present and on the emerging future at the expense of an informed historical consciousness. While there has been a move in literacy research from a focus on local literacies to trans-local literacies that has encouraged an understanding of the increasing importance of local-global dynamics in a globalized world, and while the contemporary focus on literacy is often on fluidity, diversity, and fast transition processes, it still seems to be a challenge for literacy research to include a historical dimension. To overcome this shortcoming, Green and Cormack (2015) discuss what it means to think in terms of literacy as situated. Drawing on Edward Soja's work, they suggest an understanding of literacy as situated in a threefold manner: socially (i.e. socio-culturally and socio-economically), spatially, and historically. This understanding

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[1] In this chapter, the concept day care center is used as an umbrella term for institutions for children between half a year and 5–6 years. In a Danish context more than 90% of all children attend day care centers.

opens for challenging research questions in relation to literacy. In this chapter, the focus is on how to operationalize historical inquiry into the relation between literacy and multilingual learners in day care centers.

Inspired by Foucault, I argue that a focus on changing distinctions and categorizations in day care centers might be a productive way of opening for an understanding of the relation between literacy and second language learners that takes the historical dimension into consideration. According to Foucault, formal categorizations of individuals can be seen as a production of the relationship between the "normal" and the "abnormal". The categorization involves that the individual becomes an object of a documentation allowing for differentiation, comparison, and sanction. In addition, certain normality is constructed (Foucault 2002, 2005). Whether the purpose of categorization is to make the abnormal visible or, for example, to identify different degrees of linguistic ability, the distinction is based on the normative notions of how something should be. In this perspective, a linguistic categorization of toddlers can be regarded as a production of the relationship between what is good and healthy linguistic development, and what is not, and at the same time as an ontological construction of language and linguistic development. The formal categorizations and their identification of the deviant are not only a selection and identification of the normal, but also of "the best".

In this chapter, I analyze three historically situated different aims of the linguistic categorization in day care centers. The first categorization is compensatory in nature aimed at children who are considered not to have proper age-related language skills. The general aim of the second kind of categorization is to uncover and support the linguistic development of multilingual children, while the goal with the third type of categorization is to achieve better results in international PISA measurements. The focus is on how the changing institutional categorizations of children's language development represent different theoretical positions, disciplinary orientations, and normative understandings in regard to children's language and literacy development.

The changing – and to some extent competing – assumptions embedded in the different categorizations attract attention because they influence how children's language development is – or should be – institutionally understood. The institutionally sanctioned production of knowledge, expressed in the categorizations, is to a greater or lesser extent agenda-making for the discourse about children's language development and for pedagogical practice. As will be apparent from the following, categorizations and assessments contain both direct and indirect language policy statements, for example, by determining which language(s) are the base for judging language and literacy competence. In this way, the language categorizations can be read as "de facto language policy" (Shohamy 2006).

The empirical base for the analysis of the categorizations in Danish day care centers is legislation, reports from ministries and municipalities, language and literacy assessment materials, and research literature. The Danish day care centers (for children aged 0–5/6 years) are basically regulated by central governmental legislation and regulations. But at the same time the day care centers have a relatively decentralized structure and traditionally a high degree of institutional autonomy

(Plum 2014, Schmidt 2014, Togsverd 2015). The responsibility for the implementation of legislations and regulations lies with the municipalities and the institutions, and there have traditionally been considerable differences between different municipalities and different day care centers. This makes it quite difficult to generalize about the pedagogical everyday practices of Danish day care centers. However, with regard to categorizations, the situation is different. Due to the fact that the categorizations – among other things – are used for identifying children with special needs who are entitled to special support, the linguistic categorizations and, to some degree, also the instruments used to establish the categorizations are nation-wide and regulated by legislation.

2   The Special Educational Focus

The first formal institutional categorization of children in day care centers that can be traced in a Danish context is a distinction between "normal children" and "children with learning difficulties", especially language learning difficulties. This categorization dates back to the early 1900s, where a need arose in the general elementary schools to select so-called disadvantaged pupils for special classes and to develop pedagogy in relation to this group (Bendixen and Christensen 2015). Special education in Denmark is rooted in this need and was established as a national and international research and practice field in the 1920s. The field is visible, among other things, through the establishment of a Nordic Association for Special Education, a Nordic Journal of Special Education, and in the formation of a Danish Audiology Educational Association in 1923 (Thomsen and Bylander 2013).

2.1   Construction of Categorizations

The special pedagogical categorization is characterized by the use of psychometric measurement methods. Psychometry has its background in a research tradition focusing on the development of scientific methods to measure and quantify individual mental abilities. In a historical perspective, this research tradition can be seen as a way to fulfill a societal need in democratic states for an "objective" and scientific selection of individuals that could be used for determining, e.g. access to higher education (Holm 2015). Within special pedagogy there is, as in the case of intelligence testing, a distinction between "mental age" and "chronological age" (Bendixen and Christensen 2015). This distinction forms the basis for the concepts "age appropriate/non-age appropriate" and allows describing the individual child as "behind" or "on level" - often through a numerical indication of the child's mental age. A precondition for the measurement method is that a standard for language development has been established, to which the individual child's score can be related. The norm is established through mathematical calculations of the result in a pretext

where an assessment has been applied to a large number of people (Bendixen and Christensen 2015). A key issue in relation to this dichotomous categorization of children's language development as being within or outside the normal area is to determine a so-called cut-off score. This means the lowest possible score in a standardized test that qualifies for a placement in the category "age appropriate" (Kreiner 2009). Thus, the special educational categorization not only requires establishment of a norm for a population through a psychometric measurement method, but also decisions about a cut-off score representing certain expectations to the proportion of the total population enrolled in one category or another.

Within the special pedagogical field of practice, you find a fairly broad consensus that about 10% of all children are categorized as children with learning difficulties and in need of special educational efforts. In a major UK study from 2013, it is described as a general phenomenon that 10% of all children have learning difficulties (Butterworth and Kovaks 2013), and a statistic from the municipality of Aarhus from 2006 on the percentage of students in municipal special education shows a categorization that moves around the 10% mark. The percentage of pupils in municipal special education in the period 2003/2004 to 2006/2007 is 9.11%, 10.21%, 10.17%, and 10.10%, respectively (Århus Kommune 2006).

2.2 Language Conceptualization

In addition to a psychometric measurement method, the special pedagogical focus is characterized by a conceptualization of language that is embedded in a structural oriented paradigm. Central theoretical assumptions within this paradigm are that language is a general and abstract system of meaning making, in which form and meaning can be separated, and that the language system is not affected by individual use (Harris 1980, Widdowson 1996). As a consequence, language is regarded as a phenomenon constituted by and measurable through certain predefined subelements such as pronunciation, vocabulary, morphology, and syntax

Assessment practice within the special education framework has certain characteristics physically, temporally, and materially. As pointed out in a guide to one of the materials used for categorizations, "You should sit in a single room with the child and provide the child with sufficient time in a relaxed atmosphere" (Ege 2007). However, in most psychometric-oriented assessment materials "sufficient time" is typically defined as a time-limit for the interaction between the child and an adult, and further, the interaction is typically highly governed by the chosen assessment material (Holm and Schmidt 2015). This approach can be seen as a logical consequence of the structural oriented concept of language, where the theoretical understanding implies a perspectivve on language as something that consists of decontextualized sub-elements that can be examined individually and added to a general statement about the linguistic ability of a child. In general, the special education focus can be described as follows (Fig. 1):

Focus	Aim	Theoretical orientation	Categorizations and their expected distribution	Central keywords	Assessment practice
The special education focus	To identify deviations in children's language development in order to select and compensate through effective support	A combination of psychometric measurement methods with a structural oriented conceptualization of language and with research in special education	Children with and without learning disabilities. 10% - 90%	Age-appropriate/not age-appropriate language development "behind" or "on level"	A strongly regulated interaction between a child and an adult.

Fig. 1 The special education focus

3 The Bilingual Focus

In the 1990s, new language categorizations of young children appeared in day care centers in the form of the terms "monolingual" and "bilingual children". Not only did the registration of language categories of young children expand to include more than age / non-age appropriateness, but also new conceptualizations of language appeared in day care centers. As a result of different types of migration in the 1980s and 1990s, still more children with a different linguistic background than Danish became a part of the day care centers. The attention to the bilingual children was reflected in the legislation on language stimulation training, which is regulated by section 4a of the Danish National School Act, which states:

> Bilingual children who have not yet begun schooling can be offered support for language development in order for the children to acquire Danish. Support can be given for up to 3 h a day (Undervisningsministeriet 1997).

This legislation comprises of a linguistic categorization of a particular child group, which is considered to be "behind" before school starts. The categorization has its background and its legitimacy in a school readiness perspective and indicates that the day care centers from 1997 have a language education task, which has not previously been legally regulated. At the same time, the category "bilingual children" represents a showdown with previously used terms such as "children of foreign workers" (fremmedarbejderbørn) or "children with foreign languages" (fremmedsprogede børn), thereby marking a connection to the newer national and international research field of bilingualism. Within this field of study, the predominant definition of "bilingual child" in the 1990s is a sociolinguistic-oriented definition describing the category of bilingual children as children who in their daily life meet and use more than one language (Buchardt and Fabrin 2015). Thus, this categorization is not, as the special educational categorization, based on the measurement and on the development of a standard for age-appropriate language, but in identification of a particular language usage situation. However, the concept "bilingual" is not as clear as it might look at a first glance. It is used differently in various academic and

political contexts and is open to definitions and content fulfillment based on different criteria such as competence, function, attitude, and origin (See Laursen and Holm 2010).

3.1 Construction of Categorizations

The measurement and categorization in the context of the bilingual focus differs in principle from the special pedagogical focus by being criteria-related and not norm-related. The criteria-related assessment materials for bilingualism (see, for example, Isager 1997, Løntoft and Raal 1998, Undervisningsministeriet 2007) aim to assess children's language performance against descriptions of staged scales for children's language development. These stages typically have roots in general theories and assumptions about children's language development and are not standardized through a pretest (Holmen 2012). The measurement method aims to provide a broader description - a linguistic profile – of a child's language usage and does not appear in a numerical representation indicating whether a child's language is age-appropriate or not. At the same time, however, there is a certain overall age-relatedness in the way most assessment materials are constructed. For example, the ministerial material for day care centers "Vis, hvad du kan" [Show what you can] (Undervisningsministeriet 2007) is developed in three different versions for three-year-old children, four- to five-year-old children, and school starters.

While a norm-related assessment is an assessment of an individual's performance compared to the performance of other individuals, the criteria-related approach has its theoretical background in curriculum theory (Bendixen 2005). It is an assessment of an individual's performance in relation to certain developmental stages. A criteria-related assessment can direct the evaluative perspective towards any aspect of language and language use, including complex interactive and multilingual aspects of language use. The statistical comparison in the norm-related assessment – due to its psychometric orientation – necessarily has to direct the evaluative attention to aspects of language and language use, which can be quantified. Thus, the norm-related and the criteria-related approach represent two different ways of creating knowledge.

3.2 Language Conceptualization

The bilingual focus, as evidenced by the language assessment materials, conceptualizes first and foremost language as a dynamic social phenomenon, in which the meaning making is rooted in the interaction in the individual situation (Goffman 1959, Silverstein 1992). In other words, it is a central assumption that language cannot be separated from the people who produce it or from the situations in which it is

produced (Spolsky 1998). This conceptualization of language implies that the attention is essentially directed to a child's use of language and other means of communication for meaning making in interaction with others. In the assessment materials within the bilingual approach, it is a general feature that the starting point for the linguistic assessment is the child's interactive language, i.e., its conversational skills, including the use of communication strategies and language practices in a relatively open dialogue between an adult and a child (Isager 1997, Løntoft and Raal 1998, Undervisningsministeriet 2007). However, this does not mean that attention is not also directed to linguistic aspects such as pronunciation, vocabulary, and morphology, but it is done in a more contextualized way than is typically the case with a special educational linguistic assessment. As regards the assessment practice, it basically has the same features as in the special education field. Knowledge of a child's language development is created through a linguistic interaction between an adult and a child, guided by assessment material.

The category "bilingual children" and the term "language stimulation training" demonstrate new conceptualizations and categorizations of languages within day care centers as well as new challenges concerning language pedagogy. The multilingual, interactive, and criteria-based conceptualization of language embedded in the bilingual focus, opens in principle for many different interpretations of language pedagogy. In the guidance on language stimulation training from 1997, the character and aim of the language stimulation training is formulated in the following way:

> Support for bilingual children's linguistic development has to be integrated into a targeted pedagogical work aimed at children's general development. There has to be a focus on the linguistic aspects of all activities, which, for this age group, must not bear the mark of formal education. On the basis of concrete, sensory-based experiences, children must acquire concepts and linguistic expressions in two languages within areas that interest them. The concepts the children acquire are thus linked to two languages and thus allow for coherence in the children's experience of the world. (http://pub.uvm.dk/2000/tosprog/6.htm; my translation)

Looking at some of the many interpretations of this ministerial guide to language stimulation training, a variety of suggestions appears on how to understand and organize language stimulation training. In general, language stimulation training seems to be something that is thought and dealt with in everyday situations, thematic courses, and all other types of activities (see, for example, Wybrandt and Anderson 2013, EVA 2008) rather than being organized as an activity at a particular time of day. This means that it is not only specially trained language pedagogues or language consultants, but a wide group of pedagogues and pedagogue assistants who are involved in the work on language stimulation training. The bilingual focus puts language and language development more clearly on the agenda of the day care centers than previously and contributes to the professional development of language pedagogy (EVA 2008). In summary, the bilingual focus has these characteristic features (Fig. 2):

Focus	Aim	Theoretical orientation	Categorizations and their expected distribution	Central keywords	Assessment practice
The bilingual focus	To identify bilingual children's language development in order to select children with or without a need for language stimulation training (§ 4a) for targeted second language acquisition support.	An interactional-oriented conceptualization of language with a criteria-based measurement method in combination with a theoretical foundation in theories and research about bilingual development and second language acquisition.	Monolingual children. Bilingual children The distribution of the categories varies highly from location to location. On a general national level, the distribution was about 90% monolingual and 10% bilingual.	Language stimulation training	A regulated interaction between a child and an adult.

Fig. 2 The bilingual focus

4   The Literacy-Oriented Focus

New categorizations of young children appear in relation to the political require-ment about language testing *all* children at the age of 3 (Lov 501 2007). This min-isterial regulation is related to a need for better results in the PISA measurements of Danish students' literacy level and is justified by the Ministry on two assumptions: that ranking among the best countries in the PISA measurements is a prerequisite for economic growth and that better results are a necessary competitive advantage on the global market (Holm and Laursen 2011). The linguistic development of chil-dren in day care centers is seen in the light of school literacy, and it means that "linguistic and communicative skills" are interpreted and defined in a certain way: as the linguistic features that are considered to be key precursors to literacy in a way that is expected to provide better PISA results.

4.1   Construction of Categorizations

In order to test the language skills of all children at the age of 3, the ministerial material "Language Assessment Material for 3 Years" was made available to municipalities and institutions for free and was rapidly and widely used (EVA 2010). In this material, which draws on psychometric theory, new categorizations of children in day care centers are constructed. The material is standardized in such

a way that on a national level, 5% of the children are expected to be placed in the group of children in need of a *special effort* (children in need of special education), 5–15% of the children in the group of children in need of a *focused effort* (language group in day care centers or similar), and the remaining 85%, who are expected to have an age-appropriated language development, in the group of children in need of a *general effort* (MFF 2007: 3, EVA 2010). There is also a gender distinction in the material as it contains both a registration form for 3-year-old boys and 3-year-old girls. This is explained by the argument that "there is a big difference between their language development at the age of 3" (MFF 2007: 5). This interest in gender differences in language development is, however, not claimed in relation to differences between monolingual and multilingual children. The producers of the assessment material argue that if the same assessment material is not used for both groups of children, it does not allow for a "direct comparison between children" (Bleses et al. 2008, p. 18).

As regards assessment practice in relation to "Language Assessment Material for 3 Years", it consists primarily of a highly controlled interaction between a pedagogue and a child, and in a new addition, parents have to answer a questionnaire about their child's language use (Holm 2009).

Within the literacy-oriented focus, a child's age-appropriate vocabulary is considered to be one of the most important precursors for developing literacy. In the large government-supported program "Fremtidens Dagtilbud" [The day care centers of the future] from 2014, a Danish adaption of the American test from the 1980s "Communicative Development Inventories" (CDI) plays an important part (Bleses et al. 2008, p. 652). The CDI instrument is based on a questionnaire survey, in which parents first answer questions about their children's vocabulary. The argument for using the CDI as a part of the program "The day care centers of the future" was that the CDI allows for large and representative samples of language data necessary for establishing age-based norms. (Bleses et al. 2008). The children for the Danish version of the CDI were randomly selected based on a variety of criteria. Children should be born in Denmark and be Danish citizens. They should be monolingual Danish-speaking children living with both of their parents (probably understood as a man and a women) and not having any diagnosed speech or other serious health problems (Bleses et al. 2008, p. 655).

These selection criteria exclude a significant number of young children because their social, linguistic, and citizenship situation makes them unsuitable as contributors to establishing a norm.[2] It is difficult to say how many children are excluded based on these criteria, but in some areas in Denmark, only very few children might meet them. It also appears that there is a considerable social bias[3] in relation to the parents who have chosen to participate in the survey, as there is a

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[2] The producers of the assessment indicate that the selection criteria represent a ministerial wish (Bleses et al. 2008).

[3] According to the American "Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing", a test is biased if it is used in relation to a group for which it has not been designed or normed (Caldas 2013, p. 218).

massive overrepresentation of parents with high education and of parents at work (Bleses et al. 2008), a well-known issue in a CDI study (Law and Roy 2008). Thus, it is essentially the Danish-speaking upper middle class which is the source for the age-based vocabulary norm for all children. Therefore, it is highly likely that children with other linguistic and social backgrounds are to be categorized as children who are "behind" already at the age of 1. And vice versa, there will be other children who will appear as "promising" or "ahead" because they have grown up in an environment whose language has become the norm for what is regarded as age-appropriate.

4.2   Language Conceptualization

The conceptualization of language within the literacy-oriented focus is, as seen in the assessment materials, characterized by drawing on a structural oriented conceptualization of language combined with elements from literacy research. As shown in the quote below, this combination results in very specific linguistic recommendations for language pedagogy in day care centers, with a great emphasis on understanding and knowledge of linguistic elements - on receptive linguistic competencies, while it is only in relation to words that productive competence is considered.

> The children's linguistic and communicative skills play an important role in the child's development and well-being in day care centers. Research has shown that the early linguistic competences predict skills at school and in particular these linguistic areas are important in regard to future learning (National Early Literacy Panel, 2008): Productive vocabulary and understanding of words and complex languages, phonetic awareness (the ability to detect, analyze and process the phonetic aspects of the spoken language), literacy, and literacy concepts (knowledge of rules in the written language, such as reading in a certain direction and concepts such as front page, author, and title and knowledge of letter names and sounds associated with printed letters). (Rambøll et al. 2016, p. 10; my translation)

It is here argued that language pedagogy should focus on the skills that predict literacy outcomes, and as a consequence, the language pedagogy focuses on programs and interventions that have been shown to support the development of "precursors to literacy" (see for example "Sprogpakken" 2010). The conceptualization of language in the literacy-focus means that the language pedagogy is defined in two ways. First, it must be aimed at the linguistic aspects considered to be central for developing literacy skills in Danish. Second, there must be research evidence for the effect of the program in relation to children's later Danish language literacy and reading development in school.

In order to understand the implications of the increased focus on literacy for multilingual students, it might be illuminating to look briefly at one of the many statistical figures that is a part of the program "Fremtidens dagtilbud" [The day care centers of the future].

Figure 3 shows children's development of phonetic awareness in relation to "rhymes" from 3 to 5.5 years of age. It illustrates not only how one specific
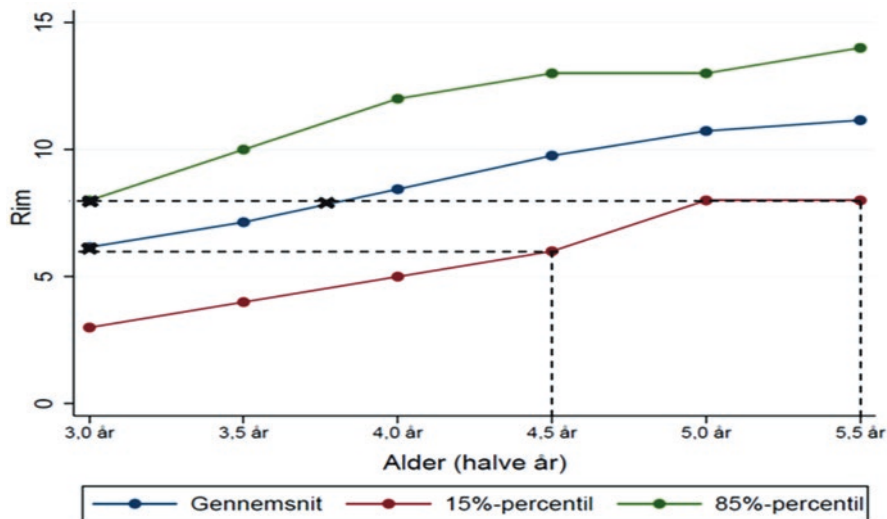
Fig. 3 Children's development of rhymes from 3–5.5 years of age

(monolingual) precursor to literacy is made important, but it also reveals a certain conceptualization and understanding of children's language development through the construction of a match – or a mismatch – between chronological age and a certain level in relation to rhymes. This conceptualization constructs a model of childhood in which a child can fall "behind" – can be "behind schedule". However, a child can only fall behind schedule if an age-related norm about something is constructed. As Anderson-Levitt (1996) argues, the logic behind the obsession with measurement of children's language development is related to a specific model of mass schooling. Her argument is that:

> Chronological age and "maturity" (mental age/"level") matter because schools are built around the expectation that children move through predefined stages in learning according to predictable schedules. Learning to read is constructed as a series of stages, and failure consists of "falling behind schedule" in mastering them. (note)

According to Anderson-Levitt (1996), the age-oriented conceptualization of children's language and literacy development is constitutive for the organization of learning in three ways: (a) instructions must be organized as a series of stages, (b) children must begin moving through the stages at a specified chronological age, and (c) students must move through those stages in groups rather than as individuals. In relation to the Danish day care centers, the stages and the corresponding schedule of expectations open up for a construction of categories that build on conceptualizations appearing as arbitrary, monolingual, and related to a very specific and narrow understanding of what might be regarded as children's development of language and literacy.

Overall, the literacy-oriented focus implies that all children in day care centers are subject to language teaching efforts related to precursors to literacy. A smaller

Focus	Aim	Theoretical orientation	Categorizations and their expected distribution	Keyconcepts	Assessment practice
The literacy oriented focus	To test monolingual and bilingual children in day care centers with the same assessment material and to select in three categories with different types of language support	A combination of psychometric measurement methods, at structural oriented conceptualizations of language and literacy research that is focusing on precursors to literacy	Boys, girls, and children in need of a special, focused, or general support

Distribution: 5%, 10 % (5 %-15 %) and 85% | Effective language support, evidence | A strongly regulated interaction between a child and an adult and/or questionnaires answered by parents or pedagogues |

Fig. 4 The literacy oriented focus

proportion (5%) than previously (10%) is categorized as children with special educational needs and a new 10% (5% - 15%) range is constructed. An argument for this new way of categorizing children in day care centers is not provided. The strongest argument relates to the need to compare children without taking different linguistic backgrounds into consideration (Bleses et al. 2008). This indicates strong pragmatic and ideological reasons for reducing the special education category and for eliminating the bilingual category.

The literacy-oriented focus implies that language and children's language development is firmly placed on the agenda in a way that is oriented towards reading at school. This means that the conceptualization of language in day care centers basically is reduced to being precursors to literacy. As mentioned previously, the OECD's "Starting Strong" report in 2011 distinguishes between a school-readiness approach and an "overall approach" in the description of different national traditions within the area and states that an overall approach should be prominent in Denmark. If attention is paid to language and children's language development in day care centers, this description is misleading because, since 2007, there has obviously been thought put into a school-readiness approach in relation to children's language development within day care centers (Fig. 4).

5   Conclusion and Discussion

The three discourse patterns in Figs. 1, 2 and 3 have been identified chronologically based on their general time of appearance. However, they should be seen as overlapping hegemonic discourses and not as discourses totally replacing each other; in some cases, the three discourses might be found side by side in municipalities and institutions.

In a general perspective, Figs. 1, 2 and 3 reveal several processes: (a) a development from a situation in which language support was directed towards children with special needs – estimated to be 10% of the population – to a situation in which all children are regarded as in need of a language effort that supports the development of literacy in school; (b) categorizations change over time. Some persist (children with special needs), some decline and disappear (bilingual children/second language learners), and new ones come into being (children in need of "special", "focused" or "general" support; (c) the proportion of categorizations are changeable and appear as rather arbitrary (e.g., the reduction of children with special needs from 10% to 5% and the elimination of the category "bilingual"; (d) the aim of the language support change over time – from having a compensatory aim to aiming at better result in international comparisons of literacy competence (PISA); (e) the conceptualization of language in day care centers changes over time – from a "holistic" understanding that might include multilingual development to an understanding of language development that focusses on precursors to literacy in one language.

The historically-situated analysis of changing conceptualizations of language and literacy in day care centers in Denmark reveals several issues with impact for multilingual children's language learning opportunities. First, when the concept of language moves closer to a concept of literacy, understood as precursors to literacy, the space for multilingualism is narrowed or even deleted, and second, age-related constructions of linguistic level reflecting precursors to literacy appear as a monolingual construct with theoretical assumptions related to the "factory-like nature of mass schooling".

The theoretical orientation of the literacy-oriented focus in Denmark represents a "monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994), implying a "silencing of bilingualism" (Garcia and Kleifgen 2015) and revealing that literacy and multilingualism in Danish day care centers are an odd couple. Psychometric measurement of age-appropriate linguistic levels demands an understanding of language as measurable units that can be scored dichotomously – e.g., the child can or cannot give the Danish name of the animal on a picture. In contrast, multilingual language development is in general seen as very complex and not generalizable phenomenon on the concrete linguistic level (Laursen and Holm 2010), and therefore, it makes no sense to talk about age-appropriate multilingual language development. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly for multilingual children, the psychometric measurement tradition seems to naturalize an understanding of language development in one language as something that should be age-appropriate – not in a general proto-typical way but on a very specific level – e.g., in regard to knowledge of specific words in a specific language.

The use and orientation towards monolingual age-appropriateness will most likely lead to a considerable number of multilingual children being measured as "behind" from the time they start in day care centers and thus seen as children in need of a "special effort". This is clearly seen in a report from a suburban municipality of Copenhagen with many migrant children. The use of the ministerial measurement instrument has here resulted in an identification of not less than 34.28% of the aged 3 children in need of a special effort (Ishøj Kommune 2010). The municipality argued that this number was misleading and related to the monolingual char-

acter of the testing instrument, thus not showing the right number of children with learning difficulties (Ishøj Kommune 2010, p. 8). This explicit critique of the ministerial language measurement instrument and its monolingual bias seems, however, to be an exception.

The major problem with identifying multilingual children as children in need of a special effort is – seen from a language development perspective – that the *special effort* is constructed as compensatory in nature and aimed at bringing children "on level" in regard to specific precursors to literacy, while not aiming at developing children's general language skills in one or several languages. In this way, the logic and theoretical orientation of a psychometric measurement regulates the relation between language, literacy, and learning in Danish day care centers in a specific way. Some argue that the literacy-oriented focus is to the best of all children (Bleses et al. 2008). However, the analysis of the assumptions and implications of this approach indicates that this might not be the case for multilingual students. On the contrary, in countries such as Denmark and Germany where the literacy-oriented focus has been high on the agenda for more than a decade (Holm and Laursen 2011), and where comprehensive educational reforms have been launched to improve PISA-results, the school success rate of migrant children seems to be falling. In Germany the PISA-results from 2015 were interpreted as showing that the German school system has failed in regard to the education of migrant children (Dienelt 2015), and in Denmark the Minister of Integration described it as a catastrophe that second and third generation migrants have a considerable lower score in PISA-measurement compared to monolingual students (BT 16 July 2017). These points of view might be interpreted as indicating that the literacy-oriented focus has severe negative implications for the educational success of migrant students, and thus are counteracting a development in the direction of equal opportunities and societal equity, which ideologically is given high priority politically in countries like Denmark and Germany. It seems as if current educational politics in regard to the conceptualizations of language, literacy, and learning are locked up by being framed and informed by the logic embedded in PISA-measurements and other psychometric-oriented measurement instruments. Seen from the perspective of multilingual children, this situation calls for new conceptualizations and new non-psychometric oriented ways in research and education to approach the complex and fluid relations between language, literacy, and learning.

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Treading Semiotic Paths in Multilingual Literacy Learning: Challenging Ideological Conceptualizations of Language and Literacy in Education

Helle Pia Laursen

Abstract Informed by a view of language and literacy learning as social semiosis, the chapter argues that there is a need for a deconstruction of ideological conceptualizations of language and literacy and a reconceptualization of the relationship between language and literacy that reflect the complexity of children's linguistic and semiotic repertoires and their engagement in language and literacy as meaning making. The findings from *Signs of Language*, which frames this article, have shown that, when given the opportunity, multilingual students find and create paths across languages and modes in their literacy practices and in learning to read and write in a language new to them. However, these findings have also demonstrated that multilingual students' perceptions of their own proficiency and future opportunities are strongly influenced by the growing tendency to use literacy skills to regulate education through outcome metrics and the growing perception of literacy as a set of measurable skills that can only be measured in a specific language. Based on these findings, this chapter calls for greater research attention to be devoted to emic perspectives that transcend universalistic conceptions of literacy as well as fragmented understandings of semiotic meaning making.

Keywords Social semiotics · Meaning making · Linguistically diverse classrooms · Models of multilingualism · Perceived proficiency

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1   'The Child Normally Understands the Spoken Language'

'What is new and difficult for the novice reader is the decoding of the written language. "What does it say?", the child asks. That's the problem. And the problem is solved if the text is read aloud for the child. The child, as we know, normally understands the spoken language' (Elbro 2014, p. 59, my translation).

'Det nye og svære for begynderlæseren er afkodningen af skriften. "Hvad står dér?" spørger barnet. Det er problemet. Og problemet er løst for barnet, hvis det får teksten læst op. Det talte sprog forstår barnet jo normalt' (The original text in Danish)

The quotation above is from the book 'Reading and reading difficulties', which is widely used in teacher education as an introduction for student teachers on how to teach children to read. According to the description on its website, the book deals with topics such as 'principles of written Danish, reading processes, methods of reading instruction, and reading difficulties'.

The quotation represents a certain understanding of reading (Østergaard 2013) and presents it as though it were commonsense. In the original Danish quotation, this common-sensibility is signaled in the general tone and in the little adverb 'jo', which, in Danish, is used to indicate that something is familiar or obvious and that one assumes that the receiver of the message shares the epistemic stance taken (Mortensen 2012). However, many presuppositions are embedded in this representation of reading. First, this representation implies that children's entry into the written language is something that begins at school start. Second, it implies that written language is understood as a direct representation of the spoken language – and that learning to read is essentially synonymous with decoding (in this case, sounding out words). The learning process is presented as a linear process: first decoding and then comprehension, which is something that is taken for granted. Third, this representation entails that learning the principles of the written language is tied to the alphabetic script system – and, in this case, to a specific Danish version of it; consequently, it is considered to be *un*-normal *not* to understand spoken Danish.

In this way, language and literacy become ideologically integrated in a way that reduces literacy acquisition to a question of adding signs to a language that the student is expected to know. As such, the fact that this is not the case for all children is either neglected or viewed as a deviation from the norm rather than a common condition for many children. This perception of literacy may have serious consequences for students who do not fit into this monolingual construction of the normal child, as it leads to a perception of the multilingual child who does not progress along the expected path as – in Anderson-Levitt's (1996) words – falling behind schedule. The quotation represents a common ideological and institutionalized conception of literacy learning and of the way language and literacy are interwoven in this process. As such, it also forms part of the normative landscape that children navigate in school and through which they interpret what is currently expected of them as well as their proficiency and future opportunities (Laursen 2019).

In this chapter, I argue for a shift in the conception of literacy. I believe we should move beyond viewing literacy as a direct representation of the spoken language and

as linked to a specific spoken language that one is supposed to master. Instead of thinking in national based norms and boundaries, we need to open for new research agendas to study meaning making processes and practices across languages and modalities, which also involves children's investment in learning the language primarily used in the learning environment.

2   The Study *Signs of Language* and the Educational Context

This chapter is built on previous and new analyses from the study *Signs of Language* (to which I will return in more detail). The study has followed students in five different classrooms since they began school and focuses on their meaning making processes and practices in relation to literacy. The study is an ongoing ten-year collaborative study that examines multilingual children's literacy acquisition by paying attention to their conceptions and explorations of written language as a meaning-making tool. It takes place in five linguistically diverse classroom settings in Denmark. The study started in August 2008, when the children began in year one (age 5–6), and it will continue until 2018, when the children will be in year ten (age 15–16). Most of the children who are officially labeled as 'bilingual' were born and raised in Denmark. In primary and lower secondary school, these bilingual students follow the mainstream curriculum but, in some cases, they receive supplementary teaching in 'Danish as a second language' if deemed necessary and accepted by the school principal. However, as a result of increased migration, the number of newly arrived students with a non-Danish background has risen in recent years. In most cases, these students are provided with some basic instruction in Danish in a reception class or through teaching in teams or individual instruction before enrollment in the mainstream classroom.

Like in many other Western European countries, in Danish educational policy, there is a move towards mainstreaming with a minimum of second language support (Mohan et al. 2001) and a strong emphasis on 'Danishness' in terms of cultural and linguistic affiliation. At the same time, there is a growing tendency to use literacy skills to regulate education through outcome metrics and international comparisons of test scores. This intensified regulation is evidenced, for example, in the Danish national test program, which includes a reading test in years three, five, seven and nine and in the PISA measurement, which is an international survey that tests the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students in a number of countries worldwide (OECD 2018). Within the PISA framework, literacy is understood as a skill or a competence held by the individual that can be divided into a number of specific subskills in a given language and in a given written language, thus conceptualized as a set of measurable skills, which are measured in a specific language. Students who are not considered native speakers are measured against monolingual students. It is hardly surprising that such comparisons of monolingual and bilingual students' literacy skills place the bilingual students in a deficit position, which becomes evident in the test scores, and which is regularly exposed in the media (Holm 2017;

Holm and Laursen 2011). Consequently, these students have been identified as a particular risk group that requires special attention and, for this reason, a so-called 'PISA ethnic' measurement is conducted in schools with a high percentage of bilingual children. As the focus on accountability and test performances increases, there is also a heightened political pressure on migrant families to ensure that their children learn Danish before school start and, since 2004, it has been compulsory for bilingual children who either do not attend a day-care center or who do attend a day-care center but is considered in need of language support to participate in language stimulation training.

The study *Signs of Language* is situated in schools with a significant number of students with diverse language backgrounds. Data are collected partly through observations and interventions in the classrooms with the aim of exploring the possibilities of pedagogical transformations of the literacy practices in these classrooms. In each classroom, teachers and research assistants collaborate to create literacy learning opportunities taking into consideration the linguistic diversity and the students' language learning needs. Moreover, the data collection comprises interviews and different researcher generated activities, in which all children take part in several different meaning-making processes that involve various visual and verbal representations of their language and literacy practices. Some of the activities include interactions with different linguistic resources. In other activities, the children interact in varying ways with texts in Danish, which is the language of instruction in these classrooms. Among other things, the study allows us to follow the children across a range of different contexts to acquire closer insights into the interaction between the children's meaning making processes and the semiosized spaces around them. As will be shown in the next sections, this also includes children's personal and interpersonal construction of proficiency as language and literacy users.

3 Is it Normal to Understand Danish? The Dialogical Construction of Proficiency

One of the above researcher-generated activities was inspired by the language-teaching task 'dictogloss', which was introduced by Wajnryb (1990) as an interactive approach to teaching grammar. The activity was carried out in year five when the students were 10–11 years old. First, a short text in Danish was read aloud three times to a group of three children while they took notes. Then the children worked together to summarize the text without looking at the original text. The text was a short, slightly revised, newspaper article about a python; it described how the python had got caught on an aircraft wing and how the flabbergasted passengers had watched the snake struggle with strong winds and minus-degree temperatures throughout the two-hour flight and how, unfortunately, the snake died before the plane reached its destination. The original aim of this activity was to give the

children the opportunity to talk about the content and the language of the article and to learn about their reading strategies during their reconstruction. However, it was actually a different observation that ended up being the most insightful; namely, that several of the 'bilingual students' had difficulties understanding the text and obviously felt so ashamed that they tried to conceal their lack of understanding. They looked down, they looked embarrassed, and some of them tried to catch a glimpse of the others' notes or to install an unofficial agenda. Only a few of the children explicitly said that they found the text difficult to understand. This showed very clearly that, in linguistically diverse classrooms such as those in this study, we cannot assume that the children will understand a text if it is only read aloud, just as we cannot assume that they will draw attention to a potential lack of understanding. This finding made us aware that the students seemed to have accepted the monolingual premise that it is 'normal to understand Danish' and that they seemed to feel embarrassed when they were unable to comprehend what they heard.

Having become aware of this, in the research group, we began to consider how this might influence what goes on in the classroom, where students, in parallel with the academic work, are also involved in identity processes through which they position themselves socially in relation to the other children in their class as well as their teachers and in decoding and interpreting the micro-politics of classroom interaction (Bloome and Willett 1991; Laursen and Fabrin 2013). In every classroom, there are various interactional procedures that are considered appropriate in a given situation, and students are usually careful to act according to – or at least to *look as though* they are acting according to – these procedures. In the light of these findings from the dictogloss activity, the participation patterns of one child – Halim – was examined through pre-recorded videos of classroom lessons (Laursen 2016). In the dictogloss activity, Halim was one of the students who showed several signs of not understanding the text that was read aloud and of consequently feeling ashamed. In the classroom, Halim often displayed a general self-restraint that was visible partly through a lesser degree of hand-raising than we generally found in relation to the other children in the class, and partly through different ways of making himself unavailable for selection in the classroom conversation. Different conversation analytical studies of the organization of classroom interaction have shown how turn allocation is something that is negotiated between teachers and students rather than something the teacher governs alone. For example, in a detailed study of hand-raising in classroom interaction, Sahlström (1999) has demonstrated how raising the hand serves as a signal of accessibility in different ways, and Mortensen (2008) has shown how gaze is systematically used to display willingness or unwillingness to be selected as a speaker. When the student is given a turn, it usually occurs after eye contact between the teacher and the student, who has already made him- or herself available for selection by predicting the transition periods in which the turn-allocation will take place and gazing towards the teacher. Our classroom data did not allow a systematic micro-analysis of Halim's participation patterns (as the video camera was not necessarily directed towards him), but, in addition to the lesser degree of hand-raising, it was notable how Halim often seems to make himself unavailable by avoiding looking at the teacher during whole-class interactions and

by physically locating himself behind the other students during activities that involve standing around the teacher somewhere in the classroom. It is not possible to determine the exact motivation behind Halim's behaviour, but, judging from a range of situations, there seems to be a tension between Halim's desire to get involved in the learning activities (which he might consider linguistically risky) and his desire to engage in what Rymes and Pahl (2001) have called 'passing' as knowing.

In a study of the production of proficiency in linguistically diverse schools, Martin-Beltrán (2010) developed the concept *perceived proficiency* to make visible the co-constructed nature of language competence and its potential effects on language learning possibilities. Based on a close examination of classroom discourse and positioning practices on a personal, interpersonal and institutional level, Martin-Beltrán's analysis showed how perceived proficiency was dialogically constructed, socially situated and shifted in the classroom. It also illustrated how the perceptions of proficiency often influenced children's possibilities for participation by creating unfavorable constraints. If we accept the monolingual premise that it is 'normal to understand Danish', the risk is that, for Halim and other students like him, a desire to blend in as an 'ordinary student' can take center stage to such an extent that it actually obstructs learning. In the words of Rymes and Pahl (2001, p. 281), 'becoming fluent in certain social routines can actually interfere with classroom learning. Knowing how to look *as if* one understands lesson content and skills (e.g. knowing how to read English) can hinder *knowing* such things'.

4   The Construction of Proficiency and Future Possibilities: Three Voices

In Halim's case, the construction of proficiency on the interpersonal level seemed to largely involve avoiding attracting attention in situations that might be face-threatening. Even though all the participating classroom teachers in the study are keen to acknowledge and support linguistic diversity, on the institutional level, the societal discourses that define what counts as academic success are still mirrored in testing procedures and other regulative practices and thus presumably contribute to shaping the ways students such as Halim perceive themselves and their proficiency.

In other cases, the children's ongoing constructions of their perceived proficiency are manifest and clearly articulated and negotiated. For example, it is not unusual to hear the newly arrived students characterize themselves as poor readers – even though they may have learnt to read in one or more languages other than Danish – or to hear them explicitly refer to their own literacy skills as inadequate, sometimes without distinguishing between literacy proficiency and mastery of the Danish language and sometimes expressing concerns about a lack of such distinction in the testing practices. Neither is it unusual to hear them reflect on their own competences

with regard to how it might influence them when they leave school. The following examples are from a researcher-generated activity in which students in year seven were asked to write a portrait of themselves as readers, which was then followed by a conversation between the research assistant (RA) and a group of students. The first two excerpts come from a follow-up conversation in which Mi Mi (a student with a Burmese language background, who joined the mainstream classroom in year six after having spent approximately 2 years in a reception class) takes part with two Danish-speaking classmates. As part of the conversation, the students are encouraged to reflect on how this portrait might change when they get older. One of the students, Sasha, mentions that finishing school is only a few of years away. A couple of minutes later, the research assistant continues by asking the three students if they have considered what they would like to do when they leave school:

Sasha: No. I don't know what I want to do.
          (Nej. Jeg ved ikke hvad jeg vil)
RA: No. What about you, Mi Mi?
          (Nej. Hvad med dig Mi Mi?)
Mi Mi: I don't know
          (Det ved jeg ikke)
RA: No
          (Nej)
Mi Mi: I get kind of a little nervous
          (Jeg bliver sådan lidt nervøs)
RA: A little nervous about it?
          (Lidt nervøs ved det?)
Mi Mi: Yes
          (Ja)
RA: Yes. Why does one get nervous about it?
          (Ja. Hvorfor bliver man nervøs ved det?)
Mi Mi: I'm not so good at like spelling and reading. Can I learn all that in three years? Or can I move on with or-
          (Jeg er ikke så god til at sådan stave og læse. Med tre år kan jeg lære alt det? Eller skal jeg med videre eller-)
RA: Yes, yes
          (Ja, ja)
Mi Mi: It's just-
          (Det er bare-)
RA: So it's a big task ahead of you. To continue to get better at reading and writing
          (Så det er en stor opgave, der ligger foran dig. Det der med at blive ved med at blive bedre til at læse og skrive)
Mi MI: Yes or just to get to- just to get into, year 10
          (Ja eller bare stå- bare bestå til, helt til niende klasse)

RA: Yes, yes
           (Ja, ja)
Mi Mi: And that's crazy to think about
           (Og det er vildt at tænke over)

Extract 1 'I get kind of a little nervous'

In this excerpt, Mi Mi describes herself as being 'not so good at like spelling and reading' and displays her nervousness about not being able to meet the expectations in year ten and not being able to progress with the others ('komme med videre'). Thus, the discussion about their thoughts on the future seems to trigger Mi Mi's worry about her own future. She feels a time pressure to reach the required level to even pass the exams. In that way, she positions herself as someone who is more or less doomed to fail based on her literacy skills in Danish.

A couple of minutes before the dialogue presented in the above quotation, the research assistant had asked the children about their experiences with national tests. After Sasha explains that she sometimes finds the tests difficult and sometimes manageable, Mi Mi repeats part of the answer that Sasha gave ('sometimes it is difficult') and continues to explain that she cannot read texts.

Mi Mi: Yes. Sometimes it's difficult. I can't read (xxx) texts
           (Ja, nogle gange er det svært. Jeg kan ikke læse (xxx) tekster)
RA: No, why?
           (Nej, hvorfor?)
Mi Mi: It's very difficult to understand, but the exercise is easy to do, but they
           do it like that with texts and mixed together. This I think is the most
           difficult thing to think about
           *(Det er mest svært at forstå, men opgaven er nem at lave, men de gør
           de sådan med tekster og blandet sammen. Det synes jeg er mest svært
           at tænke over)*

Extract 2 'Sometimes it's difficult'

Whereas Mi Mi in the first excerpt did not differentiate between herself as a second language user and her reading and spelling competence, in this excerpt, she makes a distinction between exercises that are easy to do but hard to understand, thus positioning herself as a student who has no problems with the type of test in general but difficulties with the concrete comprehension. She exemplifies this with reference to a specific type of test 'with texts and mixed together'. She is most likely referring to the so-called wordchain exercise, in which three words are written in tandem. The student must identify the three words and draw a line where one word ends, and another begins. These wordchain exercises are developed to measure decoding skills but, if the student is unfamiliar with the words in the chain, it is difficult to demonstrate this decoding ability.

Mi Mi is not the only student to express concerns about her future educational possibilities on the basis of her perceived literacy proficiency. Similar to Mi Mi, Tora (a student with a Hebrew language background, who was enrolled in the same classroom in year six after a couple of years in a reception class) grapples with her educational options for the future. In the excerpt below, the research assistant has asked her which languages she thinks she will need in the future. Prior to this, Tora has said that she would like to be a dermatologist.

RA: And how about you Tora, you are reading both Danish and English now, aren't you?
(Og hvad med dig Tora, du læser både dansk og engelsk nu eller hvordan?)

Tora: And Hebrew
(Og hebraisk)

RA: And Hebrew, yes
(Og hebraisk, ja)

Tora: So I do not know because when I think? I think in Hebrew, so it will be easiest to learn in Hebrew, but-, so, but if I'm going to Israel anyway to learn I could just as well just concentrate on Engl- like learning English, and then I could learn it there because I still have to pay to go to school in Israel, and in England, I think, the United States and England, that, there you learn better because- I don't know. So I hope I can do it in English. At least I know- I <u>believe</u> it will not be in Danish unless I become <u>very</u> good at Danish in the next couple of years.
(Så jeg ved det ikke fordi at når jeg tænker? jeg tænker på hebraisk, så det bliver nemmeste på- at lære på hebraisk, men-, altså, men hvis jeg skal allerede til Israel, og lære, jeg kunne ligeså godt bare koncentrere mig, på eng- sådan, på at lære engelsk, og så kunne jeg lære det der for jeg skal alligevel betale for skole i Israel, og i England, og jeg tror at det-, USA og England, at, dér, lærer man det bedre fordi at-, jeg ved det ikke. Så jeg håber at jeg kan gøre det på engelsk. Jeg ved i hvert fald- jeg <u>tror</u> i hvert fald ikke det bliver på dansk med mindre jeg bliver <u>meget god</u> til dansk, de næste par år)

RA: So do you do something to keep your-, what could you say, Hebrew reading skills alive and do you still read a lot in Hebrew?
(Så gør du noget for at holde dine-, hvad skal man sige hebraiske læsefærdigheder i live og, læser du stadigvæk meget på hebraisk?)

Tora: I'm trying but, it's-, not quite, I'm trying, so, when I'm going to read, when I really [want to] learn, I try to find something in Hebrew, the subject we're working on, in Hebrew, because then I can understand it 100%, but I
(Jeg prøver men, det er-, ikke sådan, jeg prøver altså når jeg skal læse når jeg virkelig [vil] lære det, så prøver jeg at sådan finde et eller andet på hebraisk, det emne vi læser om, på hebraisk, for så kan jeg forstå det sådan 100%, men jeg)

RA: So you use it to complement what you do in class
        (Så du bruger det til at supplere med i forhold til det I laver i klassen)
Tora: Yes, but not really, I do not sit at home and say to myself, now I'm going
        to practice it, because I do not do that
        *(Ja, men- ikke rigtigt altså jeg sidder ikke sådan derhjemme og siger til
        mig selv, nu skal jeg øve mig på det, for det gør jeg ikke)*
RA: No, do you read novels in Hebrew or what?
        (Nej, læser du romaner på hebraisk eller hvordan?)
Tora: Not really, I read more like- *(pauses and smiles crookedly)* well, I know
        it's rather stupid but like magazines and such things
        *(Ikke rigtigt jeg læser mere sådan- (pause, smiler skævt) sådan, jeg ved
        godt det er sådan ret dumt men sådan magasiner og sådan noget)*

Extract 3 'I could just as well just concentrate on English'

Whereas Mi Mi seems to regard Danish as the only possible language for future education, Tora envisages, albeit hesitantly, herself as an individual with transnational experiences and multilingual competences that offer her more open educational opportunities. In this excerpt, she seems to have a kind of discussion with herself as to how to avoid letting her Danish language skills disrupt her educational aspirations and, with somewhat moral overtones – perhaps ventriloquizing an adult advice-giving voice – how to maintain her command of Hebrew.

More clearly confident of his own ability to determine his educational direction is Ayan (a student with a Somali language background also enrolled in the same class after a period of time in a reception class). In his written portrait of himself as a reader he writes 'I want to go to HS [high school], UNI AND FINALLY A LAWYER' ('jeg vil gerne i GYM, UNI, OG TIL SIDST ADVOKAT'), positioning himself as someone who knows what he wants and how to get it. This position is emphasized by the capital letters and his use of abbreviations for high school and university, signaling a kind of insider knowledge, which probably stems from his elder sisters and brothers. He also writes that he reads a lot when he plays computer games, though 'well, it's not Danish but English' ('det er godt nok ikke dansk men engelsk') and in the follow-up conversation he lists all the different languages in which he can read (English, Arabic, Somali, Danish, German and a little Spanish). However, his multilingualism also has a price. In the interview, he explains that he finds national reading tests difficult, because there are many Danish proverbs that he 'obviously doesn't know' ('jo ikke kan'). With the Danish 'jo', he implies that, as a multilingual student, this understanding of Danish proverbs cannot be expected of him, and he does not articulate this as a problem that might impede educational success.

These voices all revolve around how literacy learning and the acquisition of a new language relate to future opportunities for academic success in the light of the students' multilingual and translocal experiences. Common to all three students is a preoccupation with the construction of proficiency and an attention to literacy as

what Miller (1999) calls a 'gateway and/or barrier to success'. But whereas Mi Mi to a large extent seems to have accepted the reasoning behind the ideological linkage between language learning and literacy proficiency and its determining effect on academic success and portrays herself as being 'behind schedule', both Tora and Ayan appear to challenge this causality; Ayan by deconstructing the common-sensibility behind the expectations in the test and refusing to let his lack of knowledge of Danish proverbs interfere with his plans for the future, and Tora by searching for alternatives to studying in Denmark and finding ways to make use of her linguistic resources elsewhere.

5   A Need for a Deconstruction: Models and Multilingualism

If we are to move beyond the ideological integration of language and literacy addressed in the children's narratives above, we need to query existing assumptions about multilingualism and the relationship between second language acquisition and literacy development, which often remains unquestioned.

In Denmark, the introduction of the notion of 'second language' has played – and continues to play – a key role in the deconstruction of the 'taken for granted-ness' of this very prevalent ideological conception of literacy and of the corresponding expectations on children who, in many cases, have been regarded as less intelligent or identified as functional illiterates if they do not measure up to the norm (Holm and Laursen 2011). The term 'second language' (sometimes in English language contexts also called 'additional language') has shed light on the emergent processes and practices that characterize people's ways into new forms of language and literacy instead of seeing these processes and practices as deviations from a national norm that one is supposed to master (see e.g. Kulbrandstad 1998). In doing so, it has helped us move away from a deficit perspective on multilingual students' literacy based on monolingual premises. However, at the same time, a classic understanding of the term 'second language', which might be dichotomously contrasted with 'mother tongue', does not map onto the reality in school and the children's complex language practices. Such a binary orientation might also give the impression that the end point is some kind of 'full' competence in a language, conceived as a stable and easily definable entity and that children's entry into literacy consists of completely language-separated processes.

Literacy education in Denmark has traditionally been characterized by the neglect of linguistic diversity, as witnessed in the introductory quotation. When this neglect is challenged, literacy education usually then adopts a model framed by conventional conceptual distinctions between native speakers and non-native speakers and between mother tongue and second language. Since the 1990s, an influential model in Danish settings has been one originally introduced by Sarah C. Gudschinsky in the 1960s to address literacy teaching in regard to 'the problem of the illiterate monolingual' (1977, p. 65) in Latin America on the basis of a pedagogical principle of going from the unknown to the known. The known was seen as the oral command

Fig. 1 Biliteracy teaching (based on Gudschinsky 1977)

kind of control	oral only	oral and written
kind of language indigenous	a. speaks an indigenous language as his native tongue	b. reads and writes (as well as speaks) his native language.
national	c. speaks the national language as a second language	d. reads and writes (as well as speaks) the national language as a second language

of an 'indigenous language' and the unknown as both literacy in general and as the oral skills linked to 'the national language'.

The overall point of this model is that it is not possible to move directly from A to D, but that literacy teaching has to be organized so that the way towards D goes through either B or C. Even though Gudschinsky's model is now seldom directly referred to, the underlying logic is still viable in educational discourses in Denmark as a counterbalance to the universalistic thinking implied in the introductory quotation (Fig. 1).

However, both the universalistic thinking implied in the introductory quotation and Gudschinsky's model are based on a sharp distinction between oral and written language and grounded in a monolingual ideology that link people to specific languages, which, in turn, are linked to specific nation states or domains such as home versus school. The sequential and unidirectional logic embedded in Gudschinsky's model has been problematized by several scholars (see e.g. Garcia, Bartlett and Kleifgen 2006), some of whom have suggested other models which they believe better capture the complexity involved in the learning and teaching of biliteracy when designing language curricula. One such very powerful model is Hornberger's 'The continua of biliteracy', which proposes 12 intersecting continua organized in four groups in order to 'demonstrate the multiple and complex interrelationships between bilingualism and biliteracy and the importance of the contexts, media, and content through which biliteracy develops' (2004, p. 156). Each continuum is marked by two endpoints, one of which represents something more powerful and the other something less powerful (Fig. 2).

However, a number of questions arise in relation to this model. Firstly, we could ask whether such a model actually eliminates – or whether it maintains – the binary thinking it claims to renounce. In 'The Oxford Dictionary of English', a continuum is defined as '[a] continuous sequence in which adjacent elements are not perceptibly different from each other, but the extremes are quite distinct'. So, even in a continuum, the endpoints are still considered to be distinctly different. Secondly, we

traditionally *less* powerful <——> traditionally *more* powerful

Contexts of biliteracy

micro <————————> macro

oral <————————> literate

bi(multi)lingual <————————> monolingual

Development of biliteracy

reception <————————> production

oral <————————> written

L1 <————————> L2

Content of biliteracy

minority <————————> majority

vernacular <————————> literary

contextualized <————————> decontextualized

Media of biliteracy

simultaneous exposure <————> successive exposure

dissimilar structures <————> similar structures

divergent scripts <————> convergent scripts

Fig. 2 The Continua of Bilingualism (Hornberger 2004) (https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1008&context=gse_pubs)

could ask about the elements in the continuous sequence. Which elements are they and what constitutes the extremes? For example, what are the elements in the continuum that has bi(multi)lingual and monolingual and, respectively, the oral and written as its extremes? Thirdly, with reference to Street (2003), we could ask a related question about whether the different components of the model are on the same analytical level and, if not: 'what planes are they located in and how can they be described and related to each other at the empirical level?' (p. 342). Fourthly, we could ask why it is precisely these – and not other – components that are part of the model; or, as Street formulates it: "is it all just a list of factors that could go on forever?" (p. 342).

When adopting a monolingual perspective on literacy education, either through universalistic views of literacy or through more or less dichotomous models of multilingualism, it is possible to overlook theoretical insights into cross-linguistic practices and processes as well as empirical interest in examining the students' active exploration and interpretations of script based on their multilingual experiences (see e.g. Buckwalter and Lo 2002; Canagarajah 2013; Kenner 2004; Kenner et al. 2004; Laursen 2013; Moll et al. 2001; Reyes 2006; Robertson 2002).

6   Literacy Learning as Social Semiosis

The monolingual construction of reading in the opening quotation not only affects education and learning possibilities but also research, which, in many cases, is expected to accept this line of reasoning and to lead to findings *on how to* get children who have fallen behind to catch up. This chapter builds upon findings from the research study *Signs of language*, which follows another line of thought by adopting a social semiotic stance in examining how children in multilingual settings engage in learning and using language and literacy (Laursen 2013; Laursen and Kolstrup 2017a, b; Laursen and Mogensen 2016a, b). Contrary to the view expressed in the introductory quotation, when taking a social semiotic perspective, language and literacy learning is perceived as an integrated part of an 'entry into semiosis', to use the words of Hodge and Kress (1988). To understand children's literacy learning, we must, Dyson (1991, 99) writes, 'consider written language development against the backdrop of the child's entire symbolic repertoire'. Written language development is not simply an extension of the child's spoken language or another extreme at the opposite end of a continuum; it is also rooted in the child's entire meaning-making practices. This implies that, when thinking about learning to represent, the point of departure should be found in the general understanding of meaning-making that sees the semiotic process as one 'which fuses a meaning with a form to produce a sign' (Kress 2007, p. 16). This can be achieved in different modes of representation, such as speech, writing, and visual representations. It is clear that speech and writing share some semiotic resources. As examples of these resources, Kress mentions lexis and clause type (17). Speech and writing also share the same fundamental 'logic of mode', namely that of 'sequence in time', while drawing is based on a 'logic of space' (23). However, when it comes to the material aspects of speech and writing, there are profound differences. In this regard, Kress points to the semiotic feature 'framing', which in writing is realized 'by punctuation marks, paragraphing, spacing; in speech by intonation contours, by pauses, by rhythmic features; and so on' (19). For the multilingual students, the entry into semiosis also involves different language repertoires 'with many shared grammatical resources but with some internal language-specific differentiation as well' (MacSwan 2017, p. 179) and different writing systems with unique semiotic characteristic as well as shared underlying symbolic principles (Laursen 2013).

Following this line of thought, learning to signify involves an exploration of the similarities between the different modes and the distinctiveness of each mode. When children have access to more than one language and different writing systems, this exploration might also include reflections on similarities and differences between the languages and scripts involved. 'It's like A, B, C in Danish', Amani says when telling the research assistant about the three Arabic letters she wrote when she was six years old and just started school (Daugaard & Ladegaard 2010). Amani's text emanates from a researcher-generated activity, which was conducted in year one shortly after school start. In the activity, which was named 'Write whatever you want', the children were given a blank piece of paper and invited to write

whatever they wanted. The text was used as a data source in itself and as a trigger to elicit conversations between the researcher and a small group of children.

Amani (a girl with an Arabic language background, who was born and raised in Denmark) has written her own name, and she has written the name of the research assistant who initiated the activity – Uffe. She has written the names backwards, going from right to left with all the letters reversed. This might be influenced by the Arabic way of writing or it might just be a relatively typical feature of emergent writing. She has also drawn a star and a broken heart. In addition, she has written some Arabic characters, which she has placed in a frame. Her reflection on the Arabic letters and their equivalents in Danish indicates that her exploration of written language also involves creating paths between languages that she knows. In the writing process, she is examining differences and similarities in ways of doing written language. Amani's observation that the Arabic characters are like A, B, C in Danish might reflect an awareness of the Danish and the Arabic script as being basically comparable entities. Both kinds of script are alphabetical and – in spite of other differences – based on the same general principle that one graphical form or letter symbol represents one speech sound. So, by and large, learning to read and write in Danish and in Arabic is built on the same basic logic in spite of other differences. But, at the same time, the comparison might also be rooted in the fact that these are the first letters in the alphabets represented by different graphic forms, thus building on visual rather than linguistic roots (Dyson 1991) (Fig. 3).

From a social semiotic perspective, children learning to signify are perceived as the *makers* of signs, and as such they make a number of choices on the basis of the information made available, by others or by themselves, in the social setting. Social semiotics emphasizes that individuals do not merely absorb but in fact actively process and transform the information they encounter in their surroundings according to their own interests and their own specific sociocultural background (Kress 1997). At the same time, interpreting and making signs always implies a transformation of the sign-users' subjectivity. As Kramsch (2009) argues, signs do not only carry

Fig. 3 Amani's text. (https://ucc.dk/sites/ default/files/tegn_paa_ sprog_skrift_og_ betydning_i_flersprogede_ klasserum_0.pdf)
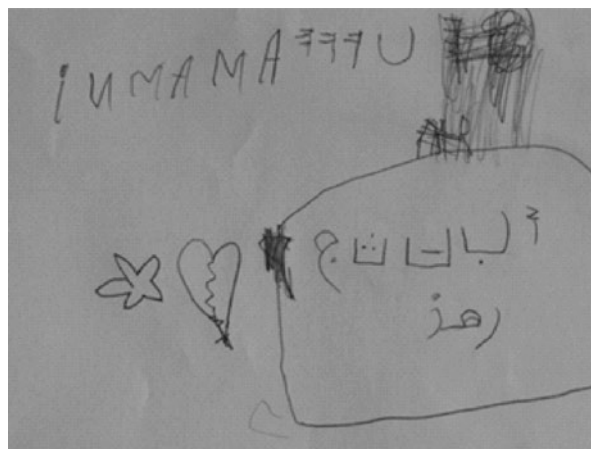
meaning in a representational sense; they also hold a subjective and creative value. By interpreting and using signs, people act upon the world in ways that involve negotiations of their own subjectivity within social relationships. Kramsch also states that we are formed as subjects through the symbols we create and the chains of significations we construct. She thereby highlights the necessity of taking seriously the subjective dimensions of language and literacy learning. Language and literacy are more than an instrumental means of communication, and the engagement with symbols also involves construction of one's self as a signifying subject and an encounter with the symbolic power of language to act upon the world. Seen from such a subjective point of view, Amani's text also illustrates the subjective and symbolic power of language. In her production and discussion of the text, Amani forms and positions herself as a multilingual subject while exploiting and exploring the symbolic possibilities of different signs and of her own subjectivity as a multilingual individual – and perhaps as a girl, unhappy in love, who knows? Amani's example is one of many and may provide us with an insight into how students, at a given time, combine modalities and involve themselves in an active investigation of the ways literacy operates, not only in relation to spoken language but also in relation to other modalities, such as drawing, and to their social experiences. It may also tell us something about how, in many cases, these investigations involve an exploration of similarities and differences between different languages and scripts.

7   Creating Paths across Languages and Modes – Concluding Remarks

If we are to understand how language learners make sense of literacy and embark on finding their ways into literacies in languages new to them, we need a conception of literacy that moves beyond universalistic understandings of literacy and models built on binary notions of language and literacy but that does not ignore the interconnectedness of modes and languages as well as the specific complexities within different modes and languages. With a view of literacy learning as social semiosis, I suggest an expansion of the research agenda to focus more attention to the semiotic paths people actually tread in the process. How do people in fact make use of semiotic resources as they create links between written symbols and meaning while participating in everyday activities and in ongoing dialogic constructions of proficiency?

In the educational system, learning to read and write is probably the factor that is ascribed most significance for students' future academic possibilities. Moreover, there is a growing tendency to use literacy skills to regulate education through outcome metrics and international comparisons of test scores that privilege universalistic, yet linguistically nation-bound, conceptions of literacy and that foreground efficiently measurable dimensions of literacy. This puts multilingual

students in a position in which they easily stand out as less proficient readers and writers.

In the study *Signs of Language,* we have observed multilingual students finding and treading paths across languages and modes in their language and literacy practices as such and in learning to read and write in Danish, moving back and forth between and combining modes and languages when judged relevant for their meaning making and learning. However, we have also realized how strong an influence the focus on accountability and the pressure to master Danish can have on the choices these students make and on the ways they perceive their proficiency and enact this perceived proficiency. Thus, through a focus on students' own interpretations from an emic perspective and on their actual literacy practices and interactions as performed in varying contexts, we have gained insights into the complex social, semiotic and ideological processes involved in multilingual literacy learning. This gives rise to considerations on how to ensure, at a personal and interpersonal as well as at an institutional level, that a lack of distinction between being a second language user and being able to read and write will not create undesirable constraints for students' participation both in a 'here and now' context and in relation to their future academic opportunities. From a dynamic second language learning perspective, we should consider how we can create spaces to encourage students to use and create paths between all their semiotic means, while also working to ensure the best possible conditions for them to expand their meaning making resources in the second language. We also need to ask how we can best provide the students with literacy identity options that do not fall back on universalistic deficit perspectives on second language literacy or fragmented understandings of semiotic meaning.

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"Making It Your Own by Adapting It to What's Important to You": Plurilingual Critical Literacies to Promote L2 Japanese Users' Sense of Ownership of Japanese

Noriko Iwasaki and Yuri Kumagai

Abstract The dichotomy between native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) remains ubiquitous across different language-learning contexts despite increasing mobility and multilingualism of society. L2 Japanese learners in particular may find themselves positioned as subordinate to NSs because of the myth of Japan being a homogeneous nation of one race and one language. To help L2 Japanese students counter such positioning and gain a sense of ownership, we implemented "plurilingual critical literacies" in a Japanese language course in the U.S. Critical literacy aims to cultivate students' awareness that power relationships are at play in language use, and plurilingual pedagogy valorizes students' multilingual resources. Eleven high-intermediate-level Japanese students mobilized their linguistic and cultural resources to read and discuss authentic texts by transcultural or "culturally mobile" writers (Dagnino 2015). These writers expressed resistance to the status quo and made meaning creatively, as mediators between two languages and cultures. Reading, analyzing, and discussing texts by transcultural writers motivated students to counter ideologies of NS superiority, and to own Japanese in the ways that best suited their transcultural identities.

Keywords Ownership · Japanese-as-a-foreign-language · Critical literacy · Transcultural writer · Plurilingualism · Translanguaging

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1 Introduction

The apparent ownership of a language by its NSs, the NS-NNS dichotomy, and the asymmetric power relation in second/foreign language (L2/FL) instruction have long been problematized (e.g. Canagarajah 1999; Cook 1999; Kramsch 1997; Norton 1997; Widdowson 1994). Most of these works are in the context of English as L2 or lingua franca (see Doerr 2009 for Japanese contexts).

Asymmetric power relations between NSs and NNSs are particularly pronounced in the context of Japanese as FL. This is because Japanese-as-FL contexts rely more on teachers (often NSs) and textbooks than Japanese-as-L2 contexts in Japan do. In Japanese textbooks, the unequal NS-NNS power relationship is particularly evident in the portrayal of Japanese learners (Kumagai 2014): Japanese is presented as a difficult language, and its users are often "given admonitions" as to how or how not to use the language (Heinrich 2005). Learners are often characterized "in a childish way," or as "enthusiastic, ignorant, and submissive" people (Heinrich 2005, p. 221).

The link between ownership of the Japanese language and its NSs is reinforced by a pervasive myth of Japan as a homogeneous nation populated by a homogeneous ethnic group whose language is unique and impossible for non-Japanese to learn (cf. Befu 2009, R. Miller 1977). This myth, known as *Nihonjinron* (Theory of the Japanese), gained popularity in the 1980s due to a nationalistic endeavor to maintain Japanese identity at a time of rapid internationalization (Befu 1983). Scholars of Japanese studies today regard this "theory" as somewhat obsolete, but it remains ubiquitous in the public consciousness (see a special section on "The Politics of Speaking Japanese" in L. Miller 2015).

Along with *Nihonjinron*, the concept of *kokugo*, "national language," was invented in the late nineteenth century for the purpose of nation building. The construction of a national language has influenced the way Japanese language education is conducted. According to Tai (2003, p. 10), *kokugo* was conceptualized by Ueda (1895) as "the essence of what made up the Japanese." In this line of thought, only ethnic Japanese are capable of learning the imagined unified language *kokugo*, while *nihongo,* the Japanese language that foreigners acquire, is expected to be deviant (Tanaka and Komagome 1999; Tai 2003). Hence, L2 Japanese users may find themselves positioned subordinately, or even excluded from legitimate membership of the linguistic community, as perpetually "deficient" (Cook 1999) language users.

The view of language behind *Nihonjinron* and *kokugo* assumes the NS's first language (L1) is a stable, complete system. This runs counter to multicompetence (e.g. Cook 1992), an increasingly acknowledged concept of language competence in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). From the view of multicompetence, the L1 and L2 are merged in the L2 users' mind, producing a system of mind that differs from that of monolinguals of either the L1 or the L2 (Cook 2016). This SLA concept aligns with the pedagogical approach adopted in this chapter. It serves as a key to help students of Japanese as FL confront monolingual biases and NS supremacy and gain a sense of ownership in using Japanese.

The view of language as fluid and non-bounded is still not widely welcomed in FL education, as the very idea has the potential to threaten the core mission of teaching a foreign language. In FL education, a monolingual approach that allows use of only the target language is a norm upheld in the name of creating a pseudo-immersion context. However, this approach does not nurture students' agency as future cultural mediators. FL education needs to shift its goal of language and literacy teaching away from equipping learners with knowledge of language (e.g. vocabulary, grammar) and communication skills and towards helping learners realize the importance of enlisting all the linguistic and cultural resources they possess—plurilingual/pluricultural competencies—that contribute to their engagement as cultural mediators in increasingly diverse societies.

2   The Current Study

To help L2 learners to combat being positioned as subordinate, we implemented a "plurilingual critical literacies" curriculum informed by critical literacy and plurilingual pedagogy in a third-year Japanese language course at a U.S. college. The curriculum was designed to help students reflect upon (1) ownership of language and (2) the persistent NS-NNS power relations in Japanese-as-FL and other contexts. The current study examines whether and how the curriculum achieved the goal.

2.1   Critical Literacy in FL

Critical literacy is a pedagogical approach that is particularly concerned with teaching learners to understand and manage the relationship between language and power (Janks 2000). It underscores the importance of cultivating students' "critical language awareness" (Fairclough 2010) and recognizing power relations that writers create through the use of language. Recognizing that "all texts are positioned by the writer's point of view, and the linguistic (and other semiotic) choices made by the writer are designed to produce effects that position the reader" (Janks 2010, p. 61), critical literacy uses linguistic analysis of a text, especially in relation to its genre and the writer's purpose, to help learners understand how writers shape their messages for particular readers in order to accomplish certain aims (Pennycook 2001). As Lemke (1995, p. 1) puts it: "The meanings we make define not only ourselves, they also define our communities…and our era in history." In other words, meanings created through texts are historically, socioculturally, and ideologically contextualized. Understanding the historical, sociocultural, and political background of texts is therefore crucial to readers' critical engagement.

Critical literacy was originally developed for L1 education and has to some extent been adapted for teaching English as L2, but it has seldom been applied in the FL context and even less so in languages other than English. This is primarily

because critical engagement with texts is particularly challenging for FL readers: they are reading a text written for a writer's imagined audience, but that audience is not one they identify with (Kramsch 1993; Wallace 2003). Not only do FL readers have to interpret the text from the perspectives of the writer and the imagined reader, they must also interpret the text from the view of their own and other familiar communities. To accomplish this complex task, we argue, FL readers need to mobilize their multiple linguistic and cultural repertoires (Kumagai and Iwasaki 2016).

2.2 *Valorizing Students' Repertoires and Promoting Mobilization of Their Resources*

In FL learning, it is important to develop not just students' knowledge of and proficiency in a particular target language and culture but also their ability to draw on all the languages and cultures they know in order to achieve understanding. Several pedagogical approaches, such as the pedagogy of multiliteracies (New London Group 1996, 2000), plurilingual/pluricultural pedagogy (e.g. Coste et al. 2009; Marshall and Moore 2018), translanguaging (e.g. García and Li Wei 2014), and the translingual approach (e.g. Canagarajah 2007, 2013; MLA Ad Hoc Committee 2007; Kramsch 2011), encourage learners to mobilize all available semiotic resources. These approaches have been developed and practiced in different disciplines (L1 education, L2/FL education, bilingual education, and ESL writing/FL education, respectively), so they take (slightly) different views of how meaning is created by individual cognitive processes or social practices.

Still, all these approaches share the fundamental theoretical position that language is fluid and non-bounded, rather than being "a thing in itself, an objective, identifiable product" (Canagarajah 2007, p. 98). Pennycook (2017, p. 129), quoting Canagarajah (2013, p. 6), explains two concepts that are key to understanding these approaches:

> On the one hand, "communication transcends individual languages," that is to say, we use repertoires of linguistic resources without necessary recourse to the notions of languages; and on the other hand, "communication transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances," that is to say, we draw on a wide set of possible resources to achieve communication.

The notion of multiliteracies proposed by the New London Group (1996) also challenges the traditional notion of "language" as a sole means of communication and recognizes individuals' multiple languages as resources. This notion of multiliteracies centers around two principal aspects of multiplicity: "the multifarious cultures that [are] interrelated and the plurality of texts that circulate" in our culturally and linguistically diverse society, and the "burgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies" (New London Group 2000, p. 9). That individuals' resources include multiple languages and cultures is acknowledged thusly:

> When learners juxtapose different languages, discourses, styles, and approaches, they gain substantively in metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities and in their ability to reflect critically on complex systems and their interactions (New London Group 2000, p. 15).

The benefits of linguistic and cultural repertoires stemming from multiple languages and cultures are also recognized and promoted by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). CEFR has been very influential in Japanese language education, especially after the Japan Foundation (established under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote Japanese language and culture abroad) published the CEFR-based *JF Standards for Japanese-Language Education 2010*, which is now a reference used by Japanese teachers the world over.

CEFR distinguishes "multilingualism," meaning the coexistence of different languages in a given society, from "plurilingualism," used to refer to the promotion of individuals' competencies. Individuals with plurilingual/pluricultural competencies are described as follows:

> he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated 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 (Council of Europe 2001, p. 4).

Mediation between languages and cultures is a plurilingual/pluricultural individual's quintessential capacity that can be realized as interpretation or translation of language and culture. "Translation" activities are also essential in plurilingual pedagogy, as they allow students to use their plurilingual resources to construct and deepen their knowledge (Kumagai and Kono 2018).

Translanguaging has attracted considerable attention in the field of bilingual education. Baker (2011, p. 288) defines translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, understandings and knowledge through the use of two languages." Originally coined from a Welsh term used to refer to English-Welsh bilingual pedagogical practice, it is now used in reference to plurilingual individuals' and communities' language practice, as well as to pedagogical approaches. Translation as the practice of rendering one language into another can be considered one specific way of practicing translanguaging (Stathopoulou 2015). Translanguaging as a pedagogical approach is used "to valorize and promote pride in students' ethnolinguistic identities" (Sayer 2008, 110). The teacher participates as a learner rather than an authority (García and Li Wei 2014, 94), and "co-learning" is achieved via the contributions of both teacher and students (Li Wei 2014).

We understand all these approaches as sharing two core principles: recognizing the value of wide-ranging repertoires of semiotic resources and promoting the mobilization of those resources to achieve communication. We adopt these shared principles in our "plurilingual critical literacies" (Sect. 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6) in the Japanese-as-FL classroom.

2.3 Setting and Participants

The lesson unit from Iwasaki and Kumagai (2015) on texts written by "transcultural writers" (defined in Sect. 2.5) was implemented in the second half of a third-year (upper intermediate) Japanese language course at a women's liberal arts college in the U.S.A. in the spring of 2011. Of the 11 students enrolled in the course, 7 were European-American, 1 Hispanic-American, 2 Korean-American, and 1 Rwandan-American. Table 1 shows their profiles. In the fourth column, the student's L1 is given first; languages learned subsequently are listed in parentheses. Following the institutional protocol for ethical consideration, all students were informed of the general research purpose and procedures. Each signed a consent form detailing the collection of data via audio recording of in-class discussions and photocopying of writing assignments and exams. Students were also informed that individual interviews might be conducted once the course ended.

2.4 Course Design

The second author implemented a curriculum designed by both authors; she is experienced in pedagogy adopting critical literacy (e.g. Iwasaki and Kumagai 2008; Kumagai 2007a, b, 2011; Kumagai and Iwasaki 2011, 2016). The course had three parts. Part 1 was devoted to fiction, Part 2 to newspaper articles, and Part 3 to essays. The class met for 70 minutes three times a week. What we report here took place in Part 3, in which the students read (among others) essays by Hideo Levy and then Donald Keene. Three and four class meetings were spent on each essay, respectively.

Table 1 Student Profiles

Name	School Year	Major (Minor)	Language Background (Languages learned as FL)
Lisa	4	Engineering (Japanese)	English
Sonia	3	Japanese, geology	English, Spanish (Italian)
Sue	3	Japanese	English, Korean
Sook	4	Biology	English, Korean (Spanish)
Erin	3	Biochemistry (Japanese)	English (French)
Angelina	4	Japanese	English
Amy	3	Japanese, computer science	English
Faye	4	Computer science	English
Genni	3	Economics (Japanese)	Kinyarwanda, English
Katey	2	Neuroscience (Japanese)	English
Carol	4	Japanese	English

Setting aside the monolingual approach commonly taken in FL classrooms, the course took the plurilingual approach, encouraging students to enlist all linguistic and cultural resources to make meaning. In Part 2, for example, one unit was spent comparing American and Japanese newspapers' online reports on the same incident, respectively headlined "4 US Teenagers Arrested in Japan" and "米兵の子4人を殺人未遂容疑で逮捕" [4 children of U.S. military personnel arrested, suspected of attempted murder]. As plurilingual readers, students drew upon their knowledge of both societies (Japan and the U.S.) and languages (Japanese and English) of the imagined target audiences to analyze the texts. Through this, they developed "critical language awareness" (Fairclough 2010) of how writers create different tones and impressions of an incident by selecting particular words and expressions, grammatical forms, and information (Kumagai and Iwasaki 2016).

In addition, inspired by Kern's (2000) suggestions for literacy-based language teaching, we provided ample opportunities for speaking and writing related to the text. For example, before reading each text, students were introduced to background information about the writer and the text in order to situate the text in its sociocultural, historical, and political context. After confirming their understanding of the general content of each essay, the students discussed the writer's choice of words, textual structure, and writing systems (i.e. *hiragana, katakana, kanji, Romaji*),[1] and then turned their focus to the ideas and messages expressed in the texts. One of the students' writing tasks was to compose a text in the genre of the text they had just read (or a similar genre) using newly learned genre-specific expressions or discourse styles for a specified target audience.

2.5   Two Texts

Upper-level L2 Japanese language textbooks often adhere to traditionally defined "authentic" texts; that is, texts produced by NSs for NS audiences. To counter this tendency, the classroom sessions we examine in this chapter concerned essays written in Japanese by authors who may be called "transcultural writers": the novelist Hideo Levy and the scholar-translator Donald Keene, who were both born in the U.S. Dagnino (2015, p. 1) defines transcultural writers as

> imaginative writers who, by choice or because of life circumstances, experience cultural dislocation, follow transnational life patterns, cultivate bilingual or plurilingual proficiency, physically immerse themselves in multiple cultures, geographies, or territories, expose themselves to diversity, and nurture plural, flexible identities.

Levy, in his essay collection *Nihongo-o kaku heya* [The room where I write Japanese] (2001), discusses the issue of ownership of language in a piece titled "Nihongo no Shoyuuken-o megutte" [On ownership of the Japanese language]. He

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[1] Japanese utilizes four writing systems. E.g. the word *kaban* 'bag' can be written as 鞄 (*kanji*, Chinese character), かばん (*hiragana*), カバン (*katakana*), or *kaban* (*Romaji*). Each choice evokes a different image of an object.

cynically applauds Japanese as a great language and presents the notion of "the victory of Japanese language," which for him signifies the emergence of Japanese-language writers who do not possess Japanese ethnicity or nationality, contrary to the ideology of one language, race, culture, and nationality. Keene writes about aspects of Japanese literature that are difficult to translate into English in "Yakushi gatai mono" [What I find difficult to translate], an essay in his collection *Futatsu-no bokoku-ni ikite* [Living in two motherlands] (Keene 1987).

Unlike the texts in the textbooks examined by Heinrich (2005), the essays written by acclaimed expert Japanese users of non-Japanese origin demonstrate their appropriation of the Japanese language. Levy (rather sarcastically) hails today's Japanese as a language that transcends the ideology that deprives non-Japanese of access to its ownership. Keene discusses his experience with the challenges of translating, an activity that monolingual speakers are incapable of. Translation is possible because of plurilingual/pluricultural individuals' quintessential capacity to mediate between two languages and cultures.

These two essays were chosen to encourage students to reflect critically on the commonly held assumption that conflates "Japanese language" with "Japanese people" and "Japanese nation." The NNS authors of the selected texts address the imagined NS target audience and create new power relations between themselves and the reader, through both the message and the linguistic choices they make. Both texts challenge the assumptions of NS superiority and of monolithic understanding of a language. Hence, analysing the textual effects and reflecting upon the message is likely to have the potential to develop the students' sense of ownership of the Japanese language and ability to make meaning. Reading a text by a writer whose community is closer to their own (as opposed to most of the authentic texts read in the Japanese classroom) may also facilitate the students' interpretation of the text from the writer's viewpoint.

2.6 Implementation of Plurilingual Critical Literacies Pedagogy

We instructed students to consider both the writer's imagined audience and the social purposes of writing the piece as they read and analyzed each text and encouraged them to reflect on their own experiences. The students examined how the transcultural writers expressed such views as resistance to the status quo. For example, they discussed the intention behind Levy's deliberate use of a non-normative expression, *nihongo-o motteiru* ("possessing Japanese"), to highlight his claim to ownership of Japanese.

The classroom activities took an approach that encouraged students to use any linguistic and cultural resources available to them to enhance their plurilingual/

pluricultural competencies. They used English and Japanese in discussions and referred also to other applicable linguistic and cultural resources. For example, before reading Keene's essay on aspects of Japanese literature that are difficult to translate—which describes episodes in the translating of Yukio Mishima's work—the students compared a paragraph from Mishima's original (in Japanese) with Keene's English translation. They also talked about the different images and meanings that animals and plants evoke across cultures (illustrated in Sect. 3.1), which Keene discusses in his text. Their reflections extended to issues of identity, language ideology, the ownership of language, and translation.

2.7   Data and the Foci of Analyses

We utilize three datasets for purposes of triangulation. In addition to audio-recorded classroom interactions and the students' end-of-semester writings, semi-structured retrospective interviews (in English) were conducted with five students who were available and willing to participate. The interviews, which were audio-recorded, took place after the course grades were submitted. The audio recordings of the classroom interactions and interviews were transcribed.

Right after reading Levy's and Keene's texts, students capped the semester by writing reflective essays on those texts as part of the final exam, according to the following prompt (the English translation):

> How has your thought about cultures and languages (your own and Japanese) evolved through learning Japanese? What did you think about learning and using Japanese language by reading ideas put forth by Hideo Levy (e.g. "ownership of the Japanese language", "victory of Japanese language") or the difficulties of translation narrated by Donald Keene? Write your essay as if to communicate your thoughts to people who have never studied a foreign language.

The data were analyzed in order to understand:

1. the nature of plurilingual/pluricultural practices in the class interaction and ways they might have affected power relations in the classroom and students' learning;
2. students' understanding of what "owning a language" means, and their own sense of ownership of Japanese.

The students were not "taught" or given any specifically defined ideas of "ownership" of language, apart from discussing and interpreting Levy Hideo's arguments related to it. Our interest was to explore the students' ideas of language ownership, which may have been newly constructed based on their reading activities and discussions in addition to prior experiences.

3 Findings

3.1 Classroom Interaction

We examined classroom interactions in order to understand plurilingual/pluricultural practice and its possible effects. Students seemed relaxed throughout the sessions, due partly to the small class size and more importantly to the already established rapport between all participants (including the teacher), who had been studying Japanese together for 2–3 years. Both teacher and students freely used English when they wished to clarify their thoughts or express complex ideas. The students found both texts challenging, but the teacher helped the students understand them by asking questions and providing English equivalents whenever she felt they would be helpful.

In his essay, Levy discusses the recent "victory" of Japanese language, which non-Japanese at last use (and hence own) for creative expression, asserting that the question of victory is not relevant to the Chinese and Korean languages. The teacher encouraged students to contribute to the discussion by reflecting on their experience and understanding of their other languages and cultures. In response to a question the teacher asked about Korean people and their attitude to language, students exchanged their views as follows.[2]

Extract 1: Class Interaction 1

Sook: Oh, in Korea, like, in terms of Japanese colonization, their language was something that they identified as like a part of their identity but then, like, I think now, these days, like, I met Korean people who are very, very, very, very, very, very nationalistic about Korea to the point of soooo annoying…

SS: (laughter).

Sook: …and, but then, like, when it comes to language, like I think, you know, in Japan, foreigners go and speak Japanese and usually, not all of them, but usually Japanese would reply back in English. In Korea, if a foreigner goes to Korea and starts speaking in Korean, usually Korean people would be like "Ooooh, you speak Korean," and they speak Korean back. So like I think in that.

Faye: It's different [kind of nationalism isn't it?]

S: [And that]

Sook: Yeah, it's not, yeah, it's not like they are like

S: [inaudible]

S: [inaudible]

Sue: [They don't, they don't, they don't, it's, it's], it's very different because, um, language is a part of national identity but it's also something that they want other people to learn.

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[2] In the transcripts, T indicates the teacher, S indicates an unidentifiable student, and SS indicates multiple students. Square brackets indicate overlapping of utterances.

Referring to their own experiences and mobilizing other resources in a safe classroom space, the students' discussion of potentially sensitive topics of Japanese colonization led to a highly engaged sequence of turn-taking. Sook observed that the Korean language is strongly linked to Koreans' national identity and yet foreigners in Korea are encouraged to learn and use the language.

The students agreed that the main message of Levy's essay was resistance to the ideology of linking Japanese language with Japanese people, and one student (Lisa) noted that it was significant that Levy wrote the essay in Japanese: "*chotto komento-ga arimasu ga, a, Levy-san-wa nihongo-de kaita kara, sore-wa juuyoo da to omoimasu*" [I have a comment about this, um, because Levy wrote this in Japanese, I think it is important]. Her comment indicates her heightened awareness of who Levy's imagined target audience was and what his intentions were in writing the essay.

Students' linguistic and cultural resources were also mobilized in the sessions discussing Keene's essay. Below, spontaneous translation is used when the teacher refers to a Japanese expression "*atama-o itameta* (I had my head ache)" that Keene used when describing the challenge of translating Yukio Mishima's novel *Utage-no ato* [After the Banquet]. In the excerpts below, the Japanese utterances are in italics and the English equivalents of the Japanese utterances are given in parentheses.

Extract 2: Class Interaction 2

T: *demo, soo ne* (but well) give me a headache but that's metaphorical *desyo* (isn't it?) [*Doo iu imi?* (What does it mean?)]
Erin: [Yeah, it's the same in English so.]
Faye: Yeah, English has the same meaning.
T: *Ja, doo yakushitara ii, kore?* (Then how do you translate this?) <Reading a sentence in the text aloud> "*Watashi-wa nihon-no shokubutsu-no eiyaku-de atama-o itameta koto-wa nankaimo aru.*" How do you translate? *Doo suru?* (How do you do it?)
Faye: So, so it's um, even the translating the, the, um, what's the.
T: plants?
Faye: the plant names into English gives me a headache any number of times.

Though used only a few times in the seven class sessions, spontaneous translation—a quintessential plurilingual activity, as mentioned earlier—can help students activate their existing knowledge of languages to learn and use a target language (for the role of spontaneous translation in language learning, see González Davies 2014). By translating a phrase from Japanese to English, students confirmed that a particular metaphorical expression in Japanese, a language often regarded as entirely different from English, was very similar to its English counterpart. If not for the translation activity, they might not have realized how readily applicable their English resources could sometimes be.

Keene discusses another challenge in translation: the various culturally dependent connotations and images associated with some insects and animals. The students discussed their own images and associations with the insects and animals that Keene mentioned in the text (e.g. dragonfly, moth, owl). One of the students, Lisa,

then became curious and asked about a crow. Below, English words or expressions used in Japanese utterances are marked in bold.

Extract 3: Class Interaction 3

Lisa: *Nihon-de **crow**-wa donna imeeji desu ka?* (What images does a crow have in Japan?)

T: *Karasu? Karasu-wa totemo fukitsu.* (Crow? Crows are ominous.) It's an evil.

Lisa: Ok.

SS: Oh yes.

Lisa: Oh bad luck, bad luck, *onaji, onaji.* (same here, same here).

Erin: It's kind of funny that the same, like, image comes up in different places.

T: *Amerika-de kuroneko-wa, mo, **bad luck** desyo*? (In the U.S., black cats also signify bad luck, don't they?)

SS: Yeah.

Erin: *Hikkoshi de sabetsu **against**.* (When relocating/moving, there is discrimination against them.)

Lisa: *Kuroneko-no, a: ue, a: mae-ni **like** mae-ni aruite* (Um, you walk above, uh, in front of a black cat…)

T: *a...*

Lisa: *aruku to* (if you walk)

T: ***bad luck**, soo desu ne. Kuroneko tte **bad, bad luck**. Kankoku-de **bad luck** ja nai desyo?* (Bad luck, right. Black cats are <associated with> bad luck. In Korea, they are not bad luck, are they?)

Sook: *un, un.* (yes, yes.)

T: *Nihon-demo daijoobu. Hai.* (It is fine in Japan too, yes)

Genni: *Ruwanda de, a, kesa kuroneko-o miru to* (In Rwanda, if you see a black cat this morning), whole days are gonna be bad luck.

SS: Oh.

T: *A, Ruwanda-de Ruwanda-demo kuroneko-wa **bad luck**?* (Ah, are black cats also considered bad luck in Rwanda?)

Genni: Especially like in the morning.

T: *asa, asa?* (morning, morning?)

Genni: *asa.* (morning.)

T: *Asa miru to **bad luck**.* (If you see one in the morning, it's bad luck.)

Erin: What if you have a black cat, it's like every day is gonna be bad luck. (laughter)

T: I have a black cat.

SS: (laughter)

Lisa's question about crows led to a discussion about black cats. The students became aware that in different cultures animals sometimes have similar connotations, but they also confirmed differences.

All three class interaction excerpts show students' active use of their plurilingual/pluricultural resources. In Excerpt 1, Sook shares her knowledge and experience of

another culture and society (South Korea), which allows her to compare how foreigners' use of the national language is positioned in Japan and in Korea. Excerpt 2 shows Faye actively engaged in a translation activity that was spontaneously suggested by the teacher. In Excerpt 3, the teacher and four students, each utilizing their own resources, make contributions to the group's understanding of similarities and differences between the images and superstitions linked to animals. In this interaction, the teacher learns from the students. "Co-learning" (Li Wei 2014) is achieved.

In addition to the established rapport, the opportunities for higher-level contribution to the discussion, made possible by plurilingual/pluricultural practice in Excerpts 1 and 3, suggest that power relations are minimized. This is also reflected in a series of students' utterances often taking place without prompts from the teacher in these interactions.

3.2   Written Reflections on Ownership of Language

Next, we examine how the students viewed the notion of ownership at the end of the course. Their 1–2-page essays handwritten in Japanese were first checked to ensure that the students' reflections indeed related to the texts they read or the main topics discussed in the classes[3] (see the essay prompt in Sect. 2.7).

Of the 11 students, two (Katey and Faye) only made generic comments about learning Japanese. One student (Angelina) in her own way had a strong sense of owning both languages and stated: "2つの話し方は同両私のものなんだから、どちらでも使えば、私はまだ私だ[4] (Both languages are mine. Regardless of which language I use, I am who I am)."

The other eight students reflected on issues related to the texts. Unlike Angelina, these students seemed strongly affected by the pervasive discourse of Japanese as a difficult language. One mentioned the perceived impossibility of owning the language, and most believed that learners of Japanese as L2 could gain ownership only if they work hard enough to become proficient in the language. Many of them also believed this to be a very difficult task due to some aspects of the language, such as Japanese culture, *kanji* (Chinese characters), and *keigo* (honorifics).

The one student, Erin, who did not think L2 Japanese users could have ownership of the language, stated: "外国人が日本語をしょゆうことになるは今からできませんと思います (I do not think foreigners can own the Japanese language in Japan at this time)." She compared it to French, another language she has learned:

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[3] Throughout the course, students expressed their views in writing assignments. They knew that their work would receive high marks regardless of their opinions as long as they responded to the question and demonstrated some self-reflection, considering their own personal experiences.

[4] In the excerpts from the students' writing, non-target-like expressions and spelling are retained, except for ill-formed characters (which cannot easily be reproduced). The English equivalents contain our best guesses of non-target-like expressions when the intended meanings are relatively transparent.

she thinks she could pass as an NS in France if she became proficient, especially because of her appearance. She explicitly associated the difficulty with the need to learn the culture, but the appearance associated with ethnicity/race also seemed to be a major factor influencing her belief.

Other students also appear to equate ownership of (Japanese) language to mastery of the language, but they seem to consider mastery attainable for L2 learners who make an effort. They see mastery as more than mere speaking proficiency. Sonia, who finds learning Japanese much more challenging than learning Italian, underscores the importance of literacy, stating: "大切な教育のかんじが書け、読めなければ、日本語の所有権がなくて、まじめな日本語の学生と日本人にみなされないしまいます (If you cannot read and write *kanji*, which is important in education, then you do not have ownership and are not regarded by Japanese people as a serious student learning Japanese)." For Sonia, knowledge of *kanji* is indispensable to "a serious student" seeking ownership of the Japanese language.

Similarly, Sook, who has learned Spanish as L2, finds learning Japanese unexpectedly difficult. Speaking fluently does not suffice, and it is culture that one endeavors to acquire in order to own a (foreign) language, she says. Amy echoes this view of culture, writing: "文化の問題から、たぶん日本で生まれた、そだった人は日本語のしょうゆうけんを持っています (Because of the issue of culture, perhaps those who are born or grew up in Japan have ownership)."

Amy links ownership to NSs because of their familiarity with their own culture, but she also believes that ownership is attainable with effort. She writes: "よく日本に行って、文化も勉強すれば、日本語のしょうゆうけんも持っていると思っています (I believe that others also own it if they study it very hard, go to Japan and study the culture)." At the same time, though, she attributes some of the difficulty to Japanese NSs' attitudes towards users of Japanese as L2.

Extract 4: Amy's Essay Excerpt

日本は「外国人は日本語をぜんぜん分からない」という考えを持っていなければ、たぶんもっと外国人は日本語を勉強してペラペラになれます。でも、今、日本に行って、日本人が外国人に英語だけで話すから、日本語がペラペラはとてもなりにくでしょう。

(If [people in] Japan do not have the idea that "foreigners cannot understand Japanese at all," then foreigners can probably study the language more and become proficient. But if you go to Japan now, because Japanese people only speak English to foreigners, it is very difficult for them to become proficient.)

Like Amy, three students (Sue, Carol, Lisa) expressed objections to, or disappointment about, the ideology that denies ownership of the Japanese language to foreigners, but they are hopeful that it has changed or is changing. Sue writes, "歴史的な点から考えれば、日本人論のイデオロギーはまだ強くてpervasiveでと感じます (Considering the historical perspective, I feel that the ideology of *Nihonjinron* is still strong and pervasive)." Sue states that the ideology of *Nihonjinron* is still pervasive, but at the same time she observes that her Japanese friends studying in

the U.S. are different. She attributes this to generational difference and changes to Japan's status in the world.

Interestingly, Genni, an immigrant from Rwanda, realized that she, like other Rwandans, held a similar belief that her own language was not learnable for foreigners. Upon reading Levy's text, however, she changed her mind.

Extract 5: Genni's Essay Excerpt

でも、その作文を読むあとで「あー、よく勉強すれば、何でも言語をペラペラになれる」と考いた。したがって、ルアンダ語についてその考を持っていたが、日本語についての考えは違った。その時に、日本語の勉強は難しいのに、無じゃなかった。それから、リービ英雄の作文は私を教えてくれた。

(But after reading Levy's essay, I thought: "Ah, if you study hard, you can be proficient in any languages." Therefore, even though I had similar thoughts about the Rwandan language, my idea about the Japanese language has changed. Though Japanese language learning was difficult, it was not impossible. And Levy's essay taught me [that].)

Most of the students (7 of 11) felt they could gain ownership of Japanese despite considering it a formidable task including understanding of both language and culture. Their belief that Japanese is difficult seems to be based on the perceived difficulty of mastering the language, especially its culture, honorifics, and *kanji*. Notably, it is mastery (of language) that many saw as key to the ownership of the language. This could be a consequence of our choice of texts, written by "expert" users of Japanese. We might have unintentionally promoted a belief that mastery of language is a requisite for owning a language.

3.3   Retrospective Interviews

Five students—Lisa, Sue, Erin, Genni, and Carol—were individually interviewed. Part of each interview was based on the student's own essay, and part of it delved into the student's views regarding ownership of language, transcultural writers, and Japanese language learning. We focus here on the students' views regarding ownership of (Japanese) language.

Three of the five students, Erin, Sue, and Genni, share a belief that perseverance to attain a high level in a language allows them ownership. Genni and Sue also tie ownership of language to proficiency or mastery of language and culture. Genni stated that what Levy was doing in his essay was showing his mastery of language.

Genni regards achievement of NS proficiency, as demonstrated by Levy, as qualifying an NNS to own the language. Having moved to the U.S. at the age of six, she has a "native grasp of English" and feels that she owns the language; she thinks she would need to immerse herself in Japanese in Japan to get "a better grasp of the language" for her to claim ownership of Japanese. Likewise, Sue believes that what

is required for one to own a language is "being fluent in the language in all aspects (writing, speaking, and reading)" and says: "I can do it, but it takes time and it's a struggle."

Erin's view is slightly different and rather elusive at first. As in her essay, in the interview she initially links cultural heritage to ownership. However, she later asserts that if you felt that "you could speak English and really that you could use it to express yourself and convey ideas to anyone in that language," then you could own English. She wishes to own Japanese in that way.

Extract 6: Interview with Erin

> Levy's article probably did the most. It's just you know, making me think: "Well, if I actually go to Japan, what will people think of me if I speak well?" Or, you know. Or just like, persevering, you know, even if this is how I'm treated I still wanna learn the language and you know, work with it and make it mine.

Erin says Levy's article contributed the most ("did the most") to her change of attitude. Having invested in the language and gained familiarity with Japanese language and culture, Erin is determined to have ownership, by which she seems to mean a certain level of proficiency. She does not necessarily mean mastery but rather the ability to use the language to express herself. She says she is prepared to persevere even if she meets with negative attitudes or rejection from NSs.

For Lisa, on the other hand, NS-like mastery or a high level of proficiency is not what allows one to own a language. As soon as the interview started, she brought up Levy's expression—*Nihongo-o motteiru.*

Extract 7: Interview with Lisa 1

> I like his example about like, um, when, when he would say "Nihongo-o motteiru" (have/ possess Japanese), rather than like "Nihongo-o wakaru" (understand Japanese) or whatever. Um, because that, rather like, that's like *an example of like owning a language, coming up with their own phrases* I think, (…) but when people speak English when it's not their native language and say something that's kind of funny, I guess people have a tendency to correct them when maybe they don't need to be corrected. (emphasis the authors')

She recognizes that one's creative expression serves as an example of owning the language but at the same time she reflects on her own attitude and awareness that L2 speakers who create their own expressions get corrected when they do not need to be. Here she demonstrates her growing awareness of the problem that is created by NS-NNS dichotomy; at the same time, it is evident that her view is influenced by a pervasive bias that people often have when judging other's language use based on "not what is said" but "who said it." In this case, Levy's status as "expert" writer means that his unconventional use of language is regarded as "creativity" whereas the same phrase used by an ordinary L2 user may be judged as an error or ignorance (Kumagai 2012). Lisa thought further about the concept of ownership. She drew an analogy between engineering (her major) and language use.

Extract 8: Interview with Lisa 2

> it's funny this actually relates to like engineering. He [a professor] said like you have to own a process. You have to own, like, and by owning it, it doesn't mean it's just following it like direction for direction or following somebody who already laid it out. Following, it means, like look at like, comp—*kind of taking it and making it your own by, you know, adapting it to what's important to you or something.* So I think that's the same with language. (emphasis the authors')

For Lisa, what is needed to own language is not emulating NS language use but appropriating the language while adapting it to your own purpose or preference. Such engaging processes that require personal effort and creative invention, Lisa thinks, enable one to claim ownership of language (and engineering).

Indeed, Carol appears to have a sense of ownership of adapted Japanese, that is, her spontaneous use of a hybrid of English and Japanese. She concedes that the prevailing ideology makes it hard to own Japanese, stating that "there's this sense of like, Japanese and Japan are very, very closely linked in ways that other languages and their places of origin are not." When asked whether she would gain ownership of the language, she responded as follows.

Extract 9: Interview with Carol

> I've just, I just started thinking about this. Um, at Middlebury over the summer, there was this really interesting culture that develops about, among people who are learning Japanese and there's this sort of like, *gaikokujin-nihongo* [foreigner-Japanese] that happens and it's sort of like a mix of English and Japanese and like, mixed up in different ways and I *think there's an ownership of that,* kind of. (emphasis the authors')

Carol's reflection upon her experience highlights her ownership of a new repertoire via adoption of an English-Japanese mix during a nine-week intensive immersion summer program that obliged students to pledge to use the target language exclusively. It appears that through her reflection during the plurilingual literacies course she re-evaluated her practice of mixing languages and regarded it as a way of owning language. Her language use with her peers transcended individual named languages; they were engaging in translanguaging (Otheguy et al. 2015) by using available linguistic resources for communication.

Despite perceiving a challenge, Erin feels she can cope with difficulties and make the language hers. Genni's and Sue's retrospective interviews reflect the idea that mastery of the language is required for one to gain (a sense of) ownership of the target language, which is similar to what many expressed in their essays. Others, however, have come to recognize that there are diverse ways of attaining ownership. For Lisa, ownership of a language is gained by "taking it and making it your own by adapting it to what is important to you." Carol, meanwhile, considers ownership to have been achieved in the shared hybrid language that she feels she owns, as one of the members of a community of Japanese-English users.

4 Discussions and Conclusion

4.1 Plurilingual Practice and Students' Understanding of Ownership of Language

We found that reading texts written by transcultural writers inspired and motivated many of the students to confront the ideology that ties ownership of the language to Japanese ethnicity. The plurilingual practice implemented in class appeared to open up opportunities for active contribution and participation, thereby minimizing the power relations in the classroom. This practice also allowed the students to deepen their thoughts and critically reflect on their own experiences, an essential aspect of critical literacy.

Not surprisingly, however, most students equated owning the target language with mastering the language or culture. Reading essays by transcultural writers who did "master" Japanese may have reinforced that idea. The belief that only mastery of the language allows one to claim ownership of it appears to be linked to the conventional idea of language as a defined set of lexical items and structures to be learned thoroughly, rather than a repertoire to which one adds new resources.

4.2 Appropriating the L2

One of the students, Lisa, understood ownership of language as going beyond mastery of it. For her, owning was possible through appropriation and adaptation of the language. Such a creative use of language is indeed regarded as genuine ownership. As Widdowson (1994, 384) puts it: "Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage and make it real for you." Using Japanese in plurilingual practice is one way of appropriating the language. The practice Carol described—specifically, use of a Japanese variety mixed with English—involves the "deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire," as does translanguaging, which Otheguy et al. (2015, 281) define as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages." Carol's use of Japanese resources together with English resources liberated her from ideologies of NS superiority. She developed her identity as a plurilingual speaker, stating that "my Japanese is probably always going to sound like the Japanese of a person who speaks English. And…I'm okay with that, because of this, sort of, this kind of culture foreigners learning Japanese [make], and there's sort of a community in that."

Carol appears to have a sense of owning the Japanese resources that have been added to her repertoire, and she can deploy them in a hybrid variety she refers to as "*gaikokujin-nihongo*," as opposed to a bounded entity called "the Japanese language." Reconceptualizing language as a set of linguistic resources rather than as a

bounded unit, then, enables L2 learners to gain ownership, diminishing the NS-NNS dichotomy in spite of the pervasive ideology.

The idea that language is a non-bounded, fluid entity is central to our approach and has direct bearing on access to a sense of ownership. This reconceptualization of language has gained support in the scholarship of both SLA (e.g. Cook's multi-competence) and literacy (e.g. multiliteracies). This view of language also reconceptualizes "learning": L2 speakers are no longer "learners" trying to emulate the practice of "native speakers," but rather plurilingual speakers adding new resources to their repertoire and using them to actively and constantly engage in plurilingual practice. It is important for both teachers and students to recognize that such a practice is not performed at some particular learning stage—it is instead a normal, everyday practice that every individual with multiple linguistic resources engages in in one way or another (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015).

4.3   Concluding Remarks

Reading and discussing texts by transcultural writers, one of which dealt specifically with the ownership of the Japanese language, aided students in thinking deeply about the ideology that links the Japanese language exclusively to Japanese NSs, and about challenging this ideology. To some extent, this practice achieved a goal of language learning proposed by Doerr and Kumagai (2009, p. 314): to "encourage learners to maneuver through webs of power relations that are linked to [the] language one speaks, as well as to reject viewing language varieties in terms of dichotomies such as correct/incorrect".

Students can also use linguistic and cultural resources to their advantage in meaning-making as they interpret and write texts. NS teachers can learn a great deal from their plurilingual students. Giving students opportunities to read transcultural writers' texts and think deeply about the ownership of language made it possible for some students, such as Lisa, to look away from merely emulating the norm and toward conceptualizing ownership of language as "taking it and making it your own." This willingness and ability to appropriate the target language—despite the ubiquitous NS-NNS power relations in the target language community—enabled students' participation in the community as active members (Sato and Kumagai 2011).

Today, increasing mobility means that many people live in communities where the dominant language is not their native language. NNSs' participation in society is therefore increasingly and unquestionably important. People also participate in online communities daily, constantly making decisions about language choices that suit their target audience and authorial purpose. Newly reconceptualized approaches to language, learning, and literacy, such as those discussed in this chapter, allow L2 education to prepare NNSs to become active social agents who can also function as cultural mediators in diverse contexts.

Over time, cognitive process–oriented SLA approaches have evolved, and the gap between the scholarship of New Literacy Studies and that of SLA has begun to narrow. In SLA today it is acknowledged more clearly than ever that the "one nation, one language" equation is false, and that languages are not separate (Larsen-Freeman 2018, 60–61). Larsen-Freeman (2018, 61) suggests that "a primary purpose of teaching foreign languages is for students to confront their own monolingual biases and to understand the many pragmatic and humanitarian benefits of language learning." We hope that Japanese language education will help L2 Japanese students reflect on their biases, gain a sense of ownership, and confidently appropriate the language in order to exercise their agency and become full members of the communities they care about.

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Part III
Navigating New Linguistic Resources

1   Introduction

Learning a new language is a complex yet common activity in the globalized world. Learners' former literacy experiences, skills, and identity constructions play a role in this process. However, learning a second language (L2) is not only an individual process but also part of a social and cultural context. Researchers therefore need varied approaches to understand how language learning takes place.

In the study reported in this chapter, individual and social approaches to language learning are captured through analyzing how novice L2 writers express ideas and feelings (*autonomy*) in their texts and how these expressions are understood as part of a specific cultural and social context requiring the writers to *adjust* to writing norms. This negotiation between autonomy and adjustment is the basis for the suggested reconceptualization of the notion of *voice* discussed here. By conceiving of voice as an individual positioning on a continuum between adjustment and autonomy, it is possible to capture the social and individual processes involved in language learning. Developing voice is, in the chapter, considered a central part of language learning, decisive for taking part in literacy practices and leading in turn to more language learning. Language, literacy, and learning are thus closely intertwined and central in the development of voice in the L2 writing discussed here.

Voice development in L2 writing has been discussed in various studies. It has been associated with self-presentation and identity negotiations in text (Canagarajah 2004; Ivanič and Camps 2001), as part of authoring the self (Vitanova 2010), and as skills related to express appropriateness and authoritativeness (Isaac 2012). In many studies, voice is understood as developed solely or largely by an individual. Prior (2001), however, argues for a more dialogical understanding of voice development, claiming it to be both personal and social. Canagarajah (2015) accentuates the lack of empirical research in the field. In this chapter, the suggested reconceptualizing of the notion of voice is an attempt to see individual expressions as part of culturally and socially situated writing norms. To this end, voice is investigated through an empirical study of writing by novice L2 writers in a school class.

The writing explored in this chapter is produced by Nassir (male, 17 years) and Saynab (female, 19 years),[1] two students with a Somalian refugee background. They study at the lower secondary level in Norway and have been in Norway for approximately 3–4 years. Their former education is fragmentary due to their refugee background, but they have had some schooling in Somalia and in refugee camps. Their writing experiences before arriving in Norway mainly involved copying texts; they had no experience of using their imagination while writing. Since Nassir and Saynab are learning Norwegian, they need to acquire the grammar and words of their new language, also the literacy practices and writing norms associated with the language used in different contexts. In other words, learning Norwegian involves engaging in new literacy practices and using their writing in ways that have thus far

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[1] The students are referred to by fictional names to protect their identity.

been unfamiliar to them. They have to develop their voice and (re)create it in a new language. It must be emphasized that voice in this chapter is viewed as dynamic and as a continuous negotiation of autonomy and adjustment to writing norms.

The notion of voice is operationalized through two analytical approaches: first, by analyzing the intertextual resources used by the students in their writing, and second, by analyzing the evaluative language used by the students in their writing. The writing is thus understood as a social practice that also conveys individual feelings, thoughts, and opinions: aspects associated with identity in writing. Both aspects are crucial in becoming a proficient L2 writer (Ivanič 1998, Ivanič and Camps 2001, Norton 2013). In the chapter, I will first elaborate on theoretical and analytical approaches to analyzing voice development among L2 learners. Secondly, I present the students and their texts, then analyze their writing and discuss how they create voice in a new language.

2 Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Voice Development in L2 Learning

2.1 Writing as Dialogue and Meaning Making

The L2 writing studied here is understood as part of a dialogical theoretical framework in which text, word, and language are viewed as "half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 293). Central to this approach is that in the development of expressing oneself, "[…] we get our words, our ideas, our ideologies from other people, who are responding at a particular historical moment to previous utterances, and who anticipate a response from subsequent speakers, subsequent writers" (Menard-Warwick 2014, p. 32). All utterances are thus situated in particular historical and social contexts formed by dialogical processes; they cannot be viewed as isolated. The dialogical approach to how voice is developed is useful for capturing how the interplay between context, utterances, and the participants are central in identity construction and writing development. This approach also emphasizes how the writer's life, identity and self is not separable from the act of writing (Mirhosseini and Kianfar 2018, p. 6).

While the dialogical framework highlights how all texts are linked to other texts and how multiple norms and forms exist simultaneously (Duranti 1994, p. 6), the theoretical framework developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) offers a meaning-based theory of language that focuses on how, and in which ways, such norms and forms create meaning in specific contexts (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Maagerø 2005). The importance of controlling semiotic resources and being confident in using them is highlighted in the SFL-tradition, not only because of how it relates to pedagogical efforts (Folkeryd 2006, Magnusson 2011, Llinares 2013), but also because the control of semiotic resources influences power relations (Duranti 1994, p. 6). Mastering semiotic resources is thus crucial to enabling people

to participate in relevant discourses (Martin and Rose 2007, p. 16) and to take control of self-positioning and identity constructions in their texts (Ivanič and Camps 2001). By bringing the self of the writer into the writing place and by "[r]ecognising the role of linguistic forms, cognitive processes and socio-political situatedness of writing practices" (Mirhosseini and Kianfar 2018, p. 1), new insights in second language writing can be gained.

2.2 Voice in Research and Education

The increased research on voice in L2 contexts can be viewed as part of the 'social' or 'sociolinguistic' turn in the field of second language acquisition (Block 2003, Dörnyei and Ushioda 2013). Since the notion of 'voice' is itself a metaphorical expression (Elbow 2000), and thus lacking a permanent definition, it has complex and multiple meanings in different contexts (Isaac 2012, p. 1). The notion of voice has been studied as part of self-representation and identity negotiations (Canagarajah 2004, Ivanič and Camps 2001), as part of authoring the self (Vitanova 2010), and as a set of skills used to express an appropriate and authoritative message in a given context (Isaac 2012). It is discussed in relation to different cultural interpretations (Matsuda 2001) as well. But the increased attention to voice in L2 studies has also led to criticism, first, because the attention is "disproportionate in relation to other aspects of writing" (Stapleton 2002, p. 189), and second, because some users of the notion see voice as something L2 learners need to be taught, implying that they do not already possess a voice from their earlier writing experiences (Hirvela and Belcher 2001).

Canagarajah (2015) argues that theoretical development in the field of multilingual writing has not been matched by empirical research. He refers to Tardy (2016), who points out that many influential studies on identity and voice in L2 writing actually examine L1 writers and/or texts. Regarding the scarcity of studies of voice carried out in classrooms (Tardy 2016), more research is needed on "how multilingual writers draw from diverse cultural and linguistic resources, especially in classroom contexts, for voice" (Canagarajah 2015, p. 122). Such research, says Canagarajah, will make it possible to create more complex definitions of voice and to examine the experiences of L2 students and their teachers.

In addition to the increased focus on voice in research, the notion is also important in the Norwegian educational context. The Norwegian curriculum states that students, throughout their schooling, should be able to "find their own voices, express themselves, be listened to, and get answers" [my translation] (Kunnskapsdepartementet 2010, 2013).[2] Research on norms for writing in educational contexts in Norway has identified how individual experiences and the

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[2] Since the curriculum has changed after the data collection, I refer here to the curriculum used in the period 2010–2013. This particular citation, however, is the same in both versions of the curriculum.

ability to share and give meaning to personal experiences are important parts of the text culture (Berge 2005, Evensen 2003). This research also reveals that one important characteristic of a highly assessed text is that it includes the writer's own evaluation of the events described (Berge 2005, p. 72), also that the writer's ability to share and give meaning to personal experiences is an important part of the text culture (Berge 2005, Evensen 2003). Findings from research done in a Swedish educational context underline that voice also plays a part in the evaluation of text, since "how voice and reader address was expressed in the texts plays a crucial part in how texts are evaluated" (Folkeryd 2006, p. 42).

Voice development is thus a crucial part of language learning, not only for sake of how learners' writing is evaluated, but also for their possibility to participate in literacy practices. Bringing personal meaningfulness into writing pedagogy, and thus include the personal dimension of writing in writing instruction, is thus a way to integrate an instrumental and a personal dimension of writing (Fasheh 2007; Mirhosseini and Kianfar 2018). As Matsuda (2001) claims, voice might be perceived differently in different cultures, due to the cultural norms of how, and the degree to which, individuality and personal stances are expressed in written discourse. This can be related to the notion of voice as proposed here, since the 'valued' positioning on the proposed continuum between adjustment and autonomy might differ from discourse to discourse and might not necessarily be restricted to language but could also pertain to writing in different genres.

3   Analytical and Operational Approaches to the Study of Voice in This Study

3.1   *Intertextuality and Appraisal*

The concept of intertextuality developed by Kristeva (1986) suggests that "even the apparently most homogeneous or self-contained text exhibits, at a close analysis, elements that link it to other texts, with different contexts, different norms, and different voices" (Duranti 1994, p. 5). In close relation to the dialogical framework discussed above, the acknowledgement of intertextuality challenges a 'pure' view of text and individuality in writing. Given that all words and utterances are already inherited from others' voices, the development of an individual voice relates to the interplay with other persons and discourses. In alignment with the conceptualization of voice suggested in this chapter, it is also relevant to mention Bakhtin's notion of 'ideological becoming', which refers to dialogue between acts of assimilation to an ideological world and internally persuasive discourses (Menard-Warwick 2014). To analyze the student texts presented here, the categorization of intertextual resources is used as a tool to illuminate how, and whether, students use these resources to adjust to the norms in the text culture.

An important aspect in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is that while using language, three meta-functions are fulfilled: the *ideational*, which construes the world and our experiences of it; the *interpersonal*, which enacts social identities and relationships, and the *textual*, which organizes meanings into coherent presentations (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Holmberg and Karlsson 2006, Maagerø 2005). Ivanič and Camps (2001) identify all these meta-functions as relevant in the construction of voice. Within the SFL framework, as part of its interpersonal meta-function, the Appraisal model[3] has evolved as a tool for investigating evaluative language. The evaluative uses of language captured in the term 'appraisal' also include the use "by which speakers/writers adopt particular value positions or stances and by which they negotiate these stances with either actual or potential respondents" (White 2012). Appraisal is thus concerned with how emotions, judgements, and appreciation are expressed in texts (Attitude), how they are amplified (Graduation), and where they come from (Engagement) (Martin and Rose 2007). This use of language helps establish a relationship between a writer and reader in written discourse, since the attitudes expressed in text are an interpersonal matter "in that the basic reason for advancing an opinion is to elicit a response of solidarity from the addressee" (Martin 2000, p. 145). Dialogue is emphasized as an important form of language use because being able to participate in a dialogue "[…] means being able to negotiate the exchange of interpersonal meanings, being able to realize social relationships with other language users" (Eggins 2004, p. 144). Both Macken-Horarik (2003) and Folkeryd (2006) have studied the use of appraisal resources (evaluative language) in relation to writing skills. Their studies reveal that a writer's ability to set up a relationship with a reader, to recognize interpersonal hierarchies, and to attend to both direct and implied appraisal are associated with successful writing. Research on the use of appraisal resources thus relates to the complexity of language learning, since writing skills involve managing grammatical and lexical issues in a new language as well as understanding how language is used to express ideas, meanings, and emotions.

3.2   Operationalizing the Notion of Voice

By revealing intertextual and appraisal resources used in novice L2 writing, the study aims to explore and reconceptualize the notion of voice, highlighting the point made by Hirvela and Belcher (2001) that mature L2 writers should not be viewed as lacking voice. The chapter explores, first, the intertextual and appraisal resources in texts written by two novice L2 writers with a Somalian refugee background, and second, how the use of these resources can be related to voice, understood as the individual positioning on a continuum between adjustment and autonomy. The

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[3] I use small letters when referring to the appraisal resources and capital letters when referring to the Appraisal model, following Martin and Rose (2007) and Martin (2014). Folkeryd (2006) however, uses capital letters on both occasions.

students' attempts to adjust to the textual norms in the discourse community are analyzed in relation to the intertextual resources they use. Expressions of their autonomy are analyzed using the Appraisal model to investigate the evaluative language in their texts. The study thus views voice as an essential part of managing a new language and new literacy practices; it is constructed with the meaning-making resources offered to the L2 learner to achieve an individual recognizable style (Martin and White 2005, p. 208).

4   The Students, the Writing Context, and the Texts

The data analyzed here come from an ethnographic study carried out with a class of L2 learners who attended a program to achieve lower secondary education at a school in a large city in Norway. This program ('Grunnskoleavdeling for minoritetsspråklig ungdom') is intended for people from 16 to 20 years old who have Norwegian as an L2 and who lack the qualifications needed for further education. The class consisted of 21 students with varied L1, the largest group being Somalian in origin. The class was characterized by heterogeneity in both the backgrounds and skills of students.

I collected the empirical material for this study by participating in the Norwegian class in the students' final semester. During this period, I wrote field notes and collected copies of all the written drafts the students produced (the drafts were reviewed and graded by the teacher). In addition, I conducted interviews with seven students. These seven all had a Somalian refugee background with approximately 3–4 years of residency in Norway. I conducted the interviews in Norwegian, since all the students had sufficient oral skills in Norwegian. An interpreter would most likely have disturbed the communication, given that the conversations turned out to be quite personal. The interviews, or conversations, were mainly related to the students' drafts and their writing, but also to issues including identity, family, friends, and so forth. From the group of seven students, I chose two for this particular study, since their use of intertextual and appraisal resources in the drafts seemed to differ. The analysis presented here is based on eight texts written by the two students (four texts each), and three interviews with each of them, as well as field notes from 6 months of observation and participation in the classroom. This triangulation of methods was intended to add complexity to the exploration of how voice is constructed by these novice L2 writers in an educational setting.

The L2 writers presented here – they are called Nassir (male, 17 years old) and Saynab (female, 19 years old) – came to Norway at the age of 13 and 15. They both had some schooling prior to this, albeit varied and fragmented, related to their refugee experiences. From what they conveyed in the interviews, it was salient that the main literacy practices they had been involved in during their former education were to copy extracts from texts or oral narratives. School played an important role for them both socially and academically, and they were motivated and willing to speak and learn Norwegian. They expressed this during the interviews, but it was

also evident in their stable attendance and active oral participation in class. Even though they had permanent residency in Norway, both Nassir and Saynab experienced transition. They both talked about the experience of being in transition between countries and languages. In addition, their transition between different text cultures and between childhood and adulthood are relevant aspects in this chapter, as these might influence their writing and written identity constructions. The texts, titles, main narrative plots, and number of words in each draft written by the students are presented in Table 1 (Nassir) and Table 2 (Saynab).

5   Operationalizing the Analytical Tools

Drawing on Bazerman (2004) and Bunch and Willett (2013), the analysis of intertextuality presented in this chapter is based on a categorization of which intertextual traces can be identified in the students' texts. The categorizations are based on the researcher's knowledge of the texts read in class during the semester, information from the interviews with the students, and searching the Internet for sources the students might have used. Given that intertextuality in this chapter is viewed as an integral part of text production, it is neither possible nor desirable to locate all the sources the students have been influenced by. Nevertheless, the aim here is to illustrate some of the choices the students make both regarding *which* sources they use and *how* they use them.

The use of intertextuality was grouped according to how 'direct' the use of sources was. Direct quotes with an identifiable source were placed in category 1

Table 1   Nassir's texts[a]

Task	Write a story about difficult love	Choose an era, a world or a culture, and write a story about how it is to live there.	They say "You can't buy happiness." Use this quote as a starting point for an article or a reader's letter.	Write a story or a short story about words which leaves traces in the main figure. Make an appropriate title.
Title	Love is like a sun	How do I feel about the world	Money does not make you happy	We just do it
	Na1 (narrative)	**Na2** (narrative)	**Na3** (argumentative, article)	**Na4** (narrative)
Main plot	About a male narrator falling in love and going to a school prom.	About happiness, the war in Somalia, and the place of emotions in the society.	About how happiness is not dependent on money.	About a male narrator falling in love, struggling with his feelings.
N of words	872 words	591 words	256 words	605 words

[a]The translations from Norwegian to English are my own and reflect the original spelling and syntax of the students' writing

Table 2 Saynab's texts

Task	Write a story about difficult love.	Write a fictional text about a turning point in life.	With computers and cell-phones, we can be online and available all the time. What consequences may this have for our lives?	Write a fictional text about a person who experiences an inability to express his or her own opinions.
Title	Life can change	Life can turn around as a bullet	This, we must take seriously	To escape better that you be your house
	Sa1 (narrative)	**Sa2** (narrative)	**Sa3** (argumentative, reader's letter)	**Sa**4 (narrative)
Main plot	About two young Somalians falling in love in Mogadishu. After some difficulties, they get married and have children.	About a mother with two children in Sudan. The husband takes a loan and is abused by the man he borrowed the money from. She gets help from another man to solve the problems.	An argumentative text against the role Facebook and digital media plays in our everyday life (takes time away from other activities).	About a mother with two children escaping from the war in Somalia. They run into problems on their way, being kidnaped. They receive help from a man.
N of words	563 words	655 words	483 words	541 words

('Using direct quotation where the source is identifiable'). These incidents of quotation were detected, first, through noticing 'cracks' in the texts: the passages differed so much from the other parts of the writing that they probably were not articulated by the student. As Pennycook (1996) states, the teachers' search for such 'cracks' can be seen as ironic, for they "start to look for grammatical errors as a sign of good writing" and "become suspicious when such errors are crucially absent" (Pennycook 1996, p. 203). The knowledge of the students' writing skills and their former writing can nevertheless make the reader suspicious when the writing is 'too good', indicating that the writer copied from another text. In this analysis, such suspicious cases were placed in category 1 if they were confirmed by searching possible sources. In cases where a strong suspicion was not confirmed by a secure identification of the source, the extracts were placed in category 3 as 'Unsecure use of direct quotation'. When the students used well-known metaphors, they were put in category 2 ('Using established metaphors/similes'). This category is limited, since only metaphors understood as similes were categorized here (e.g., "Her eyes are like lights," Na4), and only the metaphors identified by the researcher as 'established' were recognized as such. The extracts that contained ideas and inspiration from different sources were placed in category 4 ('Inspiration from stories/fairy tales/poems'). The categorizations thus create a continuum, ranging from a 'strong' or 'secure' use of intertextual resources to less 'strong' or 'secure' usage:

Table 3 Examples of the students' use of intertextual resources

	Examples	Written/oral source
(1) using direct quotation where the source is identifiable	A 65 word-sequence (Na1)	Book read in class: *The Kiss that Made the Snow Melt,* Fretheim 1991
	"No one gets green with envy" (Na1)	
(2) using established metaphors/similes	"I missed you so much. My eyes missed you. You are one who I liked the most. You are my dream dear Farah I really love you" (Sa1)	
(3) unsecure use of direct quotation	"My stomach hurt as usual" (Na1)	Identified through 'cracks' in the texts
	"People today needs a much stronger focus in feeling the world" (Na2)	
(4) inspiration from stories/fairytales/ poems	The use of stomach pain as a metaphor for being sad (used in all the texts written by Nassir). Example: "I have a pain in my stomach" (Na2)	Book read in class: *The Kiss that Made the Snow Melt*, Fretheim 1991
	Saynab's text production (Sa1, Sa2, Sa4)	Somalian texts/fairytales

1. Using direct quotation where the source is identifiable
2. Using established metaphors/similes
3. Unsecure use of direct quotation
4. Inspiration from stories/fairy tales/poems

These categorizations have some limitations in that they are restricted by the experience and knowledge of the researcher. For instance, some of the metaphors not recognized by the researcher might be recognized as established in other text cultures unknown to the researcher. The extracts gathered in category 4 ('Inspiration from stories/fairy tales/poems') can be viewed as problematic, since the category is quite vague and limited to instances of inspiration from texts read in class or examples of what the students said in interviews. This category nevertheless proved useful in the analysis presented in this chapter. With these limitations in mind, the intertextual resources from each student were identified and illustrated by two diagrams. Examples of the categorization are shown in Table 3. We see, for instance, that one of the books used in the classroom during the semester (Fretheim 1991), was directly quoted by Nassir in his first text (category 1), and used for inspiration in his second text (category 4).

After analyzing the intertextual traces in the students' texts as expressions of adjustments to the text culture, the texts were analyzed using the Appraisal model to illuminate expressions of autonomy. The Appraisal model was chosen as a tool to investigate how the students express Affect[4] and Judgement in their texts, since these personal attitudes may display expressions of autonomy. While analyzing the texts, it was not only the students' varied use of affect and judgement that were

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[4] Also in describing the attitudes, capital letters are used when referring to the model, and small letters are used when referring to a student's expression.

Table 4 Examples of analyses of students' use of appraisal resources

	Examples	Explanation
Affect, direct	"I feel sad" (Na2)	Direct affect or prototypical actions related to feelings (kissing/crying).
	"She became very frightened" (Sa2)	
	"She got annoyed both physically and mentally" (Sa4)	
	"I love her" (Na4)	
Affect, implied	"I feel my stomach hurts" (Na2)	Metaphorical actions are interpreted as implied attitude.
	"My heart knocks like an elephant" (Na1)	
	"Its heart is knocking and bombing" (Sa1)	
Judgment, direct	"I don't think it is right" (Na2)	Direct judgment ("I don't think it is right") and also expressions of a standard and some values the people act against (equal rights, making people happy, taking care of yourself)
	"The old man was so kind" (Sa2)	
	"They were awful men" (Sa4)	
	"It's not exciting that you post your picture every day" (Sa3)	
Judgment, implied	"Fadumo didn't manage to say that she loved a boy" (Sa1)	Context
	"That is not right because money does not make you happy" (Na3)	An action that reveals something about the person.
	"We kill innocent people" (Na2)	To do something wrong.

salient, but also their use of direct and implied expressions. Some examples of how appraisal resources were analyzed are presented in Table 4.

The expressions in each text were categorized, counted, and placed in Table 5. This quantification made it possible to visualize some tendencies in the texts and explain them within a qualitative framework. By studying Table 5, it becomes clear that Nassir uses both direct and implied affect more frequently in his drafts than Saynab does, while Saynab uses implied judgment more frequently.

The challenges of interpreting appraisal resources are related to the broad possibilities for interpretation within Appraisal, since the linguistic resources used to express these resources are several and varied (Folkeryd 2006, Martin and Rose 2007, p. 63). In the analysis presented here, three challenges were specifically salient: first, the students were neither experienced writers nor experienced L2 users; second, the students and the researcher had different cultural references; and third, limitations in analysis arose on account of the categorizations.

Table 5 Incidents of appraisal resources used in the texts

	Affect, direct		Affect, implied		Judgment, direct		Judgment, implied	
	Nassir	Saynab	Nassir	Saynab	Nassir	Saynab	Nassir	Saynab
Text 1	12	13	19	11	0	6	6	4
Text 2	9	3	2	2	12	5	3	16
Text 3	2	0	0	0	1	4	1	11
Text 4	10	4	10	2	2	3	1	7

These challenges (elaborated in the discussion section) illustrate the importance of specifying one's reading position when analyzing Appraisal. In this analysis, a *compliant* reading and *tactical* reading were applied (Martin and White 2005). A compliant reading, which accommodates to the reading position naturalized in the text and does not work against it as a *resistant* reading would do, was made easier by the information which emerged in the interviews with the students – and in light of observations from the teaching situations. A tactical reading was applied because only some aspects of the evaluations in the texts were emphasized, making it possible to "[…] respond to it in an interested way that neither accepts nor rejects communion with the text as a whole" (Martin and White 2005, p. 206). This emphasizes that the categorizations in the analysis could have been done differently according to the possibilities of other interpretations and readings.

6   Analysis

Because this study is founded on qualitative research methods (interviews and ethnographic observation), the students' thoughts and intended meanings concerning the texts are taken into account in the analysis of their intertextual and appraisal resources. This has provided an opportunity to focus on the L2 writers as autonomous individuals with valuable former experiences and as already possessing a voice (Hirvela and Belcher 2001). At the same time, the students are investigating new literacy practices and writing norms as part of their language learning. In the following paragraphs, analyses of Nassir and Saynab's texts are presented as two separate studies outlining the different uses of intertextual and appraisal resources. The aim of this contrasting perspective is to illustrate how they, as two novice L2 writers, use linguistic resources differently, depending on their different constructions of voice and as part of their language learning.

6.1   Nassir

Nassir (17) characterizes himself as an emotional boy who wants to be a good student. His emotionality was also observed in classroom situations; once, while watching a movie with his class, he closed his eyes during violent scenes. Nassir was regularly involved in some kind of trouble, often caused by his temper or misinterpretation of a situation. In his texts, a 'prosody' of emotions is distinct and primarily related to descriptions of young, romantic love. Nassir has a clear opinion that one (i.e., he) should only write about good experiences and positive emotions in texts at school, and thus avoid negativity. This view is closely related to a strategy he says he has developed to cope with bad memories from his refugee experiences. He wants to treat negative experiences 'as a secret' and does not want to talk, write, or think about them. It is questionable whether this strategy is productive or successful, but Nassir's thoughts about having to suppress his bad and traumatic experiences are nevertheless part of how he approaches the tasks in class, and the strategy is closely connected to his view of a well – or poorly – written text themed on bad experiences. Since this approach makes him incapable of drawing on his own experiences while writing, he finds inspiration and subject matter in Norwegian books, texts, and web-pages.

Nassir is a frequent user of intertextual resources in his writing. In his first draft, he has copied three extracts directly from identifiable sources (see Tables 3 and 4): from a book read in class (Fretheim 1991) and from a Norwegian web-page where young people share texts they have written themselves or texts they have been inspired by. The extracts Nassir has chosen to copy are all themed on young romantic love and focus on emotions. Nassir's use of intertextual resources can thus be viewed partly as a strategy to avoid writing about his own past experiences. He prefers to use elements from what is for him a new and desirable discourse: elements from Norwegian youth culture. Romantic love is important to him, but since he has little experience of being in love himself, he uses intertextual resources when writing about the topic. By using this strategy, his writing correlates with his identity constructions in the way that he writes about desirable experiences which involve emotions, yet without having to write about his own personal experiences. Nassir's use of direct quotations in the texts decreases, and in his final text, there are no incidents of copied extracts. This also indicates how his use of intertextual resources can be a language learning strategy. It can thus be argued that Nassir uses these resources as scaffolding, for they enable him to write a whole and coherent text with help from different model texts at the same time as managing his identity constructions.

In Nassir's behavior, in the interviews, and in his writing, affect seems to be his main "'prosody' of attitude" (Martin and Rose 2007, p. 31). The analysis of appraisal resources in his texts confirms this assumption. In his first text (Na1), there are 31 incidents of clauses containing direct or implied affect (see Table 4) and only six incidents of judgement. In his second text (Na2), the pattern is different: there are 11 incidents of affect and 15 of judgement. But in the argumentative text (Na3), a

genre in which little affect is expected to appear, there are two incidents of explicitly expressed affect. In his last text (Na4) there are 20 incidents of affect and three of judgement. This creates a pattern: Nassir uses affect as an important appraisal resource in his texts, and it is closely connected to his understanding of himself as an emotional person focusing on positive things (e.g., romantic love). The use of implied affect is frequent in Nassir's texts, especially when it comes to expressing negative emotions. One metaphorical expression he employs in his writing is particularly interesting in light of the questions examined in this chapter. In one of the first texts the class read together, the protagonist describes stomach pains when having bad feelings (Fretheim 1991). This metaphor is adopted by Nassir, and he uses it extensively in all his following (narrative) texts, seven times in the first text (Na1) alone. The use of this metaphor correlates with Nassir's attempt to suppress negative emotions, as it enables him to write about such things without having to express them directly and thus 'be negative' (even though he occasionally does this anyway). He thus uses an intertextual resource to express appraisal, since this offers him a strategy for writing in a personal way without being explicit about his own emotions.

6.2   Saynab

Saynab (19) comes across as calm and reflective, both in interviews and in classroom situations. During the semester she was never in conflict with any of the other students, but rather seemed to be responsible and mature compared to her peers. The 'prosody' in her texts is related to moral judgments and is closely linked to her prior experiences in various African countries. Unlike Nassir, she is thus eager to share her past experiences. Indeed, Saynab feels obliged to share these stories, along with moral insights and values she has gained. By doing this, she acts like a responsible and reflective person, even though she does not use such words about herself. Saynab finds it important to maintain her Somali language and heritage. Her past is not a threat to her, but a source she taps into for her L2 writing. This correlates with her understanding of what a good text is. She said in one interview that a good text is a text from which you can learn something. This approach, visible throughout her writing, is characterized by judgmental and value-oriented expressions.

The intertextual resources Saynab uses are mainly based on ideas and inspiration from Somalian stories, fairytales, or poems. The plots, the integration of poems in the texts, the names, and the places are related to Somalia or Africa. She uses metaphors that are well-known in the Norwegian context three times in her first text (Sa1), but despite this, there are no references to anything commonly perceived as 'Norwegian'. On the other hand, some of her expressions are based on oral language that can be identified as intertextual resources. These expressions ("jenta mi"/"my girl" (Sa2), "din jævla tyv"/"you fucking thief" (Sa2), "jeg beretter til deg"/"I narrate to you", (Sa2)) are visible, as they represent 'cracks' in the text and are categorized as 'unsecure use of direct quotation' (category 2) in the analysis of

intertextual resources. Even though these incidents show an acquisition of the Norwegian language, their use indicates that she does not have full control of the connotations such expressions give. The expression "you fucking thief" (Sa2) is a phrase Saynab most likely would not use if she knew that its connotations contradict her self-presentation as a religious and moral person. Despite these incidents, Saynab's use of intertextual resources is mainly associated with her Somalian heritage. It can thus be argued that Saynab, through using these intertextual resources, is concerned with constructing her Somalian identity in a new country and using this 'material' in a new context.

As mentioned earlier, the attitudinal 'prosody' in Saynab's texts is associated with morality and values. An analysis of her appraisal resources reveals that judgement is frequently identified in her texts, both directly and implied (see Table 4). In her first text, judgement is identified in ten clauses, followed by 21 (Sa2), 15 (Sa3), and ten (Sa4). In her argumentative text (Sa3), there are 15 incidents of judgement, but none of affect. Saynab's use of judgement is dominant in all her texts, except in the first one, which contains many incidents of affect (24). To Saynab, L2 writing thus provides opportunities to write about subjects that are important to her and that she finds important to pass on to others. In interviews, she said that this kind of writing makes her feel better about herself and is probably related to the experience of managing to transform her own experiences and insights into a communicative situation. Saynab also reflects on how this kind of writing makes it easier to participate in the classroom discussions and thus develop an oral L2 voice.

7   Discussion

The analysis reveals that Nassir and Saynab use intertextual and appraisal resources differently in their texts. These patterns of use reflect that the students take up different positions on the imagined continuum between adjustment and autonomy, and thus construct voice differently. Their varied use of resources is also connected to their language learning. While Nassir copies from other texts in order to write a coherent text, Saynab uses oral sources, for instance fairytales. However, their development of voice in L2 writing is in both cases intertwined with their possibilities to take part in literacy practices and the dialogical interplay between members of a language community. Nassir engages in the dialogue by using elements from Norwegian youth culture, whereas Saynab focuses on her Somalian past.

Given that Nassir's and Saynab's literacy experiences in the text culture in the subject Norwegian are different from their former experiences, new opportunities and challenges open up for them as writers. Nassir does not want to write about personal experiences, but he is able to express other parts of his identity constructions in the texts (emotions, romantic love). Saynab, in contrast, uses these opportunities to express moral guidelines and values that are important to her personally. At the same time, the writing experience is twofold for both students, since the texts are

evaluated and graded by the teacher. This means they need to achieve good grades to be able to choose their future schooling. The grades they receive have more or less direct consequences for their future possibilities, so grading is of course also part of the writing context.

As mentioned, three challenges were specifically salient while interpreting appraisal resources in the texts. I elaborate on them here due to their possible impact on the validity of my interpretations of the appraisal resources, but also because they illustrate some general challenges concerning novice L2 writing. First, the writers' inexperience resulted in a mismatch between what they wrote and their intended meaning, which was revealed through the interviews. Appraisal resources were visible in the incidents of direct copying, but because the students had not 'invented' the wording themselves, it was difficult to categorize these as signs of autonomy. Even so, these extracts were not chosen accidentally, so indicated an intention from the writer. In the analysis, the incidents from category 1 in the categorization of intertextual resources ('Using direct quotation where the source is identifiable') were therefore left out, but the extracts from category 3 ('Unsecure use of direct quotation') were included in the analysis of appraisal resources.

The second challenge was the cultural differences between the writer/student and the reader/researcher. One of the questions developed by Martin and White (2005) to classify Affect is whether "the feelings are popularly construed by the culture as positive or negative" (Martin and White 2005, p. 47). This makes the question of interpretation in an L1/L2 context particularly interesting, since the cultural ways of expressing Affect or Appraisal in general are not necessarily the same for the (L2) writer and the (L1) reader.

The third challenge pertained to defining the limits for the categorization, both regarding whether a phrase was in fact Appraisal, and, when deciding this, labelling the phrase as either expressing Affect or Judgement. Since "almost any expression could serve as a valuation" (Folkeryd 2006, p. 57), it is essential to define some limitations. In this material, the biggest challenge was to decide whether, and to what degree, ideational meanings as interpersonal expressions should be interpreted as appraisal. According to Martin (2000), appraisal can "be directly construed in text, or implicated through the selection of ideational meanings which redound with affectual meanings" (Martin 2000, p. 155). This means that even though explicitly evaluative terminology is avoided, an expression can still be used to appraise (Martin and Rose 2007, p. 70). These challenges illustrate how individual experience and cultural expressions play a role in how novice L2 writing is understood.

The aim of this chapter was to use an empirical study to explore how language learning, specifically L2 writing, can be understood in relation to the notion of voice. The suggested reconceptualizing of voice – as the positioning on a continuum between adjustment and autonomy – turned out to be a useful approach, but it is important to stress that the analysis reveals greater complexity than a mere continuum between dichotomous positions allows. This is because the analysis of intertextual resources also illuminated expressions of autonomy, and the analysis of appraisal showed how the students adjusted to the text culture. Nevertheless, the reconceptualization of voice highlights how L2 writers must create expressions

which are acceptable and meaningful in the (new) writing context at the same time as they convey individual feelings and ideas. As such, the analysis reveals how Nassir and Saynab, in spite of being novice L2 writers, possess a voice and merge between processes of adjustment and autonomy, based on their earlier experiences and individual preferences.

The interaction between the social and the individual approaches to conceptualizing voice outlined here are to be interpreted within a dialogical framework, underlining that voice needs to be negotiated in different contexts. Nassir and Saynab are using and developing their writing skills in a new language in order to engage in meaningful activities. This underlines that language learning is a sociocultural activity situated in specific social and cultural contexts. Through developing voice in a new language, the novice L2 writer is able to take part in literacy practices and become a dialogical member of the new language community, which in turn generates more language learning. By suggesting a reconceptualization of the notion voice, this chapter highlights thus how language learning and literacy can be understood as a process whereby a learner *adjusts* to new language norms and literacy practices and at the same time expresses *autonomy*.

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Rhizomes in Action: International Multilingual Student Writers' Literacies

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Abstract This book chapter discusses how two international multilingual student writers (re)negotiate) their literacies within US first-year multilingual composition. First, I define multilingual literacies as rhizomatic and, further, consider this group of learners as academically mobile. Second, framed into the conceptions of New Literacy Studies (Barton et al. Situated literacies: Reading and writing in context. Routledge, London: 2000; Street, Language and Education 8(1and2): 9–7: 1994; Current Issues in Comparative Education 5(2):77–91: 2003), and Multiple Literacies Theory (Masny and Cole, Mapping multiple literacies: An introduction to Deleuzian Literacy Studies. Continuum, New York: 2012), this chapter illustrates how, based on semi-structured interviews and literacy autobiographies, their multilingual literacies constantly change and "becoming." In conclusion, this book chapter calls faculty to approach such students' learning through their literacy mapping within the ethnographic perspective in collaboration with other pedagogical orientations (anthropological and service learning that welcome unexpected and divergent becomings. In response to this edition call, the chapter delineates how to bridge the gap between MLT as elaboration on New Literacy Studies (NLS) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA), and on the other hand, international academic mobility and international composition studies.

Keywords Rhizomatic literacies · Literacy mapping · International multilingual students · First-year multilingual composition · Academic mobility · Ethnographic approach

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1   Introduction

> The days of anything static, form, content, state are over. The past century has shown that
> anything not involved in continuous transformation hardens and dies. (Joris 2003, p. 6)

In honoring Joris' (2003) movement of mind, I found a deep-rooted understanding
of rhizomatic as detached from concrete forms and definitions (Amorim and Charly
2005; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Lian 2011; Masny 2010, 2011) but situated in
immediate settings. Nothing but rhizomatic captures what I, as an international mul-
tilingual student from rural Russia, experienced earlier in my United States (US)
academic journey. As part of my PhD studies in 2012, I assisted one of the profes-
sors in teaching a first-year multilingual composition class in a mid-sized public
university in Western Pennsylvania. I entered the class community with mixed feel-
ings: understanding them as a group of international students but confused with the
multiplicity of their experiences as individuals; invested in their social and emo-
tional learning but confronted with their strategies; empathetic to a change of pace
in emergent intercultural circumstances but frustrated with choices to name this
group merely 'international.'

On the one hand, naming them 'international' related to my own experiences in
2012 when I came to the US on a Fulbright scholarship. This feeling attuned me to
the group. I realized that the group and I could be on the same page in understanding
how to learn to 'read' a syllabus, to keep a blog in a second language, or to write an
essay in US academia. On the other hand, discovering their unique multilingual
literacy practices through the classroom interaction challenged my beliefs of 'inter-
national' as a monolithic concept. One student shared the essay where he critically
reflected on the role of English in the global era. His main impetus was to problema-
tize the English hegemony in his home country (Saudi Arabia) and the lack of room
left for the home language in his local context. He was critically evaluating the role
of English in the local context, and, thus, thinking of its ideological and cultural
specifics. At that moment, I thought of English only in the realm of US academia,
striving to find my academic voice. I became astonished by the fact that both of us,
using the same linguistic symbols, constructed rhizomatic (divergent but connected)
connections between/within/against different meanings into an emergent academic
literacy: narrating about the role of English.

Such rhizomatic networks[1] of cognitive and sociocultural bonds/gaps shape and,
further, complicate multilingual students' epistemologies, to a larger extent, through
documented artifacts. In this sense, a rhizome represents diversified forms "from
ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers"
(Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p. 7). Indeed, humans constantly move and develop, so
their literacies evolve across linguistic texture along the way. However, the relevant
scholarship (Chen 2017; Ferris 2006; Fraiberg 2002; Kerr 2006; Limbu 2011; Losey
et al. 2013; Miller-Cochran 2012; Ortmeier-Hooper and Ruecker 2017; Shin and
Cimasko 2008) has largely not investigated how literacies of international

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[1] I am not sure this *word* reinforces the rhizomatic nature.

multilingual students of various backgrounds are rhizomatic or becoming in the world (Masny 2010).

After Deleuze and Guattari (1987) problematized meaning-making — it is never static and, thus, disrupted—Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT) studies with Diana Masny (2010) reemphasized its chaotic nature. Masny (2010) depicted such processes working through mapping (vs. tracing) as "forms of non-representation, or the differentiation of contextual affects as they transmit elements of life" (p. 6). Ultimately, this perspective makes Barton's (1994) definition of literacy curvilinear; the essential power (MLT) is that literacies become rhizomatic—no beginning or ending but infinite points of reference to initiate any symbol interpretation.

In the relevant research fields, the scholarship has examined how cultural backgrounds shape English literacy practices of second-language (L2)[2] writing students in English-medium institutions (Lillis and Curry 2006; Street 2006), including US academia (Belcher and Connor 2002; Costino and Hyon 2007; Ferris and Hedgcock 2014; Leki 2007; Leonard 2013; Matsuda et al. 2006), and, more specifically, first-year composition (FYC) classes (Ferris and Hedgcock 2014; Fraiberg 2002; Horner and Trimbur 2002; Leki 2007; Limbu 2011). These studies also described first-year English as a second language (ESL) writing programs that build on students' English composition literacies and immediate languages experiences (Chen 2017; Ferris and Hedgcock 2014; Fraiberg 2002; Kerr 2006; Limbu 2011; Losey et al. 2013; Miller-Cochran 2012; Ortmeier-Hooper and Ruecker 2017; Shin and Cimasko 2008).

Acknowledging multilingual students' literacies in the realm of FYC and ESL composition, this scholarship has largely not investigated how international multilingual students' literacies are rhizomatic or becoming in the world (Masny 2010). Even though the scholarship has focused on how international students negotiate their literacies with US emergent academic literacy requirements of first-year L2 (Costino and Hyon 2007; Leki 2007; Shin and Cimasko 2008) or international students' English composition (Chen 2017). That said, the scholarship (Leki 2007, Liu 2008, Liu and You 2008, Marshall, Hayashi and Yeung 2012) has placed little focus on qualitative explorations of international multilingual students' perspectives on how they maneuver their literacies as rhizomatic across time and space to inform emergent academic literacies, especially in multilingual composition settings.

In response to this edition call, my chapter delineates how to bridge the gap between two distinct areas of scholarship: on the one hand, MLT as elaboration on New Literacy Studies (NLS) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA), and on the other hand, international academic mobility and international composition. Specifically, this chapter shifts the focus to qualitative experiences of international multilingual students, labeled in the research as international ESL (Friedrich 2006; Lawrick 2013; Roberge et al. 2009), in first-year multilingual composition. Such students arrive in the USA on an F1 student visa to obtain a US college degree or on

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[2] This label is problematic within this chapter (and broadly in my scholarship) as it emphasizes that undergraduate student writers, who speak English not as a primary language, have a limited English proficiency. This statement resonates with the conception of multilingualism that considers such students within their social context of living.

a J1 visa to gain US academic short-term experience (1-2 quarters or semesters) ("*international transfer student*[s]" (Lawrick 2013, p. 29)) (Braine 1994; Friedrich 2006; Horner et al. 2010; Lawrick 2013; Matsuda 2013; Roberge et al. 2009). However, to undermine stereotypical conceptions about them as "coming from home countries to study abroad," this chapter focuses on academic mobility, where language use is situated in students' immediate conditions. Namely, it draws a more rhizomatic (not necessarily comprehensive) view on how a heterogeneous group of internationally mobile students proactively construct multilingual literacies as mediated by sociocultural experiences.

Firstly, aligned with the editors' conception of literacy, I define it as situated in immediate sociocultural settings. To complicate, I relate *rhizomatic* to literacies' fluid nature (Masny 2010). Secondly, I share excerpts from my dissertation manuscript (Prikhodko 2017) on two international multilingual students' rhizomatic literacies based on semi-structured interviews and collected literacy autobiographies. Their agentive positioning in literacies towards unexpectedness and diversity in meaning compels a call for more mindful and experimental writing pedagogies where even concepts like "language," "literacy," and "difference" are open for negotiation (not only content-wise but also through class practices). As a side note, I have to point out that the results presented in this chapter, as part of a qualitative case study, are limited and should not be applied to a larger population without further study. In conclusion, I recommend imbedding ethnographic writing assignments into FYMC curriculum that reinforce seeing literacies as processes and invite unexpected contexts and experiences different to each multilingual student.

2   Symbolic Nature of Language

When employing languages to construct meaning, interlocutors embody "imagined meanings, idiosyncratic representations, [and] ritualized verbal/non-verbal behaviors" (Kramsch 2009, p. 13) of the linguistic systems. Similarly, Makoni and Mashiri (2007) considered how languages represent collages of heterogeneous constructions. Another conceptual basis (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p. 7, Masny 2010) sees languages as abstract machines. In *A Thousand Plateaus,* Deleuze and Guattari (1987) visualize languages as chaotically connected realities when rhizomes, "ceaselessly [establish] connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles" (p. 7). Hence, a rhizome visualizes meaning multiplicity, which may become broken or restructured. That is why languages may not be dichotomized and seen as closed-up structures. On the contrary, rhizomes embed emerging possibilities and experiments for languages when in-use or not.

The target students operate diverse languages and literacies, who either obtain US educational degrees—not necessarily aiming at finding further employment in this country—or gain US experiences as part of transfer education (e.g., student exchange programs). These multilingual students rehash their imagined and emer-

gent experiences but hardly distinguish in what languages they develop these. Expanding on nomadic poetry, I follow Joris (2003) to define learners' multilingualism as "<u>between</u>-ness [of their languages and modes of representations] as essential nomadic condition, thus always a moving forward [or backwards], a reaching, a tending and an absence of rest, always becoming, a line-of-flight" that leads to "multitudes of different multitudes – *hetero-pluralities*" in meaning-making and world-sensing (p. 29, emphasis in original). In the next section, I will define rhizomatic literacies to reinforce their situated connectedness across linguistic barriers.

3 Multilingual Rhizomatic Literacies

Theoretically, New Literacy Studies (Gee 1991, Street 1984, 1998) maintains a focus on the *social turn* in the research, despite having been influenced by sociocultural anthropology (Heath 1983), cognitive psychology (Scribner and Michael 1981), and sociolinguistics (Barton et al. 2000; Baynham 1995; Gee 1992, 2007; Kress and Street 2006; The New London Group 1996). In this sense, literacy encompasses meaning-making as anchored in sociocultural settings. Here, there is no need to evaluate the level of its exposure, because the hermeneutics of meaning prevails.

In the inaugural edition of *Literacy as Translingual Practice,* Canagarajah (2013) addressed translingual literacy practices that people engage daily at "late modernity—featuring migration, transnational economic and production relationships, digital media, and online communication—[that] facilitate a meshing of languages and semiotic resources" (p. 2). Terminologically, I accept the practice of meshing semiotic resources, but I still resist mixing linguistic resources without any critical need. In my own practice, for example, I may not be able to find an accurate cultural translation for "challenge" from English to Russian. "Challenge" is different in these languages. Generally, "challenge" means to justify one's abilities or a call to someone to take part in (Oxford Dictionary, n. d.), whereas the literal translation - "бросать вызов" (throw a call) — indexes a different connotation: to provoke someone to do something. In such cases, it is a critical need to swap concepts because of a lack of cultural translation. Thus, expanding what Joris (2003) once said about language, the main idea is about epistemologies that perpetuate the linguistic texture and not about valorizing one language over another because of incompetency in both.

Clearly, Canagarajah (2013) coined *translingual* in defining the influx of meanings that individuals merge from various semiotic resources in situated contexts (p. 1), in particular in first-year multilingual composition (FYMC) classes. Conversely, I follow Matsuda (2013) who constructively analyzed a "new hero" — "translingual language movement"—that encompasses alternative and hybrid discourses, World Englishes, etc. as valorizing language differences but with a risky tendency to underestimate the need to learn other languages and meaning-making in

FYMC. I believe the focus is not to stigmatize literacies as meshing practices per se, but to examine substantively how such practices are rhizomatic (Masny 2010).

In my research, I traveled from traveling (Cushman and Juzwik 2013; Leonard 2013; Lorimer 2012; Marshall et al. 2012) to rhizomatic literacies (Masny 2010). The connotation of the word 'travel' predisposes a destination point. To explain how literacies as rhizomes reinforce emergency in knowledge, I relate to Masny (2010, 2011) and Amorim and Charly (2005). As Amorim and Ryan (2005) discussed, any experience as a rhizome -- any meaning-making itself -- grows from its extremities and limits. Meaning-making cannot be traced linearly, because it does not allow 'unintended praxis' to happen. In other words, a focal point, when tracing literacies, is not to identify its ultimate destination (i.e. written product), but rather, to facilitate learners along their avenues of learning (Amorim and Charly 2005, p. 585).

4   Academic Mobility

International students are a population at-risk at risk, as argued by Dervin (2009). They are between own cultural tribes (families and communities) and the locals (host countries and institutions) and thus "under a great deal of pressure from those left behind in their countries, and even from themselves" (p. 124) as well as imposed on by the host academia to follow conventions and traditions to gain degrees.

Hence, these students may have different purposes, enrolled in one FYMC class. Dervin (2009) categorized such: (1) solid strangers who invest in emergent academic settings in order to stay in the country and "get involved with 'locals'"; (2) liquid strangers who have a scheduled return home (transfer students, for example) and do not necessarily want to invest in emergent contexts to the same extent as solid or effervescent do; (3) effervescent strangers who pursue entire degrees in host institutions, so this makes their stay abroad long lasting (p. 123). This perspective defines them not as a solid group within the academic discourses. Following Singh and Doherty (2008), by international students, I understand academically mobile students: to highlight them as "inside-out" not "outside-in" forms to enact their "contingent relations in more fluent conditions (Bauman 2013) across new territorialities" (p. 99). In such compelling circumstances, students' spatial moving from one learning context to another informs their capacities to employ linguistic abilities at the moment of academic mobility (Blommaert et al. 2005). The reason is likely not their capacity to communicate, but more likely a regime that "*incapacitates*" their connection with the context conventions (p. 198).

5   Methodology

This chapter illustrates some excerpts from the dissertation manuscript (Prikhodko 2017) designed as a multiple case study (Flyvbjerg 2006; Yin 2009) with semi-structured interviews, artifact analysis, and class observations. By doing so, I gained

a holistic understanding of their multilingual rhizomatic literacies. The current book chapter is built on two students' collective narratives constructed from their semi-structured interviews and literacy autobiographies (LA). Pilar and Jade were chosen because a common theme emerged from their contingent stories—life-changing (dominant) literacies across life domains, which I will discuss later in the section.

5.1   Research Context

The research was implemented at a mid-sized university in a rural area of the North Eastern region of the US. Nowadays, this university functions with 15,000 students enrolled annually.[3] This school, which is relatively diverse, offers some opportunities to register for multilingual composition courses. International multilingual students along with others are placed in one of the following sequential courses: Basic Writing (BW), mainstream English Composition I, or English Composition I for Multilingual Writers (MLW), a 3-credit interdisciplinary course. As stated in the institutional policies, to determine the level that suits incoming students, every first-year student (including international) takes an essay test or submits an English portfolio, although the latter option is not always available. Additional criteria for international students include language proficiency testing (based on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL).

   In this research, only two English Composition I for MLW (FYMC) classes offered at this university are under scope. In such classes, students major in different disciplines, such as Biology, Business, Criminology, Physics, Communications, Computer and Science, Engineering, Social Sciences, International Business, and Liberal Arts. Both FYMC classes I observed met for 75 minute-sessions twice per week. In these classes, students engaged in several major assignments: literacy autobiography (LA), research papers, and reflective letters. Throughout the semester, students used a range of literacy artifacts to raise awareness of literacy outside of class (the Writing Center, the library, blogs, journaling, and writing workshops). To investigate students' needs, individual teacher-student conferences were held two times in the semester. The syllabus was the main document to govern any class' policies and writing style preferences (Johnson 2006). To comply with certain academic conventions embedded in FYMC, a few following writing conventions were encouraged:

- Use of well-established writing styles like Modern Languages Association (MLA), Applied Psychological Association (APA), or Chicago Style (Lunsford 2017), especially when referencing borrowed material via quoting, summarizing, and paraphrasing. Students were encouraged to use the popular digital reference guide, Purdue OWL (an online writing laboratory);

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[3] Most of the information provided in this section is gathered from the university's website. To maintain the anonymity of the study site, there are no references provided.

- Avoiding colloquial and emotive language to build arguments. Rather, arguments based on evidence (trustworthy primary resources like peer-reviewed publications, manuscripts and governmental or educational documents) were valued;
- Composing with distinctive clarity, simplicity, and conciseness to minimize vague and inappropriate meanings. (Osmond 2015)

5.2 Research Participants

This chapter exemplifies two cases that represent two multilingual student writers' (Table 1) literacies shaped by emergent sociocultural histories. The reason I chose Pilar and Jade's cases is a common theme—life-changing literacies "become" across times and spaces, which supports the editors' concept of learning across sites as an ecological process. I define each student's journey as a rhizome that "changes its structure [and texture] through the time" and is capable of generating more nodes in emergent sociocultural situations. Hence, I picture Pilar's and Jade's multilingual voyages as sketches of our (every participant's and my) co-constructed knowledge about their meaningful multilingual literacies. I will trace "how [these] narrative [s organize] experience[s]" (Bruner 1990, p. 35) across our talks and class engagements to reveal new ways of learning and seeing for my readers (including Pilar and Jade).

6 Rhizome In-Action: Pilar

My whole life could be analyzed as an academic essay, but a difference between those elements is the fact that my life, it means my personal evolution and it doesn't have a definitive conclusion. Actually it is always improving and transforming. (Pilar, LA, October 2014)

"Improving and transforming" in Pilar's LA triggered me to realize her rhizomatic multilingual literacies. She hardly stopped enriching her expertise in "Spanishes," Italian, Englishes, Latin, and French. Born in Lima (Peru), Pilar used to live either with her grandparents or aunt; she had to move between three districts of Lima— Santa Anita, La Molina, and La Borja. Because of moving, she became open-minded to difference in how discourses work. According to the record, Pilar enjoyed traveling and analyzing such differences from a more holistic perspective (Extract 1).

Table 1 The Participants' Demographic and Background Information

Participant (Age)	Gender	Background	Major
Pilar (18)	F	Peru	International Business
Jade (18)	F	China Mainland	International Business

Extract 1: Pilar's Holistic Perspective on Language Difference

Researcher:	they [Residents in France] are responding even-even like (.) a little bit of French. is better than you know (.) you speak something in English @@@ ok (.) I tried but=
Pilar:	=they are=I also traveled to France? and we had like I speak English? Italian? and Spanish. and I tried like English? international language they might understand and I asked for milk? (.) and they turned their back? (.) I RETRIED with another language? with Italian? and they are just like (.) more-more=… we asked like (.) these French. why French people used to be like that. and we were like tourists they can't say like sorry? we don't understand? we might look for it another source. but they just (.) DON'T RESPOND it's kinda rude (.)and they told me like yeah French people is really difficult for them to speak English. so sometime they feel like (.) embarrassed? of speaking or trying to speak because they do it really bad. (1) it's not like the reason (.) they don't like American people. (.) I think(.) (Pilar, Interview 1, October 2014)

She was in a challenging intercultural situation in France. Pilar excitedly tried out her language repertoire: "I speak English, Italian and Spanish and I tried like English an international language they might understand, and I asked for milk and they turned their back. I RETRIED with another language, with Italian, and they are just like more-more." To Pilar, an assemblage of re-trying multiple languages signifies how disruptive the practice became—what she learned as correct was actually only sometimes "conventional" English or Spanish, and it became the product of tension between her and that French reality.

Possibly, this kind of attitude could be traced from earlier years. At the age of five, her mother chose a private Italian school in Lima for Pilar. The Italian school, governed by an Italian educational curriculum, became a second home for Pilar for the next twelve years. Thus, she started to construct her body of knowledge through academic Italian (Extract 2):

Extract 2: Pilar Constructs Her Knowledge Through Academic Italian

Researcher:	…so what other-what languages do you speak.
Pilar:	I speak (.) Spanish? my main language I speak English but I consider English my third language because my second language is Italian. I studied in Italian schoo:l? (.) and I stayed there may be::: six years around twelve years elementary middle and high school in Italian school. (Pilar, Interview I, October 2014)

Together with the academic burdens during the graduating year of high school, she was granted Fulbright Fellowship in order to pursue further education in the US funded by the Department of State. During this research, as a Fulbright grantee, she was a freshman student at the US college majoring in International Business.

6.1   Life-Changing Literacies

This subsection deals with Pilar's rhizomatic literacies: (a) reading as becoming, and (b) digital literacies of navigation. Although not all of them were explicitly defined by Pilar as life changing, I claim these multilingual literacies shaped the way rhizomes work.

Reading as Becoming

Pilar sincerely admitted her strong family's influence on her. Such memories rushed into our first interview. For example, "[S]o I never read a book and my mother read me a book she didn't care about reading it was good for school." (Pilar, Interview 1, October 2014) She was specific and sharp— "she [her mom] didn't care about reading." To navigate her elementary school reading workload, Pilar replaced school reading experiences with summaries or films, "I just read the summaries of the book, look for a film -- they usually have a film. [For] Spanish literature I just look for Spanish films. It was ok…" (Pilar, Interview 1, October 2014). In MLT terms (Masny and Cole 2012), Pilar's lack of emotional comfort with home readings becomes reading at school – like her preference of summaries. At those moments, there was no meaning standing behind those texts so that reading became different reading, and making meaning through reading became rhizomatic. Being reluctant to the values the family (grandparents and the aunt) perpetuated, Pilar felt as if she was born in the wrong family. Every time she got a birthday-gift book (the Bible, self-help books), she hid them in the atrium "where they couldn't affect [her] with their presence."

Transformation happened at a later stage for Pilar. The second caregiver gave her the first "real reading" book as a gift. Yet the gift, her au pair's gesture, triggered emotions. Hence, the "clicking" reading moment was, at first, a symbol of Pilar's gratitude. Initially seen as insignificant, "bulking" [religious] books started to catch [her] attention." This turning-the-life-curve experience demonstrates how the intimate relationship with the second caregiver symbolically reconnected her with books.

Another becoming with reading happened at the age of sixteen—a 180-degree-turning life moment: Pilar fell down the stairs with a glass of water and, unfortunately, cut the nerves on the three fingers. Seeking new sacred life meanings, she re-conceptualized (de-territorialized; Deleuze 2004 [1987]) the Bible to locate ontological principles to support her decisions; reading became rhizomatic again. In MLT terms, it was broken, according to the principle of asignifying rupture, at this life moment and started up again "on one of its old lines, or on new lines" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004 [1987]: p. 9; Mansy 2010)—new interpretations of the same Bible materials. Maybe, the Bible served as a reflective basis to concrete her newly value-laden actions,

> I started reading the Bible as a historical book. At first I couldn't get the significance of the texts because it was written archaic and I thought it just sounded funny. After reading it a couple of times the words became important not only to increase my vocabulary but also impacted my spiritual life. (Pilar, LA, October 2014)

So, the Bible represented certain symbolic clusters to orient toward newly discovered meaning—the need for follow-up decisions. "[The] Bible is about a gap between what is and what ought to be, and how to close this gap. This often requires revealing how human nature fails to work, and how to re-form, or redeem this 'fallen'" nature" (Rolston III 1996: p. 4). The Bible was a real "self-help" (as she called the other gifted books), and gave instruction into re-thinking her current and emergent (after those psychological changes—learning to live with cut nerves) lives to become again.

Digital Literacies for Navigation

> In the last four years of my life, the media, especially Internet has taken a main role in my literacy. The first approach that I could get from the browser is the fact of the information available online. I am lazy for readings, but when I am interested in a topic having the information as soon as possible makes me not lose the interest. The second point is the new style developed for chatting, that some words could be identified by most of the countries, without worrying about the language. (Pilar, LA, October 2014)

The idea of compressing time in digital spaces (Lankshear and Knobel 2008: p. 5) allows Pilar to see the literacy power (see Masny 2010) to speed and nullify endings and beginnings (Deleuze and Guattari 2004 [1987]). Pilar has a clear sense of how much time information-gathering consumes (Ivanič et al. 2007) and what benefits she gains from those literacies.

Another one of Pilar's reasons is an emergent style for chatting "with the words [that could be] identified by most of the countries, without worrying about the language" (Pilar, Interview 1, October 2014). I assert what Pilar meant is that digital space releases the stress of being evaluated and helps embrace the agentive power to reach out digital audiences (Extract 3),

Extract 3: Pilar's Agentive Power for Digital Audiences

Researcher:	so: you like to watch mo:vies in English? what about communication. you know like um (.) a:ny virtually Faceboo:k? anything else? you like doing in English?
Pilar:	um sometime yeah why it's like sometime you make friends don't know how to Spanish? if you want to chat sometime on Facebook and everybody can -can take it? can get it? (.) can get a message that you are putting in English? (.) or for example if you know that? everybody speak Italian you put in Spanish if you don't want them to understand it=
Researcher:	=Oh! that's kinda trick.? @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ so from what you said like you choose specifically the audience? for your message? for your post? Right?
Pilar:	on Facebook?
Researcher:	yeah if you want some people not (.) not have access
Pilar:	but but I don't think (.) when I post it (.) for may be if I have to direct something I am thinking like I am going to (.) put that for [ISU] students? (.) so that have to be English. (Pilar, Interview 1, October 2014)

Pilar digitally practiced languages as codes available to certain groups of practitioners ("[You] can get a message that you are putting in English or for example if you know that everybody speak Italian you put in Spanish if you don't want them to

understand it"). That semiotic pattern suggests that her rhizomatic multilingual literacies may help construct the hierarchy of needs in the emergent contexts.

7   Rhizome In-Action: Jade

[O]bviously I don't speak perfect English and I am a typical international student, don't know a lot of words. Like most international students, I have really strong accent and like to ask people "what does that mean?" … In my opinion, we learned English from asking "what does that mean." Also it is a good thing to ask! (Jade, Literacy Autobiography, October 2014)

Jade, a nineteen-year woman from Xinyu (新余市), China, actively moved between localities, when narrating her life experiences from: Xinyu, Guangzhou (广州), Chambersburg, PA, US, to the US college town she was living in during the research time. At the early age, she moved from 新余市 to 广州市 with her parents, where her father had a factory. She developed her literacy experiences in 新余市 and 广州 dialects, Chinese Mandarin, Cantonese, English, and Chinglish. It is close in meaning to "*hen zhong-guo-shi de ying-wen*, which translates as *very Chinese like English*" (Kent 1999: p. 198). Jade spoke Mandarin at home, but her dad used to interject Cantonese, like counting to 10 or greeting patterns, in their family interactions. I understand she interchangeably used Guangzhou dialect and Mandarin at school (as she never referred to any of them specifically), since these are the official language practices in public spaces.

7.1   Life-Changing Literacies

This subsection deals with Jade's rhizomatic literacies: (a) diary writing and (b) statically-rhizomatic academic literacies. Although not all of them were explicitly defined by Pilar as life changing, I claim these multilingual literacies shaped the way rhizomes work. Close to what Lorimer (2012) noticed in her participants' literacies, for Jade these practices were "both the most mundane and the most life-changing tasks" (p. 83).

Diary writing
Back when she was in elementary school, Jade's teacher assigned the class to write short stories weekly, "[I]t was a part of school, actually. It's like you have to write, our teacher will give the assignment you have to write, like, stories weekly so?" To maintain this literacy practice, Jade's mom required her to write the stories in a diary. For Jade, it was unpleasant: "I hated it. Like, to be honest, I really hate it like cause my mom woke me up early and say 'you have to write your diary. You have to do. You have to do.' Like yeah" (Jade, Interview I, October 2014). Regardless,

diary writing served to Jade to remember events and personalities, rather than improve immediate writing skills (Extract 4),

Extract 4: Jade About Important of Writing Skills

Researcher: what you think it was helpful? for you.
Jade: yea. I mean I don't really care I don't really care about this really improved my writing I just wanted like remember those things like NOW when I look at my diary it's like WOW you know. (Jade, Interview I, October 2014)

Similar to how Lorimer (2012) valued material and mobile qualities of letter writing in her participants' life journeys, I see how Jade embodied this literacy practice to see more of a spiritual meaning in it (Extract 5),

Extract 5: Jade Embodies Diary Writing as Meaningful

Researcher: but now that's like treasures.
Jade: now she didn't even ask me. like she don't even know that I am still writing my diary @@@@@@@@

Researcher: are you still writing it? You still- oh my god

Jade: I LOVE THAT that not probably say that it's like a diary. (Jade, Interview 1, October 2014)

To me, Jade continuously created and disrupted diary writing as a new practice of "becoming" other (Masny 2010). Once started as static (the teacher's task to write stories in diaries), became rhizomatic not only in form but in meaning that she carried through her space and time.

Statically-rhizomatic academic literacies

Jade's non-academic literacy practices were rhizomatic: Chinglish for communicating with the ethnically Chinese dorm community; English with US roommates; written Chinese when visiting home; and meshing Cantonese and Mandarin for communicating with family because of her father's language background. However, in her LA, Jade froze her multilingual practices to position as a "novice" English speaker. In LA epigraph, Jade described herself as an international student with 'imperfect' English: "[O]bviously I don't speak perfect English and I am a typical international student, don't know a lot of words" (Jade, LA, October 2014). On the contrary, she positioned herself as multilingual in the interviews. This positioning forced Jade to retest the sociolinguistic values and attitudes "necessary for a successful performance of a specific function in [the imagined occupation of becoming an international-business major]" (Sorokin 2011: p. 8). For instance, this is how she demonstrated this in her LA:

The second day after she [Rachel, her campus dorm roommate] moved in, we were talking about how to deal with our trash. Rachel said: "Let's just take it to the dumpster!" I had no clue what the dumpster was and it sounds like "dumbster". In my experience of learning English, a word that ends with "er", or "ist" always describe a person. So I asked her who's the "dumbster," she was dying laughing after hearing that and then she explained to me that dumpster is the trash bin that you can throw your trash in. (Jade, LA, October 2014)

Then, Jade critically analyzed English grammatical and pragmatic aspects. Based on her earlier acquired knowledge, she knew the semantic rule of building up English nouns; however, she faced the challenge of understanding how her roommates had utilized this concept. Instead of confronting, she accepted the position of her 'incomplete' repertoire necessary to 'fit in' into that discourse.

Hence, I believe that she chose to be opposite to her roommates as a language learner as "be[ing] influenced by other culture and [languages]." From Jade's perspective, this power distribution would benefit to socialize into the group more smoothly. Hence, she consciously acknowledged later in her LA narrative, "*As an English learner*, I will say those things happened to every English learner. We always think that we are right of what we pronounced or spelled*, but the truth is always the opposite way"* (emphasis added).

The analysis of English reading rules in LA and the continuous attempts to socialize into English-dominant discourse make transparent how such literacies influenced her. In such cases, Jade did not desire to disrupt conventional directions of writing—she was an "imperfect" English learner and her LA conceptually and grammatically "aligned" with US academic conventions—explicit about remedies to socialize.

However, in the interview when asked about language practices, she pictured an opposite image of a multilingual one (Extract 6),

Extract 6: Jade Pictures an Opposite Image Her Multilingualism

Jade:	happy every day this is SO Chinese
Researcher:	ChInglish. like ChInglish?
Jade:	you can hear that happy every day? all the time. especially friends.
Researcher:	like your community? like your roommates? and all your friends here?
Jade:	friends like in China we like say that. happy every day @@@@@@@@@@
Researcher:	in English?
Jade:	in English yeah.
Researcher:	oh that's that's so co::ol
Jade:	especially like holiday? we will say happy what holiday. (Jade, Interview 1, October 2014)

Certainly, she incorporated English in the most meaningful way, like wishing her ethnic friends "happy every day." This is a vivid example of what Canagarajah (2013) once defined as mixing semiotic systems. Specifically, meanings ("happy what holiday" or "happy every day") that are not attached to linguistic norms, but rather shuttling along localities acquiring new modes along the way (Canagarajah 2013: p. 7). She occasionally but purposefully codemeshed English with various languages: Chinglish is for ethnic groups, but "proper English grammar" is for "American"[4] cultural groups.

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[4] Here I put "American" in quotation marks to directly state how Jade defined the culture she learned to belong to. I problematize the nationalist terms and ideologically dominant concepts in this work.

Her proactive socialization into "English grammar" reminds of the bridge to a future "successful" lifetime of legitimately belonging, regardless of the price. Consequently, I consider her US academic literacies as statically-rhizomatic, where static represents ruptures—a new line of rhizomes that do not move with the same level of Jade's comfort.

8 Discussion

Based on Pilar and Jade's stories, two emergent themes delineate how these international multilingual students (re)negotiated their rhizomatic literacies with US academic conventions of FYMC. Valued rhizomatic literacies move to engage with borderlands with (1) audiences/purposes and (2) agency/power. By borderlands, I mean intersections of cultures/worlds that agents (=multilingual international students) inhabit (Anzaldúa 2004). This section discusses how their rhizomatic literacies map new audiences/purposes or ruptures around new social capitals (Bourdieu 1986).

8.1 Engaged with Borderlands: Audiences and Purposes

Borderlands concern our interactions with difference. Pilar and Jade engaged with borderlands by interpreting target audiences and, thus, modifying purposes of their literacies. In *National Healing*, Claude Hurlbert (2013) reemphasized how this rhetorical diversity is key to an international composition view; it is vital to see how students' ontological concepts—such as family, love, life, education—not always move to win an argument/side, but rather understand the other with compassion, respect, or thoroughness.

Pilar's reading was constant becoming through audience awareness skills. After two life-changing instances, Pilar reconstructed reading experiences from a more holistic spiritual perspective—reading as becoming (=rhizomatic). After cutting three fingers with glass, the Bible became not funny but meaningful, and self-help books expanded her horizons. At the age of fifteen, after reading *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*, she switched her focus from summaries to course-required readings for academic sustainability. This contextual sensibility to audience transmitted into further FYMC to critically situate within her established sociocultural agenda (Fulbright scholarship preparation; FYMC; US academia).

Jade's journey with her audience was a bit different from Pilar's. Jade acknowledged the difference in audience; here, she perpetuated to "otherness" with compassion and respect, which was key for non-judgmental and empathetic experiences (Hurlbert 2013). She played with the meaning and spelling of words (dumpster vs.

dumbster; Walmar vs. Walmart) to critically analyze their grammatical and pragmatic sense, as she used to do when writing diary entries. Since Jade frequently discussed diary writing and academic reading activities from rhetorical purpose/audience, I affirm she might have certain facets of awareness about how literacies might have been mapped with new multiples of meaning (groups of friends; emergent academic settings; personal literacies).

However, Jade compared to Pilar enacted her LA practices with a different set of expectations. Close to what Laman and van Sluys (2008) showed in storytelling experiences of two first graders, Juanita and Isabela, Jade admitted her "imperfect English" space to signal her readiness to socialize into US social discourse through analyzing grammar. Having researched her rhizomatic literacies and modes of investment (as a "liquid stranger"; (Dervin 2009) into developing such in emergent US college settings, I assume she expected to spend extensive time in the US compared to Pilar (who explicitly can be identified as "solid strangers" (Dervin 2009).

8.2   Engaged with Borderlands: Agency and Power

Pilar rhizomatically connected to the contexts that sustained her agency: Peruvian context, international schooling, Fulbright scholarship, and US college experiences. As with Leonard's (2013) participants' backgrounds, Pilar's mediated abilities to shift literacies between localities and times (the gift book). Then, she actively became through reading to other modes like digital space; engaging with a contingency of realities (cutting fingers with glass; Italian schooling and its demanding exam structure; US college life as meeting multivocality of meaning) became meaningful.

Similar to Pilar, Jade constructed her multilingual literacies in FYMC with certain power but in more nomadic forms. In every instance observed, she carved space to mediate symbolic meaning between her background and any situated context (reading, diary or LA writing). That was a rupture to (re)construct knowledge when staying in touch with US-born roommates, ethnic communities or FYMC, or connecting her US "solid-stranger" experience. Reflecting on her multilingual literacies repertoire, I believe she distributed power around her social capitals (US-born roommates or FYMC) that could be characterized through agency by freezing rhizomatic literacies on purpose. Instead of thinking of LA writing as *writing*, she enriched it with socializing. To expand on Shin and Cimasko (2008) findings, this study explored not only her "fixed" academic literacies in terms of rationalizing her literacies choices, but also other valued life domains to perceive those literacies as situated in the larger sociolinguistic contexts (Xinyu [新余市], Guangzhou [广州], US localities).

8.3 Implications

In this chapter, I empirically explored how two international multilingual students, contingently and agentively positioned, interacted with difference and urgency through rhizomatic literacies. To emphasize their rhizomatic nature, I employed NLS and MLT scholarships and, then complicated this conception with how academic inhabitants are mobile.

Thus, congruent with rhizomatic literacies, I address the importance of imbedding or massive multimodal mappings of literacies across physical and conceptual spaces, such as (auto)ethnographic literacy narratives, reflective (research) positionings, student literacy interviews (with each other), students inhabit into FYMC classes. Such writing assignments align with what Deleuze and Guattari and, further, Stables (2004) and Masny (2011) claim about the nature of rhizomes – they do not function as mere outcomes; they produce structures "that look different from each other and can appear in different places at the same time, or at different times" (Stables 2004, p. 222). Drawn by my own vignette about how that Saudi student and I wrapped our divergent experiences into "similar" English structures, I imagine that our rhizomatic connections were examples of what MLT frames: "the question of how one might live brings forth questions that are asked in a different way, questions that relate to processes." (Masny 2011, p. 494)

This chapter forwards the claim of approaching students' learning in FYMC within the ethnographic pedagogical perspective, similarly to Beaufort (2007) and Webb (2009), that welcome unexpectedness, diversity, and experiments. The connotation of "welcome" evokes "foreign epistemology with accompanying ideology" (Hurlbert 2013, p. 55). The analysis demonstrated Pilar and Jade's developed and sharpened agentive positioning towards unexpectedness and diversity. In so doing, writing instructors should be open to assign previously mentioned assignments that map out literacies international multilingual students bring with them in order to mobilize more agency and power. Otherwise, unexpectedness and diversity would become alien and, again, in need of help.

This aligns with Hurlbert's (2013) powerful statement about difference having neither nationality nor passport. Indeed, these activities welcome diversity and unexpectedness through the mode of inquiry and value-shift — "the inherent value of multiliteracy" (Belcher and Connor 2002, p. 25). By providing space to acknowledge literacies' rhizomatic nature and value, writing instructors may make unexpectedness a norm, where such students are free to acquire or maneuver meanings associated with situated academic settings.

Appendix: Description of Conversation Analysis (CA) Conventions

Table 2 Description of CA conventions

Intonation	
Rising	?
Falling	.
Emphasis	
One syllable	toMORrow
Whole word	TOMORROW
Pauses	
Brief pause in speech	(.)
Longer pauses	Timed to the nearest second and marked in parenthesis (2) = 2 seconds
Other-Continuation	
Whenever a speaker continues, completes or supports another speaker's turn	=
Lengthening	
Lengthened sounds	:
Repetition	
All repetitions including self-interruptions and false starts	to to
Word Fragments	
A hyphen marks where a part is missing	participa-
Laugher	
Approximate syllable number	ha ha ha = @ @ @
Speaking Modes	
Particular mode of speaking different from a speaker's normal style	<fast> <slow> <loud> <sighing>
Speaker Noises	
Noises produced by the current speaker if they are relevant	<clears throat> <applauds> <yawns>

Adopted from Breiteneder et al. (2006)

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Visual Representations of English Language Learning and Literacy in Greece

Anastasia Rothoni and Bessie Mitsikopoulou

Abstract This chapter draws on an ethnographically oriented study of the everyday English literacy practices of 15 Greek teenagers in order to explore the way they visually represent their relationship with English literacy and language learning. Theoretically and methodologically the study is rooted in socio-cultural approaches to literacy practices and language learning. These approaches call for considering individual learners' understandings about the role of literacy and language learning in their lives. In response to such a need, our focus here will be on two sets of self-made visual data through which teenagers depict the ways they make sense of and relate to English literacy and language learning. Our findings illustrate that teenagers' resources are drawn mainly from their out-of-school interests but also from the world of education. It seems thus that their representations are framed by an everyday life discourse and in part by a school-based literacy discourse. The analysis highlights the strong presence of global forms of popular culture and media in teenagers' English literacy practices and the high priority attached to formal literacy and English language study in Greece.

Keywords Teenagers · Visual representations · Everyday literacy · English as a foreign language · School-based literacy · Language learning

1 Introduction

In Greece, as in most European countries, English is a compulsory school subject in primary and secondary education and holds a unique position among the other languages (French or German) since it is introduced from the first grade of primary school onwards (Dendrinos et al. 2013). What is unique in the Greek context, however, is that English is also formally learned in out-of-school settings. In fact, as

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the school system is not able to keep up with societal demands, many Greek families frequently turn to private language schools – called 'frontistiria'[1] – for further English language education. The aim is to provide their children with an advanced knowledge of English in order to obtain language certificates from acclaimed examination boards attesting their language proficiency (cf. Mitsikopoulou 2007; Karavas 2014). This increased emphasis on formal English language learning and certification has a dual purpose: to strengthen young people's English language skills and to enhance their future job prospects (Mitsikopoulou 2007). This unique phenomenon is so widespread in Greece today that it could be said that we are witnessing a "pedagogisation" (Bernstein 2000) of everyday life or else a "colonisation" of out-of-school life by schooling (Bernstein 1996). Additionally, while English has no official status in either administration or government, it now occupies a central position in a range of key societal domains in Greece, acting in many cases as the "de jure" lingua franca of the country (Sifakis 2012). For example, and importantly for the findings reported in this chapter, English is highly promoted through films, television and radio broadcasting.[2] Then again, English now has an increasingly prominent role on the Internet and in contexts involving new media (e.g., online games, social networking sites), hobbies and youth lifestyles (e.g., hip-hop music). Thus, in Greece, as in most European countries, virtually all teenagers are now exposed to, encounter and use the English language outside school settings on a daily basis (Berns et al. 2007; Sifakis 2012; Sundqvist and Sylvén 2014). Even more importantly, their encounters – particularly those involving global forms of popular culture and youth-oriented media – have been powerful in making the English language more appealing to teenagers and in opening up opportunities for them to enact their youth-specific identities (Rothoni 2017, 2018).

In view of this growing prominence of English both in formal schooling and everyday life in Greece, an exploration of the ways in which young people in Greece personally relate with English literacy and language learning would provide a more comprehensive overview of the nature of teenagers' literacy practices with English as a whole. In this broader context, and considering that teenagers' experiences, relations and practices with English as a foreign language have only recently attracted the attention of literacy scholars (see e.g., Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Kalaja et al. 2008; Leppänen et al. 2009; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013; Chik and Breidbach 2014), the aim of the chapter is to explore the way Greek teenagers visually represent their relation with English literacy and language learning. Both the chapter and the broader study on which it draws are theoretically and methodologically rooted in ethnographically oriented research on literacy practices and sociocultural approaches to language learning. This broader framework, wherein literacy and learning are understood as socially and culturally situated, calls for considering individual learners' values concerning the role of

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[1] Currently, there are about 7000 frontistiria (of which 2300 in Athens) attended by almost one million young Greeks.

[2] In Greece English-speaking programmes and films publicly shown on television channels and cinemas are transmitted with Greek subtitles.

literacy and language learning in their lives. In response to such a need and in line with recent research stressing the significance of moving beyond language as the only meaning-making mode and data source (e.g., Mannion and Ivanič 2007; Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Busch 2010), this chapter joins the body of research that attempts to uncover teenagers' perceptions of literacy and learning through visual modes of expression and provide insights into the values, attitudes and ideologies they bring to their literacy practices. In this chapter then we foreground teenagers' understandings concerning the role of English literacy and language learning in their lives, as derived from two multimodal tasks: (a) a photo-based role play task, and (b) a visualisation task.

Both tasks were inspired by and were adaptations of similar visual tasks used by Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula in their larger project on young Finns' everyday practices in English (see Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Leppänen et al. 2009; Pitkänen-Huhta and Rothoni 2018). By making use of visually based techniques, Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula examined how a group of Finnish teenagers (14–16 years old) made sense of their everyday literacy practices with English: where and when they encountered English, what values and meanings they attached to it and how they perceived themselves as learners of the language. According to their findings, English featured a prominent role in these teenagers' everyday lives; it held a key position in their practices with various forms of popular culture and new media, thus opening up a new world of international contacts and 'imagined communities' for them. Equally importantly, however, teenagers in this study also constructed meanings of English as a language connected to school-based learning and practices, a finding which illustrates "the importance granted to the formal learning of English in Finnish society" (Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008, p. 175).

2 Theoretical Background

The study argues for a shift from traditional, cognitive-based understandings of (foreign) language literacy and learning and draws upon New Literacy Studies (NLS) and a sociocultural view to language learning. The NLS approach rejects psychological approaches of literacy as a set of abstract skills mastered through explicit instruction in formal settings and challenges the presumption that school-based literacy is the principal literacy to be utilised by people throughout their lives. Instead, it foregrounds a contextual view of literacy as a social practice (e.g., Barton 2007; Barton and Hamilton 1998). In this broader framework, closely linked to our own understanding of literacy is Baynham's (1995) argument that investigating literacy as a practice involves exploring and understanding literacy as a "concrete human activity" (Baynham 1995, p. 1); not just the objective details of what people read and write, but also what meanings they associate with what they read and write, how they construct the value of literacy, and the ideologies that surround it within a social context and at a particular place and time (Baynham 1995; Barton and

Hamilton 2000). This is precisely the aspect of literacy practices that we focus on in this chapter.

Drawing on similar underlying principles, literacy in English is understood here not merely as an abstract set of separate skills (writing, listening, speaking etc.) or components (grammar, syntax, vocabulary) that young people systematically acquire in the foreign language classroom. In line with scholars who reject this cognitive-based perspective as described in numerous studies in the field (e.g., Carrell 1991), literacy in English is seen here not as a mere subject or set of skills to be taught in formal classroom contexts but as a practice which is socially constructed, locally enacted and negotiated in the various social worlds, domains and spaces that teenagers inhabit (e.g., home, school, peer groups, public/civic domain, free time/hobbies); it is embedded in young people's vernacular activities of everyday life, it is characterised by appropriation, playfulness and informality and it is underpinned by essentially different feelings and values (Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013; Rothoni 2015, 2017, 2018).

Finally, drawing on the work of researchers who recognise the complexity of the relationship between different domains, discourses and literacies (e.g., Maybin 2007; Koutsogiannis 2007, 2009), the larger study on which this chapter draws, also supports the argument that the home and school are not permanently bounded and therefore mutually exclusive domains in young people's literacy practices with English (see Rothoni 2018). These spaces and domains connect in and through the everyday practices of teenagers in rich and complex ways forming a relationship which cannot be simply described as a mismatch. Thus, the terms "out-of-school", "in-school", "school-based" etc. are cautiously employed in this chapter without implying a dichotomous home/school framing and always keeping in mind the dynamic nature of teenagers' everyday literacy practices.

Similarly, our approach to learning echoes the above described social view of literacy. In particular, we subscribe to socio-cultural approaches to language learning (e.g., Lantolf and Thorne 2006; Barron 2006; Dufva et al. 2011) which challenge cognitively-based theories framing first, second or foreign language learning as learning a discrete form of language inside the classroom with the aim to develop an idealised linguistic and communicative competence (cf. Dendrinos 2001). Instead, they conceptualise learning as an inherently social process accounting for the various "social, historical and cultural contexts" (Norton and Toohey 2001: 310) in which individuals engage through language in personally meaningful practices.

In line with these approaches to language learning, we argue for the need to focus on the learner and the learner's subjective experiences of languages in various contexts (Kramsch 2009, p. 2). To understand how the individual learns languages we need to look at learner's meanings and experiences and examine how the individual relates to languages in his/her daily environment. Subjectivity is thus "associated with the cognitive and emotional development of the self" (Kramsch 2009, p. 16). One often overlooked way to access the social and emotional aspects of language learning and use is through visual methods, which have become popular in ethnographic studies of literacy practices (e.g., Barton and Hamilton 2000) and language learning and use (e.g., Busch 2010).

3 Methods

The data and findings presented in this chapter come from a larger ethnographically oriented, multiple case study conducted in the home settings of fifteen 14–15-year-old boys and girls living in Athens, Greece (see Rothoni 2015). Building on the existing body of ethnographic everyday literacy studies (e.g., Barton and Hamilton 1998, 2000), the aim of the overarching research study was to bring together an account of the ways in which English is used by teenagers in Greece in their everyday lives and to provide an understanding of their English literacy practices as a whole.

3.1 Participant Selection and Data Collection

Unlike studies in which research subjects are easily recruited, participant selection in this study was an on-going process involving a series of decisions and the employment of a combination of "purposeful" (Patton 2002) and convenience sampling techniques. Within this framework, the first step taken was to develop a list of attributes which participants should possess, in order to ensure that – to the extent possible – a maximum number of "telling cases" (Mitchell 1983) with different characteristics would be included in the study. These criteria were participants' age, gender, family background and ethnicity, level of English and ICT skills, and, finally, hobbies and interests. In addition, considering that teenagers' participation in ethnographic studies conducted in informal settings presupposes an established level of trust and is regulated by their parents or guardians (Emond 2005, p. 128), issues of convenience and accessibility proved equally important. Thus, in order to get access to teenagers whose parents would readily consent to their children's participation in the study, participants were primarily sought through our extended network of friends and acquaintances.

Eventually, participants included in the study were fifteen 14–15-year-old teenagers (seven girls and eight boys) living in Athens, Greece. All participants had received English language instruction for at least 5 years. They came from different parts of Athens and backgrounds, with six of them attending private schools and nine of them state schools. They also constituted a fairly varied group in terms of personal interests and their levels of academic achievement. Finally, all participants were familiar with digital technologies (i.e., had at least one computer at home which they used) and were members of different "affinity groups" based on their leisure interests.

Data were collected at participants' homes over a period of 18 months from multiple sources including interviews, field notes, literacy diaries, in-home observations and document collection (e.g., chat logs, handwritten notes, magazine texts etc.). In addition to these traditional qualitative data collection tools, the study made use of visually-based "collaborative or participatory research techniques" (Best 2007,

p. 14), as a means of enhancing understanding of the complexity of teenagers' everyday English literacy practices. The use of these techniques was informed by recent studies with young people, where the use of visual materials comprise a form of data gathered not only by the adult researcher but also by young participants, who are thus more actively involved in the research process. In addition, the use of visually based techniques was chosen as it is considered a useful way of getting an indirect insight into teenagers' views of their world (Mannion and Ivanič 2007, p. 22). In this chapter the focus will be on these sets of data.

In more detail, the study employed two multimodal tasks: (a) a photo-based role play task, and (b) a visualisation task. In the first task participants were assigned by the researcher the role of photographers working for a youth magazine. Their task was to capture places, situations, activities or other literacy-related artefacts in their everyday surroundings which would depict the role that English plays in the life of teenagers in Greece. Next, these photographs were used as prompts for discussions aiming at uncovering participants' interpretations of them. In the second task, participants were asked to enter a student competition inviting them to express their reactions to the titles "English and me" and "Greek and me" through hand-made drawings, collages, computer-generated artefacts or any other self-selected means of expression. Following the completion of the task, the visual products were further used as prompts for focused discussions, with the aim of accessing participants' interpretations of their products (cf. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008, p. 176). For the purposes of these two tasks participants generated a total of 70 photographs and 17 hand-made drawings or computer-generated collages, respectively.

3.2 Data Analysis

In analysing these sets of data, our methodological resources are drawn from the broader area of social semiotics and multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and discourse analysis, our main aim being to explore the meaning potential opened up by the two modalities – visual and verbal. Drawing on these approaches, our visual data were, in the initial analysis stage, analysed in their own right as artefacts in terms of the visual information they provided. In this stage, rather than aiming to provide a detailed multimodal analysis of teenagers' visual products, we concentrated first on a description of their products, approaching them as multimodal indicators of their relation to English literacy and language learning. Our aim was actually to categorise them in search for meaningful patterns and thus to develop broad thematic categorisations in terms of their manifest content (e.g., what they show and the frequency with which certain key symbolic elements in the products recur, differences between sets of data among participants etc.).

However, in order to discover the meanings teenagers assigned to the content of the visual data as well as the ways in which they expressed their views, in the next analysis stage, we also studied them discursively in conjunction with the corresponding interviews as well as other forms of verbal data. These were, for

example, the titles of participants' sets of photographs for the photo-based task (chosen by teenagers themselves) and any word items or other forms of written language included by participants in their visual products for the purposes of the tasks. By moving back and forth between examining the visual products and reviewing the verbal data, we were able to consider meanings attached to English language literacy and learning and how these fit with emerging themes. For instance, through this analysis we explored how visual data not related to schooling per se (i.e., depicting out-of-school interests in music, cinema, online games) gave rise to discussions and interpretations infused with educational concepts (e.g., studying, memorising vocabulary etc.) and materials (e.g., coursebooks etc.). Finally, from a methodological point of view, this combined analysis also provided evidence of the importance of "photo elicitation" (Collier 1967 in Mannion and Ivanič 2007, p. 21) in accessing teenagers' experiences insofar as they enabled a deeper understanding of issues which would have remained obscure if the analysis had been limited to their visual representations alone (cf. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008, p. 176).

4   Findings

In this section we present our findings considering how teenagers represent the role of English learning and literacy in their lives through their data. We will first provide an overview of the thematic categorisation of participants' sets of visual data and then move on to a more detailed description of the key findings as derived from our combined analysis of teenagers' visual and verbal data.

With only few exceptions, the majority of photographs taken by participants for the purposes of the photo-based task were "staged photographs" (Carter and Mankoff 2005; i.e., photographs in which teenagers arranged objects specifically to make them easier to photograph). In this sense, the photographs did not document moments of actual engagements with English but rather objects, materials, devices and literacy media (e.g., CDs, computers, books), which play a key role in Greek teenagers' everyday activities with English. The sets of photographs were divided into four broad categories: first, the majority of photos (41 in total) represented teenagers' engagements with English through popular culture as well as other areas related to their personal interests. A second category (12 in total) comprised photos related to beauty products, logos and brands while a third category (10 in total) illustrated the role of print media, such as youth magazines, novels and books in teenagers' activities with English. Finally, a fourth category of photos (7 in total) was related to formal learning illustrating photographs of school textbooks and dictionaries. Quite similar categories were observed when analysing the "English and me" visual data. In line with the findings derived from the same task used in the Finnish study on young people's English literacy (see Pitkänen-Huhta and Rothoni 2018), the "English and me" data (7 in total) were mostly representative of teenagers' encounters with English through the entertainment industry, pop culture and their interests with only few of them (3 in total) portraying their relation to English

literacy and learning as being shaped by concepts related to schooling and formal education.

4.1 Intersections Between English and Global Forms of Popular Culture and Media in Teenagers' Visual Data

Our analysis revealed the strong connection between English and teenagers' personal interests as well as the value of English as a powerful medium that allows teenagers to pursue their interests and to access a wide array of cultural and social spaces and resources (Leppänen et al. 2009). Of the collected photos, a total of 41 depict pop culture products and pop culture affinities such as cinema (DVD films), music (CDs, music books and posters of artists) as well as areas related to their hobbies such as Formula 1, gaming, aircraft modelling etc. What is more interesting is that teenagers' practices involving these types of products are mainly enabled by digital technologies which are thus seen to provide empowering spaces and affordances for Greek teenagers' English language learning and literacy practices (see also Rothoni 2017). Indeed, according to our analysis, digital media, such as computers, game consoles, mobile phones, DVDs, CDs and mp3 players, seem to be particularly dominant as they appeared in a total of 34 photos (almost all of the total 41) taken by participants. In this section, then, we provide an account of participants' representation of the interrelation between English and global forms of popular culture and media as derived from both visual tasks.

An indicative example is Vassilis' photo of the official Formula 1 website as displayed on his computer screen (Fig. 1). The photo highlights not only the key position of racing in Vassilis' English literacy practices but also more generally the mediating function of English between teenagers and their mostly digitally-based interests revolving around popular culture. In his discussion of the photo during the interviews, Vassilis explains why he took it for the purposes of the task by highlighting the strong presence of English on the particular website ("everything is in English there").[3] By way of extension, he also talks about the value of English in enabling teenagers to pursue and enjoy their interests in general ("without English you might lose part of the enjoyment", "English is linked with a lot of youth stuff"). Later, in the same discussion, he draws a vivid picture of English as lying in the centre of teenagers' various interests, an idea which is also illustrated by the title he assigned to the photo ('English as the core of young people's activities').[4]

Vassilis' two other photos depicting six LPs of the *AC/DC* band and a book about the *Queen* band with Freddie Mercury on the cover also trigger stories about the

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[3] We have added extracts from the discussions on the visual products in brackets at relevant points in the analysis. The discussions were conducted in Greek and the extracts are rough translations of the original by the authors.

[4] We use here the titles of photographs which were chosen by participants themselves for the purposes of the photo-based task.
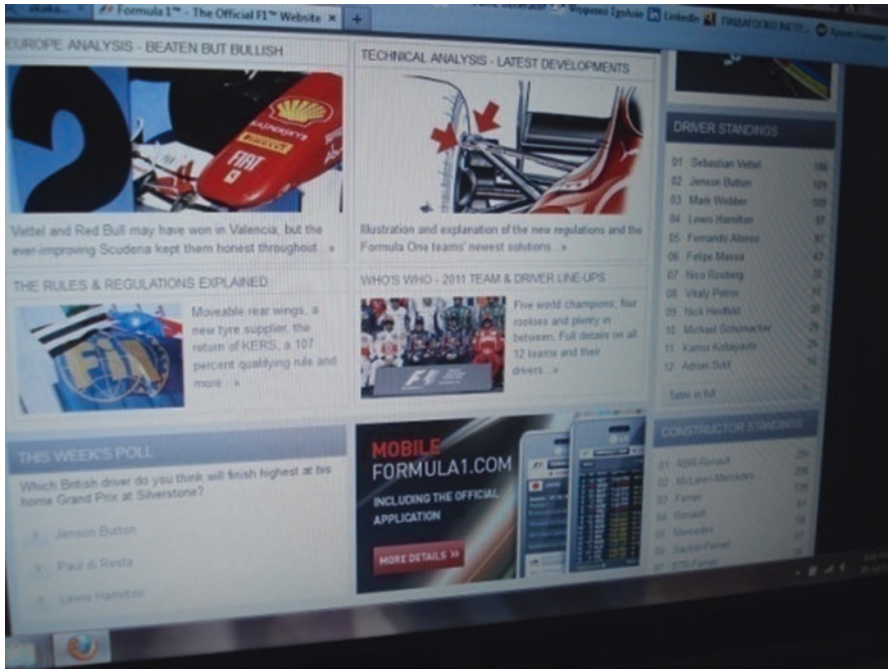
Fig. 1 English as the core of young people's activities

centrality of English-language music in teenagers' lives ("'foreign' music has a prominent role in teenagers' lives") and about the dynamic potential of the English language to make pop culture content and knowledge accessible to teenagers; a knowledge, which, as Vassilis implies, would be impossible to gain through Greek-language material only ("a lot of books are in English and people prefer to buy them in English"). For this reason, he has given the title 'The tools of knowledge' to these photos.

This unique role of English as providing teenagers with direct access to their often 'niche' pop culture interests is also highlighted by a photograph taken by Vassilis' twin sister. Alexandra's photo depicts English-language books with sophisticated information and topics related to the global music scene which are not widely available in the local market (*The Making of Jazz*, *The Guiness Book of Rock Stars*, *Record Hits*). Meanwhile, her commentary gives rise to the issue of globally-oriented pop culture practices as being a matter of teenagers' access to such material ("These are books kids our age could read, if only they had them at home") and a result of parental practices ("My friends who are into music, if their fathers had such books at home, even if they didn't read them, they'd at least have a look at them") as well as of their desire to pursue their 'niche' interests.

Finally, the same idea of the key role of English in enabling teenagers to fully participate in their interest-driven activities across (mostly digital and online) spaces is also brought forth by Thodoris' set of photos all of which portray everyday

encounters with English through the computer: listening to songs with lyrics on YouTube, downloading programs, playing online games. While presenting his photos, Thodoris explains the significance of English in each of the depicted activities suggesting that it is essential both for successfully downloading programs ("I thought that you need English to download something. [Without English] I wouldn't be able to do anything there. And this is something that happens almost everyday") as well as for playing computer games ("It's related to English 'cause it's the only language you use all the time in the game"). His photo presenting a screen from his favourite game *Lineage* is only one of the many taken by boys which show their combined engagement with digital technologies and English through gaming. Other examples include Haris' photo of the homepage of the game *Travian*, Vassilis' and Stavros' laptop screen captures of the *League of Legends* game, respectively, and Andreas' and Petros' photos showing their console game cases.

From the "English and me" data, a noteworthy example is Alexandra's hand-made collage (Fig. 2). Made exclusively of magazine clippings, the collage is connected to her encounters with English through the modern entertainment industry and her affiliation with the global world of popular culture. In fact, in her collage there are elements of popular cultural products originating from the realm of music, social media, cinema and magazines. The most prominent include Internet-related symbols and expressions common among teenagers in Greece (Log

Fig. 2 Alexandra's "English and me" poster

out, @, PC, nice, Friend request, OK, LoL), international symbols (the British flag on the left "which reminded [her] of English a lot"), a kind of self-made graffiti art (on the left hand-side) and common titles and 'emblematic' English expressions found in Greek youth magazines ('News', 'Nice', 'Party Girl', 'cinema', 'music', 'Let's tea party'). Besides, the collage includes music-related symbols, titles and illustrations. Noteworthy is also the black and white photocopied image at the centre of Alexandra's product, a patchwork of music albums and pictures created by her father, a New Media Director at a music TV channel, who put together magazine clippings he had been collecting for years. At another level, seen in combination with her construction of English as a "familiar language", the collage can also be seen to bespeak her identity as a contemporary young individual to whom English is effortlessly available as an identity marker: "English is both a foreign language but familiar as well, because it's a global language. I mean, it's a foreign language but not like the way Arabic is".

Likewise, Vassilis has also drawn on a number of contemporary youth influences (rock music, social media platforms, websites) to create his "English and me" collage (Fig. 3). He has used logos of popular websites and social media pages (facebook, twitter, myspace, YouTube), rock album cover photos ('School of Rock') and Internet images all representing activities he often engages in. The focal point of his collage, however, is an image consisting of words in different colours and font sizes. The word "English", appearing in large letters at the centre of the particular image, denotes the centrality of English in the different types of activities depicted around it. Also, his Word Art image creation ('communicasion') written boldly in large letters communicates the importance Vassilis attaches to English as "the language of global communication", a meaning also conveyed through his inclusion of an image of children of different races embracing each other. When asked about the emotions conveyed through his visualisation, Vassilis talks about English in a positive light as an international, yet familiar, foreign language which – unlike other widely-taught languages (such as French) – "opens doors to the outside world" and particularly to teenagers' everyday interests.

Fig. 3 Vassilis' "English and me" poster

4.2 Formal English Language Learning and Literacy in Visual Data

As mentioned in the beginning of the section, a group of photographs taken by teenagers for the purposes of the photo-based task include school-related materials and traditional learning tools such as coursebooks, dictionaries and other print texts. Similarly, to young Finns' discussion of their photographs in Nikula's and Pitkänen-Huhta's (2008) study, when asked to explain their particular sets of photographs, teenagers here also readily connected English to school-based learning and practices.

For example, Irena's group of photographs under the title "Preparation for certificates" include a photo of a coursebook (both its inside and the book cover) and another photograph of a student while studying and underlining some unknown words (Fig. 4). In her discussion Irena highlights the central role of these learning tools and thus of formal English language learning in young Greeks' daily routines. In fact, Irena portrays textbooks and private lessons as important contact points of teenagers with English and factors in helping them study and prepare for their English language exams: "I thought I should take a photo of the coursebook, because all kids are learning English now, especially by private tutoring, so they can get their certificates". Alexandra's photograph of grammar books and dictionaries entitled "English education in Greece" also triggers the idea of formal English language learning and literacy. In her explanation of why she took the photograph and how she feels about it, she characterises these kinds of books as the main mediating artefacts employed by teenagers who practice and study English in Greece ("because most kids are taught English, I think they use these kinds of books").

This presence of concepts related to formal education was also established in a number of "English and me" visualisations. For instance, the most salient element in Aliki's drawing (Fig. 5) is a school building, a frontistirio, as the sign 'School' on top of the building denotes. Besides the building, though, her drawing contains additional representational resources from the world of schooling which provide visual

Fig. 4 Preparation for certificates
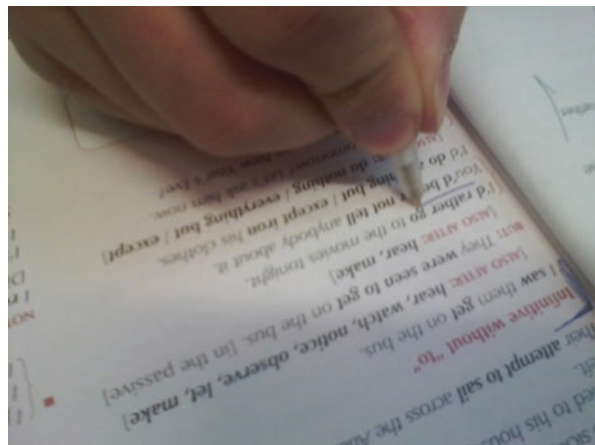
Fig. 5 Aliki's "English and me" poster

evidence of the centrality of formal English literacy and learning practices in her life. First, in the teacher's request for English use (note the phrase "English please!" inside the speech bubble) we identify echoes of typical teacher discourse and classroom practices. Then, the presence on the right of the drawing of an open notebook containing letters of the English alphabet (note the word "Notebook…" on top of the image) indicates active learning processes and is presented as the basic mediating artefact that supports learning activities (cf. Kalaja et al. 2008). Finally, the equation "English = School!!!", one of the features foregrounded in the drawing, explicitly denotes Aliki's identity as a learner of English. This view was further clarified in the interview, in which Aliki speaks of English as a foreign language, a subject she formally learns at school and frontistirio which she cannot easily relate to: "it isn't my mother tongue. I associate it with school. Or frontistirio or class and such".

Similar understandings are also found in Haris' hand-made "English and me" drawing (Fig. 6). As can be seen, a student with a happy smile on his face (Haris) and a schoolbag on his shoulders is walking to his English school (note the sign "English School!" on the building). Haris' choice to use his frontistirio as his main representational resource is based on the fact that it constitutes the main location where he uses English: "Because I speak English mainly when I go to frontistirio". This choice indexes, at a first level, the centrality of foreign language centres in teenagers' lives, being the primary location where English language learning and use takes place. At another level, it helps Haris construct a conceptualisation of English as school-learned subject. Although dominant, however, the frontistirio is not the only resource Haris has drawn upon. Equally noteworthy is his use of elements representative of areas of out-of-school interests (e.g., listening to music on YouTube). Interestingly, by combining in his drawing representations from different cultural spaces (schooled practices mingled with everyday life) Haris identifies himself both as an English language learner and user, thus constructing a mixed identity for himself.

Fig. 6 Haris' "English and me" poster

Placed together, all data presented in this section – combined with their discussions – are built around well-established symbols of learning and formal education. By encompassing such symbols, these visual products are revealing, on the one hand, of the key position of formal English learning and literacy in these teenagers' lives and, consequently, of their self-identification primarily as learners of English. On the other hand, they can also be interpreted as being indicative of the high priority attached to English language learning in Greece today and of the strong – and often overriding – presence of formal English education in teenagers' lives, more generally. What should be noted here is that this emphasis on English language learning, while not exclusive to the Greek context, is more prominent in Greece perhaps due to the growth of private tuition (i.e. frontistiria) and the unique emphasis on certification compared to other counties (see Pitkänen-Huhta and Rothoni 2018 for a comparison between the Greek and Finnish context).

4.3 Formal Literacy and Learning 'Leaking' into Visual Data Related to Teenagers' Out-of-School Interests

Concepts and ideas related to formal English literacy were not only present in the data discussed in the previous section; indeed, they were found to 'leak' even in teenagers' sets of data not directly related to school-based literacy per se. These instances provide an account of how teenagers' visual products depicting their out-of-school interest in music, cinema or online games can give rise to interpretations infused with educational concepts and themes.

First, Andreas' self-made "English and me" drawing (Fig. 7), which is clearly related to his out-of-school interest in gaming, presents a flying warplane participating in aerial combat and an extract from an in-game chat message on the bottom of the screen. Although there are no visible elements from the world of schooling and language learning, when combined with the discussion about it, the drawing provides access to his personal experiences of learning English. Through his various forms of participation in literacy practices related to the game (called *Battlefield Heroes*) he argues that he has learned new vocabulary: "I chat in English and learn new words. And if there are words I don't know, other kids explain them". He therefore makes a systematic attempt, as other teenagers in our data as well, to connect his leisure activities to formal learning and instruction.

Alexandra's photographs of her favourite CDs (*The Beatles*, *U2*, *The Clash* etc.) and of a music-related advertisement appearing in the *Rolling Stone* magazine are clearly representative of teenagers' engagement with English-language music in their everyday life. However, while talking about her sets of photographs – and, interestingly, without being asked anything about it – Alexandra connects the theme of her photographs (music) to school-valued practices and approaches (e.g., translating new texts, studying their meaning) and incidental English language learning: "I do that. I translate lyrics, I study them for a while. I learn them without deciding that I'll memorise them. It's just that when you listen to a song twenty times a day, it's inevitable that you will learn it by heart at some point".

Similarly, Stavros' photographs depict computer games (a screenshot from the *League of Legends* game) and English-speaking music (heavy metal CDs) as playing a vital role in teenagers' everyday contacts with English. Yet, in his explanation of why he took these photographs he constructs different meanings for the role of

Fig. 7 Andreas' "English and me" poster
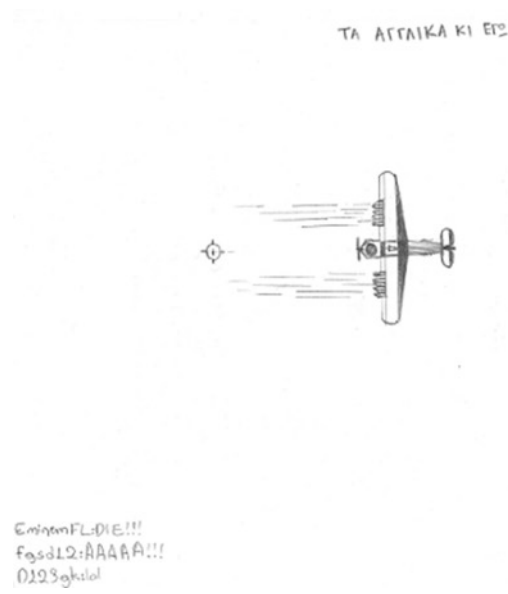
English in his life. In particular, he explains the centrality of English in these areas of interest mainly in terms of the learning opportunities they provide. In fact, he stresses his learning of new vocabulary through games ("through playing this game I've learned some words I didn't know") and talks about the role of music in enriching teenagers' vocabulary in general ("I think you can learn a lot that way"). Similar meanings are found in Giorgos' way of reflecting on his own set of photographs. On the one hand, his photographs and their titles ('Music: the most important "bridge" to English', 'Films: a "window" to another language') index encounters with English through interests such as films and music, while his use of the words "bridge" and "window" in his titles construct an idea of pop culture products as enabling teenagers to "cross" language and culture boundaries and gain a "view" to the global world of English. On the other hand, his oral accounts reveal different perspectives not present in the visual texts. In his discussion Giorgos talks about his learning of vocabulary through songs, about memorising song lyrics and learning words ("as we memorise the lyrics of a song, we learn new words that we can't forget") and about his learning of vocabulary and spelling through film dialogues and subtitles, especially if the latter are in English ("the characters speak English, and that way I learn new words, as well as their spelling"). Finally, school-related influences are also evident in a number of titles chosen by teenagers for their photographs which relate to teenage-specific interests but echo a pedagogic discourse related to formal foreign learning processes: "The computer as an important *tool* for *learning* English" by Andreas, "Easier *comprehension* of lyrics and information about bands" by Petros, "The *tool* of *knowledge*" by Vassilis and "English on mobile phones is used for *practice*" by Aggeliki.

To sum up, through the analysis presented in these sections, we were able to get insight into the ways in which our participants represented their relationship with English literacy and language learning. On the first level, the analysis of teenagers' visual data revealed their use of well-established representational resources from the world of modern entertainment industry and globalised media products (e.g., films, music, computer games) but also that of education (e.g. textbooks, dictionaries). On the second level, the combined analysis of teenagers' visual and verbal data allowed us to identify key themes composed in the interviews and reflected (or not) in the visual data. In fact, it allowed us to explore how those sets of visual data related to education – but even those depicting teenagers' out-of-school interests – gave rise to interpretations infused with educational concepts.

5   Conclusion

In line with an emerging body of research stressing the significance of moving beyond language as the main meaning-making mode and data source (see e.g., Mannion and Ivanič 2007; Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Busch 2010; Pitkänen-Huhta and Rothoni 2018), the findings of our analysis indicate that teenagers' visual data combined with discussions about them enable a deeper understanding of their

meanings and values as far as the presence of English literacy and language learning in their lives is concerned. From a methodological point of view, the analysis has thus provided evidence of the importance of complementing teenagers' personal accounts of their language learning and literacy experiences (e.g., as derived from checklists and/or self-reports) with visual methods. These visual methods have provided an additional way to gain access to teenagers' perspectives with regard to the role of English literacy in their lives, which would have remained obscure, if our analysis had been limited only to interview data.

In more detail, our analysis has highlighted that in the majority of the visual products, English emerges as an international language closely connected to personal affinities which provides access to global forms of new media and popular culture. It is a language which permeates teenagers' everyday life-words and which they use to do things connected to their personal interests, such as listen to songs, watch films, read magazines, visit online spaces and interact with other speakers (cf. Menezes 2008, p. 212). On the other hand, our analysis has also illustrated that in other sets of data, English is portrayed through well-established symbols of learning and formal education as more of an object of study in formal classroom contexts, or else, a language which is only connected to formal learning processes in their lives. The implication suggested here is that despite their out-of-school literacy and learning experiences, teenagers' perception of English literacy and language learning remains largely framed by the dominant discourse of literacy as a traditional, school-based subject (cf. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Kalaja et al. 2008). This perception is manifested not only in participants' self-generated visual representations depicting traditional learning tools (e.g., books, novels, dictionaries) or spaces of formal learning (e.g., schools, frontistiria), but also in their follow-up discussions where everyday English language use is readily connected to typical learning practices (e.g., memorising new vocabulary when listening to songs with English lyrics).

Our point here is that, in line with the Finnish study findings reported in Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta (2008), this perception seems to be deeply entrenched among teenagers in Greece as well and is arguably, in part at least, attributed to and shaped by their influential classroom-based experiences as students. That is, teenagers seem to have in effect internalised the values, principles and voices of formal literacy and education they have been exposed to during their lived experiences as students to the extent that it has come to shape their overall perceptions of what counts as English literacy. Still, the fact that English literacy remains print-based, traditional and school-based in the eyes of the teenagers is, we would also argue, largely due to the current exam-oriented situation in Greece and the increased emphasis placed on formal English language learning in the Greek context more generally. It is thus, in other words, indicative of the "colonising" power and impact of formal English literacy on young peoples' lives in Greece (cf. Koutsogiannis 2009) while it also provides further evidence of the complex relation between formal and everyday literacy more generally (see Rothoni 2018 for a detailed discussion of the issue). However, besides indexing the importance granted to the formal learning of English in Greek society, this perception is also representative of

one of the underlying mainstream views in linguistics and language teaching and language acquisition research that learning a foreign language – in this case English – is a matter of memorising formal knowledge (particularly of vocabulary or grammar) (cf. Dufva et al. 2011, pp. 110, 114).

At a more nuanced level, our combined analysis of both visual and verbal data sets has also made clear that teenagers' personal meanings with regard to English language and literacy are not uniform: while for the majority everyday uses of and voluntary encounters with English appear to be personally relevant, for others formal English language learning and literacy holds a central position in their lives. By way of extension, it has also demonstrated the different ways in which English language and literacy is experienced by teenagers and the way teenagers view themselves in relation to English. Some teenagers view themselves as active users of English outside school walls with a strong preference for activities related to global forms of popular culture such as listening to music, watching films or visiting online spaces. Some others represent themselves both visually and verbally as English language learners, while others represent themselves as active English language users visually but as English language learners verbally thereby constructing mixed identities for themselves (cf. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008). Essentially, our analysis has also illustrated that teenagers' constructions of their literacy and learning experiences with English oscillate between two ends of a continuum: formal literacy and learning, which is obligatory and structured, and everyday literacy and learning which is meaningful and self-relevant (cf. Menezes 2008, p. 212). The former accounts for the pedagogic discourse arising from the world of the school (e.g., grammar, vocabulary, knowledge, studying, memorising, lessons etc.) and the concept of foreign language as a set of grammatical and lexical patterns and rules to be mentally processed and internalised (cf. Dufva et al. 2011). The latter is described in more social terms as teenagers use the English language to engage in free-time activities motivated by their interests (cf. Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta 2008; Pitkänen-Huhta and Nikula 2013).

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter here have hopefully contributed to moving beyond conceptions of language, literacy and learning as fixed and static constructs or as a set of normative practices. First, by using participants' self-generated visual data as "windows" to teenagers' English language learning and literacy practices we have highlighted how language and literacy are to be seen in broader terms as dynamic and multimodal, and as never independent of the ways they are employed by individuals – particularly young ones – to make sense of and construct their social realities. Then, in terms of language learning our findings have contributed, on the one hand, to understandings which argue that language learning is to be seen not only in terms of formal acquisition but also as a process of effective participation in meaningful activities which may take place in various contexts beyond classroom walls. On the other hand, however, our findings have also highlighted the overpowering effect of formal language learning which, in our case, appeared to invade or infiltrate teenagers' everyday English literacy practices to a great extent.

Finally, our findings presented in this chapter should be seen in the light of the fact that teenagers' English language learning experiences and literacy practices are rapidly changing as a result of the technological developments and the widespread dissemination of digital media. In fact, the study was conducted at a transitional period for Greece during which access to digital media and to high-speed broadband Internet connection remained still rather limited, especially for teenagers from low-income homes. In the years that have passed a number of changes have occurred the most important of which include the expansion of various types of communications networks, the increase in connectivity rates as well as the rise of smartphones and tablets with their interactive applications as powerful mobile devices in the hands of young Greeks. The extent to which these developments have changed young people's learning experiences and practices remains to be explored in future studies.

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Language Learning and Literacy: The Multilingual Subject in Narratives of Older Immigrant Refugee Women

Anne Golden and Elizabeth Lanza

Abstract The turn towards viewing literacy as social practice combines the notions of literacy and language learning. The situation of adult language learners with little or no schooling in countries with a highly literate self-image (such as in Scandinavia) necessitates reflection on the notions of language learning and literacy, especially in the case of refugees, who have been subjected to harrowing experiences in their flight to freedom. The recent emphasis on the *multilingual subject* in language learning has called for the importance of bringing the *subject into focus* when studying different aspects of multilingualism such as the learning of language and literacy in a new language. The present study meets this call through the analysis of interactions involving two medical doctors, former refugees, in conversation with a researcher in Norway. The doctors narrate their own experiences, and evaluate and comment on stories told by others, including their work with patients, who are also refugees. The analysis reveals a merging of language and literacy learning in the doctors' conceptualization of activities necessary for the patients' treatment. Central to the analysis are the notions of *participation, agency*, *empowerment* and *embodiment.*

Keywords Refugees · Rehabilitation · Adult language learners · Participation · Narratives · Empowerment

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1   Introduction

Being a refugee in a new country is without doubt a challenge. The greater the difference between the new country and the home country with regards to political system, technology, social institutions and everything that may be called culture, the more challenges to meet in entering the new society and settling in and participating as a full member. The burden to adapt is even greater for those adults who enter high technology countries, for example, in Scandinavia, and have little or no experience with schooling or have limited literacy. Many of these refugees are multilingual from early on and are used to dealing pragmatically and creatively with new languages. However, some of these refugees have had traumatic experiences that are difficult to tackle and for them to manage on their own – as they have often fled from war and undergone horrific escapes. Those who seek help are treated in the health care system in which there are doctors who themselves have been refugees and, accordingly, are concerned about, and involved with, this group. This study is about two such doctors, former refugees, and their views on, and experiences with, language, literacy and learning. These doctors perceive the need to see language learning and literacy as one – as two sides of the same coin – in particular as part of therapy for adults with psychological challenges. This position aligns with the view of literacy as a social practice, as advocated in New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Street 1984, 2009) and views personal empowerment as a catalyst for second language learning. In this approach, literacy was argued to be something people did in the world and in society, not just inside their heads. This approach perceived literacy primarily as a sociocultural phenomenon rather than just as a mental one, and it "was about distinctive ways of participating in social and cultural groups" (Gee 2015, 35). Just as there are many different social, historical, and cultural practices that include literacy, there are many different literac*ies*. Our study displays how participants (the doctors) see literacy as a tool in the treatment of their patients, but also reveals how *they* understand literacy. Hence our study can be seen as an "insider's" account of literacy (Baynham 2000).

The data in the present study were collected in a project on identity in narratives of migration reported on in Golden and Lanza (2012, 2013). Narratives were elicited in conversations in focus groups, composed of two to three adult migrants in interaction with one or two interviewers. Most of the participants were doctors, all of them with a multilingual background, originating from different parts of the world. Guaranteeing their anonymity in a Norwegian context precludes divulging any particulars concerning the participants' migrant background or their patients' health issues. At the time of the recordings, all the doctors were still working as professionals. Some of the extracts used in the present article have been analyzed previously in Golden and Lanza (2012, 2013), however, with a different focus. In the data presented in this article, two African doctors, here called Sarah and Angela, discuss their approaches to treating a group of immigrant women as part of a rehabilitation process for refugees with a goal of integration into society. As part of their therapy, they offered to send their patients to language classes or to teach the patients

themselves, hoping for the patients to be able to participate in society in the future, just as the doctors have been successfully able to do so themselves.

In the focus group conversation with the researcher, Sarah and Angela talked about and compared their life trajectories, from their departure from their home countries in their teens to their present positions as medical doctors. This conversation might be seen as two overarching autobiographic narratives (Palvenko 2007). Within this conversation, several smaller narratives emerged, and included in these were narratives from their professional lives about the rehabilitation of refugees, who had crossed the world in order to find a place in which to settle down. Due to confidentiality obligations, the doctors have not revealed the kind of trauma their patients suffered from, other than that they were in need of mental therapy. The goal of the focus group conversation was to explain and discuss their positions with each other (including the researcher), and hence the narratives were co-constructed in interaction (De Fina 2009). In these narratives, language learning in the dominant language was an important topic, and talk about literacy practices were intertwined with that of language learning as the doctors themselves considered literacy, as they perceived it, to be a way for the patients to regain confidence in themselves and ultimately to be able to participate in their new society. Theoretical notions as *empowerment, agency, embodiment* as well as *participation* are important for understanding the doctors' reflections and actions taken in relation to the rehabilitation of these patients as well as for analyzing the doctors' own identity negotiations.

In the following, we first present an overview of the theoretical perspectives we draw upon in our analysis and then a more detailed presentation of the methodology we followed. Subsequently, we analyze the focus group conversations in which the interlocutors negotiate agency, empowerment and embodiment in their discussion of language learning and literacy, overshadowed by various societal ideologies of what literacy actually is. Finally, we present some implications from our findings.

2   Literacy as Social Practice

The conceptualization of *literacy* as expressed in New Literacy Studies (NLS), for example, in the ethnographic body of work that has been studying literacy for close to 30 years, is that literacy is a social practice that varies from one context to another (Street 1984, 2008, 2009; Gee 2000, 2015). This model is hence culturally sensitive, with literacy always embedded in socially constructed principles; literacy is "part of the power relationship and how people take hold of it is contingent on social and cultural practices and not just on pedagogic and cognitive factors" (Street 2008, p. 5). Literacy is seen "as variable with regard to its forms, functions, uses and values across social settings, and thus varying in its social meanings and effects" (Baynham and Prinsloo 2009, p. 2). This view focuses on the everyday meanings and uses of literacy in specific cultural contexts (Street 2009) and is contrary to the position, often called the autonomous model of literacy (Street 1984), in which

literacy is seen merely as a technical and neutral skill that starts when children and adults learn to form and interpret (a combination of) letters. Literacy rather encompasses all kinds of activities, including artifacts, as well as other semiotic signs prior to what is seen as literacy activities in the autonomous model. Several researchers, among them Block (2003, 2007) and May (2014), have called for this approach in second language research as it will consequently lead not only to a different teaching practice, but also to a different view of adults who are often categorized as *il*literate and are placed at the bottom of the educational hierarchy with little prestige both for teachers and for policy makers. Franker (2007, 2011) studied a group of teachers' values and beliefs regarding their students with little or no schooling, and she interpreted the teachers' statements as revealing a risk of *infantilization* of the adult participants "who are perceived and perceive themselves as incompetent, cognitive immature and in need of 'education', as if still being children" Franker (2011, p. 24) (see also Bigelow and King 2015). Another risk was of *othering*, which implies being constructed with a deficiency identity by their teachers. The teachers in Frankers' study were all working with adult basic literacy instruction in Sweden, Norway and Denmark in 2001.

Through the adoption of the view of literacy as expressed in NLS, a more suitable conceptualization of language, and especially second language learning, for adults emerges – that of language learning as *participation* (Sfard 1998). This does not mean that this newer metaphor should replace the more traditional notion of language learning as acquisition, but that the participation metaphor should be "a complement to the older metaphor […]. Both metaphors have a role to play in explicating the processes entailed in learning a second, or for that matter, a first, language" (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000, p. 156).

Narratives have always functioned in a variety of ways in conversations and in the 1980s they found their way into second language studies, mainly as a means for identifying factors that impact the learning process (Palvenko 2007; Kramsch 2009). With time, language learning memoirs and autobiographic interviews have been used to understand how L2 learners experience and make sense of their language learning. This narrative turn has resulted in new images of learners, who are no longer presented as "unidimensional abstractions", but as "human beings who have feelings, who are positioned in terms of gender, race, and class, and who exercise their agency in the learning process" (Palvenko 2007, p. 164).

Today, narratives and particularly autobiographic narratives are increasingly collected in discourse as data for different kinds of questions in qualitative research (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015). Autobiographical narratives are usually presented and analyzed as monologues; however, autobiographical narratives usually occur in conversations and are often co-constructed with participants engaging in the speaker's presentation of self, even co-constructing the speaker's agency in the story worlds (Lanza 2012), and hence should be analyzed in conversation. Autobiographical narratives give first person accounts of experiences, and as such people's meanings, viewpoints and evaluations are not in the same way filtered through other actors' interpretations, as compared to 3rd person narratives. Lantolf and Thorne (2006, p. 138) point out that "narratives are important in people's lives

because it is through these forms of knowledge that our lives 'hang together' as it were", and as such we might say that narratives present speakers with the opportunity to *empower* themselves in discourse. Through narratives, people attempt to make sense of the world as they order their experiences and (maybe) their inner order (Turner 1996). Hence narratives "structure our experience, our knowledge and our thoughts" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001, p. 1) and, therefore, have both a cognitive and a social function. A focus on narratives as a research tool can thus provide us "with a window to migrants' identity construction" (Golden and Lanza 2012, p. 31) by showing how individuals in different positions make an effort to understand, contest and ultimately transform – for some seen as – a hopeless situation into insight and control.

Narratives of personal experience provide, furthermore, insight into how speakers utilize their linguistic resources to negotiate agency and power in their presentation and positioning of the self in social experiences. *Agency* has been defined by Ahearn (2001, p. 118) as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act, while praxis (or practice) can be considered the action itself". Hence, agency is not something the learner possesses, it is not a property but it is "shaped by our historical and cultural trajectories" (van Lier 2008); it is practice. Identities speakers construct in interaction might differ with respect to the *agency* they negotiate in other contexts (Golden and Lanza 2013). The notion of agency has been increasingly used in studies of language learning since the turn of the century. A better understanding of agency can help us find ways of creating learning environments favorable to its emergence and development (van Lier 2008). Agency is closely connected with power and "[t]he active use of discourses and addressing power relations through language become an aspect of learner agency" (Vitanova et al. 2015, p. 5).

Another important issue that has come to the fore in recent scholarship on second language learning is *embodiment*. In cognitive linguistics, scholars have argued since the 1980's that the body shapes language and ultimately it shapes reasoning. Hence, the body plays an important role in shaping the mind, and our rationality is seen as *embodied* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Gibbs 1994). Johnson (1987, p. xix) claims,

> The centrality of human embodiment directly influences what and how things can be meaningful for us, the ways in which these meanings can be developed and articulated, the ways we are able to comprehend and reason about our experience, and the actions we take.

In later years, the "body turn" has reached other fields, such as sociology, particularly involving emotions (Ignatow 2007). Sociolinguists Bucholtz and Hall (2016, p. 173) claim that "Bodies and embodiment are central to the production, perception and the social interpretation of language" and add that embodiment is "enlisted in a variety of semiotic practices that endow linguistic communication with meaning, from indexicalities of bodily adornment to gesture, gaze, and other forms of movement". People think and act through a habitus made up of a large number of bodily operations (Ignatow 2007). However, Bucholtz and Hall (2016) call for a discussion concerning the theoretical relationship between language and embodiment, which they claim is lacking. As noted, the embodied perspective has also started to enter

second language research, and Aitchinson (2010) argues for an approach to SLA grounded in an extended, embodied view of cognition, that is, a sociocognitive approach, as he sees that the mind, body, and the world work together in the learning of new languages. In her discussions of multilingual subjects, Kramsch (2009) presents a person as comprising different selves, one of them being *the embodied self*. According to Kramsch, the different selves appear in different narratives in different contexts, and the embodied self typically appears when the language learners engage in communicating in a new language.

3   Methodology

The data were gathered in what we refer to as a *focus group conversation*. Focus group *interviews* are "carefully planned discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment" (Krueger 1994, p. 6) and as such are valuable resources for collecting data on language learning. Similarly, a focus group *conversation* is a small interactive group setting in which participants are free to talk with other group members. In language studies, a focus group usually consists of a group of people selected for giving their views on a particular topic. Along with one or two researchers, the participants talk informally and the researchers often participate, but rather for keeping the conversation going than for giving their opinions. As Cameron et al. (2009, p. 10) point out concerning focus group discussions, "speakers express ideas that are partial or incomplete, trying them out with various degrees of assertiveness and tentativeness as they assess and react to their reception by the other participant". A small focus group is easier to manage as it gives the participants less competition for talking. This is particularly important in conversations involving learners of a new language. The focus group conversation reported on here consisted of the researcher (the first author) and the two doctors, Sarah and Angela, in the researcher's home. The participants tell and co-construct the stories of their lives as migrants to Scandinavia while the researcher asks questions about their experiences and urges them to tell stories. The conversations are structured along three periods of their lives: (a) around their arrival (right before and right after); (b) some important memories from years after they had settled in Norway; and (c) the present, for example, their reflections on their personal and professional lives. As such, the entire conversation might be seen as an *overarching autobiographic narrative* from each migrant doctor. The focus in this study is on the final period, where the participants share opinions on the situation in Norway in particular with refugees at this time and how they see challenges with their patients. There are smaller co-constructed narratives in this part of the conversation. While the focus is on the present in this interaction, the doctors also go back in time and include events from their earlier life, often to position themselves in one way or another.

3.1   The Narratives

The topics that are elicited in the conversational segments presented in this analysis include questions on literacy concerning refugees who are not able to read or write Norwegian. The talk focuses on the doctors' views on this situation in relation to the rehabilitation of their patients. The method used is *narrative analysis*, in the sense that the goal is "to arrive at presentations and interpretations of meaningful experiences" (Bamberg 2012, p. 5), as narratives are an excellent method for studying data on people's stances and values, particularly in a migrant context (De Fina 2003). In our analysis, attention is given to lexical choice, such as pronouns and verbs and reported speech. The overarching narrative, about the life and experiences of the doctors, contains smaller narratives and small stories, some of which are indeed "snippets of talk" (Georgakopoulou 2007). The smaller narratives or small stories include different episodes in the autobiography of the doctors, particularly relevant for this study, in the here and now at the time of recording, that is, the *storytelling world* and in the different stories narrated (*the story worlds*). This includes the treatment of the patients by one of the doctors and the doctors' own stories from their flight to Scandinavia, with the stories often entwined. The events are often evaluated and further examples are presented.

As the participants were encouraged to tell stories about their lives and experiences with language learning, this resulted in several narratives, both with the participants themselves as actors in the story world as well as with other people and in particular other learners of Norwegian. When analyzing the narratives, we find that the narrators, the doctors, negotiate different identities, both in the storytelling world and in the different story worlds they create.

3.2   The Participants

Sarah and Angela both came to Scandinavia in their late teens as refugees. Sarah left her home country in the late 1970s after travelling on her own through Europe with no predetermined destination. Angela was part of the UN refugee program, supported by an organization in Scandinavia, and arrived in the mid 1960s. For the purpose of the analysis, in order to maintain the participants' anonymity, they are portrayed as doctors with a refugee background.

4   The Multilingual Subject: Orienting Towards Language Learning and Literacy in Narrative Discourse

4.1   Positioning Work

The doctors' reflections on their personal and professional lives are important throughout the conversation. How newly arrived refugees now manage in Norway is one of the topics as well as the doctors' challenges with their patients, both Norwegians and migrants. In the focus group conversation, the doctors also look back and recount from their earlier life, often to position themselves one way or another. Through narratives, the narrators might position themselves with respect to the characters in the story world (cf. Lanza 2012), with respect to participants in the interaction (the storytelling world), and with respect to capital D discourses, master narratives and cultural templates (Bamberg 1997). When the conversation turns to the situation for refugees, Sarah, in her evaluation of a story she tells, positions herself strongly as part of the characters in the story world, that is, as a refugee. She uses the expression that you remain a refugee 'in your soul' (*i din sjel*) and that 'it is part of you' (*det er del av deg*), indicating that this sense of belonging to this group will never cease. Angela confirms this position, as illustrated in Extract 1. (The transcription conventions for the presented examples are listed at the end of the article.)

Extract 1[1]: "Always a refugee"

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1    S:       så .. jag ser flyktningenes problem=
2    A:       mm
3    S:       =våra problem.
4    A:       mm
5    S:       For jag, er du engang flyktning så er du alltid flyktning
             altså så. I [din sjel].
6    Anne:              [Føler du] at det er en del av deg?
7    S:       Ja.
8    Anne:    Ja.
9    S:       I din sjel. Ja. For det er del av deg altså.
10   A:       Jo.
```

Translation:

```
1    S:       so .. I see the refugees' problem=
2    A:       mm
3    S:       =our problem.
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[1] In all the extracts the participants are Angela (A), Sarah (S) and the researcher Anne.

4	A:	mm
5	S:	As I, if you are once a refugee,
		then always a refugee. In [your soul].
6	Anne:	[Do you feel] that it is part of you?
7	S:	Yes.
8	Anne:	Yes.
9	S:	In your soul. Yes. Because it is a part of you, for sure.
10	A:	Yes.

By positioning themselves as refugees, the doctors afford themselves the authority to speak from the inside; they know what it is like to be a refugee, and they 'know' what's best for refugees. Sarah claims that refugees often move from place to place but "they only try to settle, and get some freedom – a free area where they might stay". Through this, she points to the bodily movement of travelling from one country to another as well as to the mental move of being able to settle and rest mentally, both typical for the refugee situation. In this way, she constructs them as having agency. The doctors have experience with a successful outcome themselves, even though they have encountered difficulties.

4.2   Literacy

Earlier in the interaction, evaluating a story told by the researcher about young people in Norway suspected of doing graffiti due to their appearances, Sarah positions herself as loyal to the system, claiming that the system is only in need of some adjustments (Extract 2). However, she is worried about many of the refugees who do not understand the system and therefore feel insecure. For her, literacy is a tool, and she asks for some more initiative to this end from the authorities.

Extract 2:   "Hallo" … "This is the first thing to work with"

1	S:	for systemet er, er bra egentlig=
2	A:	mm
3	S:	=allting er relativt.
4	Anne:	mm [mm]
5	A:	[mm]
6	S:	Og, og det skulle bare rekke litt justeringer=
7	A:	mm
8	S:	=litt åpenhet och litt at man satser på dom gruppene. Jag mener jag har, jag kjenner folk. Jag har pasienter som er analfabeter som ikke kan lese og skrive, [folk fra]=
9	A:	[jo]
10	S:	=Somalia. Som har varit her i 10–12 år.

11	Anne:	[Ja.]
12	A:	[Just] imagine
13	S:	og da tenker jeg: "Hallo"
14	A:	[Ja.]
15	Anne:	[Ja.] Hvor gamle er de da? Er de…
16	S:	30 noen ting.
17	Anne:	Ja, de er ikke [60]
18	S:	[De] er ikke 60?
19	Anne:	[Nei.]
20	A:	[Nei.]
21	S:	Og da tenker jeg: Det er det første man skal man skal satse på=.
22	A:	mm.
23	S:	=at dom kan lære seg [å lese og skrive].
24	A:	[Jo, mm]
25	S:	man får jo så mycket beskjeder på papir her.
26	Anne:	mm mm
27	S:	Hva ska dom gjöra liksom? Då går dom rundt til andre venner som kan lese. Og det er på måfå. Dom vennerna som leser kanskje inte beherskar heller og da får dom ikke [uppfatta det]
28	A:	[De gjør det.]
29	S:	Hvordan kan dom forstå systemet? For det meste tror jag, vold og alltig, er at folk er utrygge=
30	A:	mm
31	S:	=dom forstår inte hvordan det fungerar.

Translation:

1	S:	for the system is, is actually good=
2	A:	mm
3	S:	=everything is relative.
4	Anne:	mm [mm]
5	A:	[mm]
6	S:	And, and it is just in need of some adjustments=
7	A:	mm
8	S:	=a bit of openness and a bit that you count on these groups. I mean, I have, I know people. I have patients who are illiterate, who don't know how to read and write [people from]=
9	A:	[Yes.]
10	S:	=Somalia. Who have been here for 10–12 years.
11	Anne:	[Yes.]
12	A:	[Just] imagine
13	S:	And then I think: "Hallo"
14	A:	[Yes.]
15	Anne:	[Yes.] How old are they, then? Are they …

16   S: 30 something.
17   Anne: Yes, they are not [60]?
18   S: [They] are not 60
19   Anne: [No.]
20   A: [No.]
21   S: And then I think: This is the first thing to aim at=
22   A: mm
23   S: =that they may learn [to read and write]
24   A: [yes, mm]
25   S: One receives so much information on paper here.
26   Anne: mm mm
27   S: What are they supposed to do, then? Then they go around to other
             friends who are able to read. And it is by chance. Those friends
             who read maybe do not master this either and then they won't
             [perceive this]
28   A: [they do that]
29   S: How may they understand the system? For the most part, I believe,
             violence and everything, is that people feel unsafe=
30   A: mm
31   S: =they do not understand how it works.

Even if Sarah considers the system in the country good, she asks for a stronger focus on this group of learners (using the verb *satse* (l. 21) "to aim at", which actually means promoting, as when prioritizing this group). Sarah emphasizes that the group she is talking about has been in this country for a long time, and she immediately has a solution (introduced by the interjection *hello* – a call for attention): They *must* get the opportunity to learn to read and write. Her view of literacy, as articulated here, and her use of the term "illiterate" (*analfabet*) as used in common parlance, is in line with traditional ways of construing literacy, as the ability to read and write, a current ideology in society. Her rationale for this, however, is for refugees to be able to understand the system in which they live and her stance to this information is that this *should have been* the first thing to work with. She indicates that reading and writing should go along with language learning and not wait untill the language has been learned, hence an ambitious project. Her motivation for this immediate onset with literacy is actually the refugees' state of health. The outcome of *not* understanding makes people unsafe (*utrygge*), she states, which might also be the reason for violence (l. 29). Hence, not learning, not understanding, has an impact on your body and mind. As most information presented to the refugees is written information, she thinks it is a necessity to learn to read – and understand. Therefore, it is not enough to have somebody read a text for you, as those friends who read might not fully understand either (l. 27), referring to the situation the persons or refugees are in (The friends who read maybe do not master this either). It is a matter of taking control of one's own life. She justifies her views by claiming that to understand what's going on with yourself is *the one thing* that makes a person manage in this society. This she sees as a step towards rehabilitation.

Sarah uses reported speech first to share her thoughts (in l. 13 and 21) then to quote what she asks her patients, to check their comprehension (l. 34). By using reported speech in the story world, we 'hear' Sarah's voice and the message she gives to the patients. Reported speech is used more prevalently in some communities than others, and some individuals employ this device more than others. Nonetheless by the use of reported speech in the storytelling world, Sarah does indeed construct an empowered agency merely by presenting herself as the one who knows what is going on with refugees in particular when they are patients. Reported speech is a valuable unit of analysis in studying positioning work in migrant narratives (De Fina 2003; Lanza 2012).

When the researcher asks how a Norwegian course for adults should be, Sarah answers that they already exist, and for many they are successful, provided that the learners are able to complete the course (see Extract 3).

Extract 3: "You have to manage out there … learn"

```
1    S:      Ja, men det fins sånn der voksen[opplæring]=
2    Anne:                              [Ja] [mm]
3    S:                                      =[det] er mange som klarer seg
                                             veldig [bra]=
4    Anne:                                          [Ja.]
5    S:      =bare man får gjöre opp det.
6    Anne:   mm. Ja.
7    S:      Så jag har sendt tre av mine pasienter, fire av mine pasienter til
             voksenopplæring. "Det er jo en del av behandlingen", sejer jag.
8    A:      Å ja. Det er viktig. Det er den psykososiale…
9    S:      Ja visst. "Du ska klara deg ute=
10   A:      mm
11   S:      =og en ting som gjør at du klarar det, er å jo å läre deg, läre å skrive=
12   A:      og [lese]=
13   Anne:      [mm]
14   S:      =og läre deg [norsk]=.
15   Anne:                [Ja.]
16   S:      =så går det".
17   Anne:   mm.
18   S:      Så vår sosionom har fullt opp med å søke (.) til voksenopplæring.
```

Translation:

```
1    S:      Yes, but there is adult [education]=
2    Anne:                          [Yes] [mm]
3    S:                                  =[there] are many who manage
                                         very [well]=
4    Anne:                                      [Yes.]
5    S:      =just if you get to finish it.
```

6	Anne:	mm. Ja.
7	S:	So I have sent three of my patients, four of my patients to adult education. **"**It's part of the treatment", I say.
8	A:	Oh yes. It is important. It is the psychosocial …
9	S:	Yeah. "You have to manage out there=
10	A:	mm
11	S	=and one thing that makes you do that is to learn, learn to write, isn't it=
12	A:	and [read]=
13	Anne:	[mm]
14	S:	=and to learn [Norwegian]=
15	Anne:	[Yes.]
16	S:	=then it works".
17:	Anne:	mm.
18	S:	So our social worker has lots of work with applying (.) for adult education]

In this extract, Sarah refers to a conversation with a patient in which her view of learning and literacy is as a tool in rehabilitation. By using reported speech (line 9), Sarah positions herself as the expert, by telling her patients that they 'shall manage' (*skal klare seg*) (line 9) and that 'then it will work' (*så går det*) (l. 16) if they learn to write and learn Norwegian. Both in the story world (when she instructs the patients in l. 7, 9 and 11) and in the storytelling world (by sharing this part in the focus group conversation), she constructs an empowered agent of herself, as one who knows what is important for survival in Norwegian society. Nonetheless Sarah attaches far too much importance to traditional literacy skills than what NLS understandings of literacy would tell us newcomers "need" in order to gain inclusion in society. Angela agrees to the importance of education and explains that 'it is the psychosocial' (*det er den psykososiale,* l. 8), that it is important for both psychological and social reasons, and it is part of the treatment. However, later, as we see in Extract 4, Angela seems to be more reluctant with the idea that older people with trauma may actually learn to read and write, pointing to a traditional belief that the ability to learn diminishes with age. In other words, she is uncertain as to how to empower her students, not with the goal to engage in literacy, but to get well.

4.3   Learning

Extract 4: "Another way of schooling"

1	A:	Jeg tenker på disse her som ikke har gått på skolen. Og så er de 30 år eller 40 år. Med unger er noe annet.
2	S:	mm

3   A: Og så kan de ikke lese. Du kan ikke sende dem på skole
4   S: Jo.
5   A: Du må finne en annen skolemåte (...) Og jeg tenker på tyrkisk,
             irakiske damene jeg hadde i gruppa. Jeg snakka med de.
6   S: mm
7   A: Det er viktig at de kan lære å skrive.
8   S: mm
9   A: Og, og, og kunne skrive sine navn. Og kunne tegne. Noe sånt.
             Men hvordan kan dere lære på skolen? Hva slags utdannelse kan
             det være? Som voksne […] hvordan lære illiterate?
10   Anne: Ja.
11   A: Hva heter det på norsk?
12   Anne: Analfabet.
13   S: Analfabeter.
14   A: Hvordan lærer man analfabeter [folk å skrive]?
15   S: [men dom har metoder, Angela]
                                           Jeg vet. Jeg kjenner folk [som]=
16   A: [mm]
17   S: =kom hit når dom var 24-25 år.
18   A: mm
19   S: Og dom har gått, kommit [langt]=
20   A: [som har lært]
21   S: =som har blivit sykepleier eller et eller annet=
22   Anne: Ja.
23   S: =uten, ass å begynte med, å ikke kunne, som analfabeter

Translation:

1   A: I think of those here who have not gone to school. And
             then they are 30 years or 40 years. With children it is
             something else.
2   S: mm
3   A: And then they cannot read. You cannot send them to school.
4   S: Yes.
5   A: You must find another way for schooling (...) and I think
             of Turkish, Iraqi women I had in the group. I talked with them.
6   S: mm
7   A: It's important that they learn to write.
6   S: mm
8   A: And, and, and write their names. And draw. Something
             like that. But how can you teach in school. What kind of
             education can it be? As adults [...] how to teach illiterate
             ((said in English))?
9   Anne: Yes.

11	A:	What is it in Norwegian?
12	Anne:	Illiterate
13	S:	Illiterates
14	A:	How do you teach illiterate [people to write]?
15	S:	[but they have methods, Angela].
		I know. I know people [who]=
16	A:	[mm]
17	S:	=came here when they were 24–25 years.
18	A	mm
19	S	And they have gone come [far]=
20	A:	[who has learned]
21	S:	=who have become nurses or something=
22	A:	Yes.
23	S:	=without, eh, in the beginning, started without, as illiterate

Angela does not think regular schooling works for older people (older than 40); according to her, they need 'another way for schooling', e.g. another way of teaching that is more relevant to them. Even if she repeats her thinking that it is important for these women to learn to write, in particular their name, even to draw, she reveals an uncertainty as to how this could be done, indicating that she has bought into the discourse that language learning is limited by age. Sarah trusts the system as well as the teachers and she sees learning and literacy as steps towards participation in society for refugees, as well as a step towards health for refugee patients. While she employs various linguistic devices to index her authority, the conception of literacy she portrays is very traditional, what Street (1984) calls the autonomous model of literacy, as noted above. Nonetheless she rejects the discourse that learning is limited by age.

In Extract 5, Angela reveals her problem with a group of women; their motivations for learning and for engaging in new activities are nonexistent even if this group consisted of women 'who had done something in the country they come from'.

Extract 5: "It was hell to motivate them"

1	S:	Ja, voksne [folk]
2	A:	[Fordi] det var den gruppen som jeg behandlet i min gruppe.
		Disse fra 40, ikke [24].
3	S:	[Ja]. Men 40-åringer kan [også lære seg]
4	A:	[For at de skal] klare seg
		og, og, og til og med motivere de. Det var, det var helvete å motivere
		de at det er godt for dem.
5	Anne:	mm
6	A:	Å motivere de at det er godt for dem.
7	S:	mm

8   A: Fordi de mener at når de er 40, at livet er over for de.
9   Anne: Ja.
10   A: Ja. Jeg måtte se at mitt program ikke gikk noen vei altså.
11   Anne: Nei?
12   A: Fordi jeg sa at dette er noe jeg lever for, og jeg vil dø for den.
               Altså jeg vil ha innvandrerkvinner som er blitt=
13   Anne: Ja.
14   A: =som er flinke som er har gjort noe i det land de kommer fra. Så
               jeg ville ha dem som en gruppe. Og så jeg kunne få dem. Egentlig
               målet var integrering.
[…]
15   A: Det eneste som var positiv ut av den gruppen var at de hadde
               mer innsikt.
16   Anne: Ja.
17   A: Psykologisk=
18   Anne: Ja.
19   A: =over sine problemer.

Translation:

1   S: Yes, adults [people]
2   A: [Because] it was the group that I treated in my group.
               These from 40, not [24]
3   S: [Yes.] But 40-year-olds can [also learn]
4   A: [For them to]
               manage and and, and even motivate them. It was, it was hell to
               motivate them that it is good for them
5   Anne: mm
6   A: To motivate them that it is good for them.
7   S: mm
8   A: Because they think that when they are 40, that life is over for them.
9   Anne: Yes.
10   A: Yes. I had to admit that my approach didn't really go anywhere.
11   Anne: No?
12   A: Because I said that this is something that I live for, and I will die
                for it. Well I want immigrant women who have become=
13   Anne: Yes.
14   A: =who are smart who have done something in the country they
               come from. So I wanted to have them as a group. And then I
               could get them. Actually the goal was integration.
[…]
15   A: The only positive thing about that group was that they had
               more insight.
16   Anne: Yes.

17	A:	Psychologically=
18	Anne:	Yes.
19	A:	=about their problems.

In spite of her strong engagement as seen in l. 12 ('I said that this is something that I live for, and I will die for it'), Angela has to admit that her program did not work. Her patients had been especially chosen; they had somehow been successful in their homeland. However, they had no aspirations, according to Angela. The only positive aspect she reports was the psychological insight the patients had obtained concerning their problems. It seems like these women, as well as Angela, had an understanding of learning as "the younger, the better". Actually, research on second language learning has shown that the acquisition rate in the beginning is faster for adults, but there are different studies indicating that the rate advantage will disappear after some time (see Ortega 2009 for a discussion). In any case, as Ortega (2009, 17) claims, "Age may exert universal influences on the learning of a second language, but context moderates these universal effects and needs to be considered carefully". Kozar and Yates (2017) found that age was not a reliable predictor *per se* in their study of language learning progress among migrants arriving in Australia after the age of 40. Nonetheless, the belief that "the younger – the better" still lives on among some learners, as indicated in the extract.

Angela's goal was to keep her patients from receiving disability pension, as to her this is contrary to participating in society. She presents what she sees as their inner thoughts (explaining in the storytelling world what she meant to say), namely that they wanted to get a disability pension. Then she included new actions to empower them, as we see in Extract 6.

4.4   Embodiment

Extract 6: "I tried to teach this movement"

1	A:	Og jeg mente: "Nei! Dere, dere, dere kan=
2	Anne:	Ja.
3	A:	=klare=
4	Anne:	Ja.
5	A:	=å delta i dette landet". Men (..) dette med utdannelse var det verste. Jeg (.) tok kart over land. Jeg underviste geografi i min @ i min behandlingstime. Kart=
6	Anne:	Ja.
7	A:	=over land hvor de kom fra.
8	Anne:	Ja.
9	A:	Og spurte: "Hvilken del er du? Bashra?" Også fortalte jeg det, jeg viste, Bashra=

10   Anne: Ja.
11   A: =også viste jeg Afrika der, og Norge der.
12   Anne: Ja.
13   A: Og prøvde å vise den her bevegelsen=
14   S: mm
15   A: =hvordan de klarte å gå så langt. Hit.
16   Anne: Ja.
17   A: Og så gikk vi gjennom de byene (.) Fra Eritrea hvis hun fra, hun
             er fra Eritrea. Og Bashra.
18   S: mm
19   A: Så jeg prøvde å være lærer samtidig
20   Anne: mm
21   A: Og, og=
22   Anne: [Hva?]
23   A: =[jeg] skulle skape min egen måte altså.
24   Anne: Ja.
25   A: Og, og, og få dem til (...) enlightning.
26   Anne: mm
27   A: eh, sånn empowering som det heter på engelsk=
28   Anne: Ja.
29   A: =eh, belysende.

Translation:

1   A: And I meant "No! You, you, you can=
2   Anne: Yes.
3   A: =manage=
4   Anne: Yes.
5   A: =to take part in this country". But (..) this about education was
             the worst. I (.) took a map of countries. I taught geography in
             my @ in my therapy session. Map=
6   Anne: Yes.
7   A: =of countries where they came from.
8   Anne: Yes.
9   A: And asked, "What part are you? Bashra?" Also I told that, what I
             knew, Bashra=
10   Anne: Yes.
11   A: =also I showed Africa, there and Norway there.
12   Anne: Yes.
13   A: And tried to show them this movement=
14   S: mm
15   A: =how they managed to go so far. To here
16   Anne: Yes.

17	A:	And then we went through those cities (.) From Eritrea if she, she is from Eritrea. And Bashra.
18	S:	mm
19	A:	So I tried to be a teacher at the same time
20	Anne:	mm
21	A:	And, and=
22	Anne:	[What?]
23	A:	=[I] would create my own way.
24	Anne:	Yes.
25	A:	And, and, and get them to (…) enlightning. ((said in English))
26	Anne:	mm
27	A:	eh, such empowering as it is called in English.
28	Anne:	Yes.
29	A:	eh, empowering.

Even though Angela has essentially focused on reading and writing earlier in the conversation (cf. Extract 4) and on difficulties of motivation (cf. Extract 5) in line with common discourses in society portraying immigrants as lacking the understanding of the importance of literacy and learning the majority language, we see in in this extract that for Angela education and in general learning is part of her treatment. Her patients are ill and have lost self-confidence and her aim is 'empowering' as she claims in l. 27. She argues strongly for the need to relocate the patients in the here-and-now and to link this to their past. In this, she claims creating her 'own way', which is to give them a very basic means to understand and evaluate their trajectories as something positive. She uses a narrative to try to capture the displacement that the patients have been through and mentioned the cities from which they had fled in order to take them back to the known. The goal is to make their lives 'hang together' and 'structure their experience' (Lantolf and Thorne 2006, p. 138). In this teaching, she underscores the travel through bodily motion, pointing to their countries of origin and then the move to Norway on the map while saying "[I] tried to show them this movement" (l. 13). By attempting to position them in their bodies as they recall their physical flight geographically, she aims to emphasize what they have managed so far, the long and probably painful travel from far away. It seems like her aim is not primarily to teach the patients to read and write, (even if she thinks it is important), it is to give them hope. She makes a direct appeal to their understanding and reflection through embodiment.

5   Discussion and Conclusion

Narratives have both a cognitive and social function and serve as an excellent tool in the rehabilitation process as well as a tool in research. In the extracts presented here, we see that both doctors position themselves as refugees, through Sarahs'

words "once a refugee, then always a refugee", and hence speak from the inside (Baynham 2000) aligning themselves with the patients about whom they are talking. They see the refugees' trajectories as a move – bodily and mental – to a free space and as such, points to their needs. However, they are worried about some of their patients not being able to understand Scandinavian society and their new life and hence not getting better health wise. For them literacy, which they understand as reading and writing, matters and affects your own life because a lack of literacy prevents you from understanding and thus you feel unsafe and hence not healthy. Literacy is defined by them as a part of the psychosocial rehabilitation that they aspire to for their patients. When it comes to the action taken towards their patients, Sarah constructs an empowered agent of herself, she 'knows' what is important as seen by her choice of verbs, pronouns and direct speech, indexing authority while Angela is more reluctant, 'reading' the minds of the older people, who she thinks have given up. This is her struggle, she wants her patients to take action; she wants to situate them in the here and now and link them to the past through a bodily move so that they grasp their situation through embodiment – to bind their lives together (Lantolf and Thorne 2006). Ultimately, they might participate in society, she contends.

In SLA, there is a need to reflect on conceptualizations of language and literacy, in particular to those related to the education of adult migrants with little or no schooling. Through the autobiographical narratives that emerge and are co-constructed in the conversation between the researcher and the refugee doctors in this study, the doctors state *their view* of literacy, *their experiences* of literacy (as they see it) and their talk about literacy *in relation to* language and learning. Perry et al. (2018) underscore the existence of many conceptualizations of (functional) literacy for adults even in research. In a meta-study on what counts as adult functional literacy in recent publications, Perry et al. (2018, p. 88) state that "most empirical studies and a third of theoretical pieces […] did not define the construct of FL [Functional literacy]", hence the definition is taken for granted. The rationale for why people to align to a particular view of literacy is explained by Barton and Hamilton (2000, p. 8) as "some literacies become more dominant, visible and influential than others". And for Sarah and Angela, reading and writing seem to be dominant, visible, and influential in their experience of what refugees *in general* need, maybe because they have been so successful themselves in their education. It is clear from the interactions that the doctors, especially Sarah, are impacted by larger societal discourses and ideologies on what successful integration into society means – literacy as reading and writing. However, it is also worth noting that their emphasis on literacy as reading and writing may have been accentuated by the context of their conversation – an interaction with a second language teacher. Nevertheless, their strong convictions emanate clearly from their narratives. This is not the whole story, however; they also see literacy as a tool in therapy, as a way to give the patient a structure, which could lead to hope. And indeed for the refugees, literacy is not the whole story concerning integration into society.

The metaphor introduced by Sfard (1998), and further advocated by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) of language learning as participation, also seems to be part of the

doctors' conceptualization of how languages are learned, at least their aims, as they see integration into the new society as crucial. Even so, the doctors' view of learning to read and write as central for refugees in need of therapy does indicate a traditional view of literacy. New literacy practices – which are "frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making" (Barton and Hamilton 2000, p. 8) – have probably not been "dominant, visible and influential" to them, to use Barton and Hamilton's words.

Angela declares that an orientation in space with the help of different semiotic resources, such as maps and drawings, should be undertaken for some. For both doctors, the aim is to help the refugees to take control of their own life, their own situation, and not to be dependent on others. Even if the doctors' view of literacy seems rather traditional, their arguments are that literacy – or at least to participate in education – is not purely a means to participate in Norway, but also a way to help refugees (patients and others) out of a difficult situation, and to reposition their bodies as well as their minds.

The doctors' therapies for their refugee patients, as they see them appropriate, consist of empowering them with the goal to providing them with a possibility to negotiate a stronger agency in the situation they are in. Sarah is very persistent in having her patients attend *Voksenopplæringen* (Adult Education) where they will learn to read and write, while Angela – who also views learning the language as the primary tool to recovery and to being able to participate in the new society – is more discouraged by her patients' lack of interest and seeming alienation. Her treatment has been so far to give these patients insights into their own situation and as such for them to learn about the displacement from their home country to their settlement in Scandinavia. In their doing so, she hopes they will take a mental move away from what she sees as resignation and instead take control over their lives – or become empowered. As part of the rehabilitation process, Angela sees the necessity to connect these patients with the here and now and to see their own geographical trajectories. In this, she uses narratives as a treatment as "Narrative imagining – story – is the fundamental instrument of thought" (Turner 1996, p. 4) and as an important instrument for planning the future. Through engaging the patients in narratives about their trajectories in time and space, Angela inadvertently highlights the intricate interweaving of oral and written language.

The socially constituted realities seem to be that adults without much schooling are easily positioned as disempowered, and this appears to a certain point to be Sarah's and Angela's perception of their patients, but it is probably linked to their patients' illness. Miller (2014) claims that being disempowered is not the same as lacking agency. However, as agency is socially mediated, it needs to be "called or interpellated into being" (Miller 2014, p. 27). The possibility of developing socially constituted discursive practices, and to engage in actions of learning a language as well as to use a learned language might, therefore, lay the ground for the refugee patients to develop a sense of themselves as having agency and to assist them in participating in literacy practices. Through embodied action, Angela promotes a way out for the patients, as agency is not something the learners possess, it is not a property, but it is "shaped by our historical and cultural trajectories" (van Lier

2008). Agency is crucial in order to "initiate a long, painful, inexhaustive and for some never-ending process of self-translation" (Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000, p. 170).

Through the analysis of social actors in conversation, this study illustrated the intertwining of language learning and literacy – and therapy – as seen by migrant doctors, themselves refugees, as vital towards inclusion of their patients into society. On our side, we – as researchers – see the need to engage with the concepts, categorizations and boundaries that pertain to language, literacy and learning. These doctors portray literacy as an integral part of learning a new language and of being able to participate in society. In this respect, they echo the mainstream ideology in society of how literacy – defined as reading and writing – is the key to integration. Rehabilitation for each individual patient and inclusion in society comprise many more factors than merely being able to read and write.

A qualitative study focusing on the multilingual subject (Kramsch 2009) and highlighting narratives of belonging is a fruitful approach for investigating the power of language learning and literacy, or the lack thereof. While this article has given voice to the medical doctors, their narratives are only part of the story of immigrants' struggles for inclusion in society. The notion of embodiment may provide insights into how the mind, body, and the world work together. This might in turn have implications for teachers' work in particular with refugees with little schooling and life-threatening experiences that continue to haunt them, as they engage in new literacy practices.

Transcript Conventions?

(.) (..) (…)	Pause
[…]	Segment left out
[ ]	Overlapping speech
@, @@@	Laughter
=	Latch utterances by the same speaker
!	Emphasis
?	Question intonation
" "	Reported speech
(( ))	Researchers' comments

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Afterword

Claire Kramsch

In a well-known passage in his 1831 novel *Notre Dame de Paris*, Victor Hugo has the archdeacon of the famous French cathedral compare a printed book to the medieval architectural landmark and declare: "*Ceci tuera Cela; le Livre tuera l'Edifice*" (This will destroy That; the Book will destroy the Edifice) (p.182). Hugo explains: The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century revolutionized the way language and learning were conceived. The pulpit (the spoken word) and the manuscript (the written word) were replaced by the printing press - "intelligence sapping the foundations of faith, opinion dethroning belief, the world shaking off the yoke of Rome". Architecture had been a way for the illiterate faithful of the time to acquire the knowledge necessary to lead a pious Christian life. They had done that through the intricate biblical narratives of stone statues, gargoyles and bas-reliefs, arches, glass windows and other visual splendors. This kind of learning was now supplanted by a new mode of learning, one acquired through formal schooling, dictionaries and grammars. "The stone letters of Orpheus gave way to the lead letters of Gutenberg" (ibidem).

For Victor Hugo, "This will destroy That" meant two things. First it meant that the printing press, that democratized the reading and interpreting of sacred texts, undermined the theocracy of The Church and allowed the easy dissemination of all ideas including heretic ones. In other words, it paved the way for what came to be called "freedom of speech". Second it meant that a new form of meaning making was replacing an older one, i.e., literacy was replacing architecture as the dominant repository of cultural knowledge. To be sure, an architectural monument was more durable than a book, even though such an edifice was not indestructible.

Indeed, as I write, Notre Dame de Paris is engulfed in flames. The 250-ton lead spire has just turned bright red and has collapsed, slowly crashing onto the wooden

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roof of the cathedral that is now being destroyed. With a bit of luck, the two towers of the cathedral will be saved but the damage done is colossal. Together with much of the rest of the world, I am in shock. Not only because of the dramatic images shown on television, but because of what such destruction means for the history of humanity. Books cannot replace the knowledge that this cathedral dispensed to the faithful over the centuries, even though Victor Hugo's novel can give us a glimpse of what it must have been like to understand your life through those grimacing gargoyles, grinning demons, and smiling angels when you attended Mass every Sunday.

The Book indeed revolutionized learning. Not only through the schools that taught reading and writing, but through a whole literate economy of knowledge, based on a structural understanding of the linguistic sign, the monolingual orientation of national educational systems, the rationalization of thought processes, the development of scientific inquiry, and all the technological advances that were made thanks to democratic, compulsory access to language and literacy education. Victor Hugo adds:

> Mankind has two books, two registers, two testaments: Architecture and Printing; the Bible of stone and the Bible of paper". No doubt one can regret the visible majesty of the granite writing, those gigantic alphabets in the shape of colonnades, porches, and obelisks: the workman's hand spread over the whole world and filling the past…The past should be read in these marble pages; the books written by architecture can be read and reread, with never-diminishing interest; but one cannot deny the grandeur of the edifice which printing has raised in its turn. That edifice is colossal…the entire human race is on the scaffolding; every mind is a mason. Even the humblest can fill up a gap, or lay another brick…Undoubtedly this, too, is a structure, growing and piling itself up in endless spiral lines; here, too, there is confusion of tongues, incessant activity, indefatigable labor, a furious contest between the whole of mankind, an ark of refuge for the intelligence against another deluge, against another influx of barbarism. It is the second Tower of Babel. (Hugo 1917, p. 185)

If the first Tower of Babel was meant to mirror in architectural form the Tree of Knowledge of the lost Garden of Eden, the second Tower of Babel was an attempt to make that knowledge accessible to all through universal literacy. Rather than a stone structure to celebrate the glory of God, the second tower was made to build an intellectual structure that would enable humans to discover the scientific secrets of the universe. A knowledge of language and literacy was crucial in that endeavor. It led to the digital revolution of the 1970's, the invention of the personal computer and the development of the internet in the 1980's. As the editors of this volume point out in their introduction, this digital revolution has been accompanied by mobility, unpredictability and disruption. Could it be yet a third Tower of Babel?

There has been some controversy as to whether digital technologies merely offer a different environment for literacy practices that are familiar to us from the age of print, or whether they have ushered in a radically new way of conceiving of language, literacy and learning. Indeed, the very architecture of the Internet makes it into a very different Babel structure – its decentered nature, its reach and scope, the algorithms of its software based on unlimited connectivity, quantity and frequency of hits, ability to reconfigure the totality of the database at each input, and ability to match any input with any other, and its entirely constructivist nature (the internet is only the sum of its users who construct it every time they log in). All these bottom-up

features of the Internet differentiate it from the top-down architecture of the second Tower, where masons and bricklayers were "filling a gap" or "laying another brick" but always under the supervision of state gate-keepers of monolingual correct usage. We are dealing here more with a network than a tower, but no less all-encompassing and all-seeing.

The chapters in this volume address the challenges posed by the transition from a Babel Tower to a Babel network: The relation between the focus on oral language (SLA studies) and the focus on written and print language (Literacy studies); the tension between language acquisition and language socialization; between institutionalized settings like schools and workplaces, and deinstitutionalized digital settings; language as a sign of membership in a fixed immobile community vs. language as participation in *assemblages and affinity spaces*; social identity associated with linguistic and cultural *boundaries* vs. social identity as the ability to construct *connections* tied to different *interests* and to different linguistic *resources*. This multilingual, multimodal, multicultural Babel network poses tremendous challenges. It might be that the greatest challenge is not so much a question of "bridging" language, literacy and learning, but of defining the global citizen that the Internet is called upon to construct. The reconstruction of Notre Dame cathedral over the next few years might offer an opportunity to reflect on who it will be reconstructed for and which kind of spirituality it will bring back to our troubled times.

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