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Language Awareness and Multilingualism

Third Edition

Springer

Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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In this third, fully revised edition, the 10 volume Encyclopedia of Language and Education offers the newest developments, including an entirely new volume of research and scholarly content, essential to the field of language teaching and learning in the age of globalization. In the selection of topics and contributors, the Encyclopedia reflects the depth of disciplinary knowledge, breadth of interdisciplinary perspective, and diversity of sociogeographic experience in the language and education field.

Throughout, there is an inclusion of contributions from non-English speaking and non-western parts of the world, providing truly global coverage. Furthermore, the authors have sought to integrate these voices fully into the whole, rather than as special cases or international perspectives in separate sections.

The Encyclopedia is a necessary reference set for every university and college library in the world that serves a faculty or school of education, as well as being highly relevant to the fields of applied and socio-linguistics. The publication of this work charts the further deepening and broadening of the field of language and education since the publication of the first edition of the Encyclopedia in 1997 and the second edition in 2008.

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Language Awareness and Multilingualism

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With 8 Figures

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Editor in Chief's Introduction to the "Encyclopedia of Language and Education"

This is one of ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* published by Springer. The *Encyclopedia* – now in this, its third edition – is undoubtedly the benchmark reference text in its field. It was first published in 1997 under the general editorship of the late David Corson and comprised eight volumes, each focused on a single, substantive topic in language and education. These included: language policy and political issues in education; literacy; oral discourse and education; second language education; bilingual education; knowledge about language; language testing and assessment; and research methods in language and education.

In his introductory remarks, David made the case for the timeliness of an overarching, state-of-the-art, review of the language and education field. He argued that the publication of the *Encyclopedia* reflected both the internationalism and interdisciplinarity of those engaged in the academic analysis of language and education, confirmed the maturity and cohesion of the field, and highlighted the significance of the questions addressed within its remit. Contributors across the first edition's eight volumes came from every continent and from over 40 countries. This perhaps explains the subsequent impact and reach of that first edition – although no one (except, perhaps, the publisher!) quite predicted its extent. The *Encyclopedia* was awarded a Choice Outstanding Academic Title Award by the American Library Association and was read widely by scholars and students alike around the globe.

In 2008, the second edition of the *Encyclopedia* was published under the general editorship of Nancy Hornberger. It grew to ten volumes as Nancy continued to build upon the reach and influence of the *Encyclopedia*. A particular priority in the second edition was the continued expansion of contributing scholars from contexts outside of English-speaking and/or developed contexts, as well as the more effective thematic integration of their regional concerns across the *Encyclopedia* as a whole. The second edition also foregrounded key developments in the language and education field over the previous decade, introducing two new volumes on language socialization and language ecology.

This third edition continues both the legacy and significance of the previous editions of the *Encyclopedia*. A further decade on, it consolidates, reflects, and expands (upon) the key issues in the field of language education. As with its predecessors, it overviews in substantive contributions of approximately 5000

words each, the historical development, current developments and challenges, and future directions, of a wide range of topics in language and education. The geographical focus and location of its authors, all chosen as experts in their respective topic areas, also continues to expand, as the *Encyclopedia* aims to provide the most representative international overview of the field to date.

To this end, some additional changes have been made. The emergence over the last decade of "superdiversity" as a topic of major concern in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and language education is now a major thread across all volumes – exploring the implications for language and education of rapidly changing processes of migration and transmigration in this late capitalist, globalized world. This interest in superdiversity foregrounds the burgeoning and rapidly complexifying uses of language(s), along with their concomitant deconstruction and (re) modification, across the globe, particularly (but not exclusively) in large urban environments. The allied emergence of multilingualism as an essential area of study – challenging the long-held normative ascendancy of monolingualism in relation to language acquisition, use, teaching, and learning – is similarly highlighted throughout all ten volumes, as are their pedagogical consequences (most notably, perhaps, in relation to translanguaging). This "multilingual turn" is reflected, in particular, in changes in title to two existing volumes: *Bilingual and Multilingual Education* and *Language Awareness, Bilingualism and Multilingualism* (previously, *Bilingual Education* and *Language Awareness*, respectively).

As for the composition of the volumes, while ten volumes remain overall, the *Language Ecology* volume in the second edition was not included in the current edition, although many of its chapter contributions have been reincorporated and/or reworked across other volumes, particularly in light of the more recent developments in superdiversity and multilingualism, as just outlined. (And, of course, the important contribution of the *Language Ecology* volume, with Angela Creese and the late Peter Martin as principal editors, remains available as part of the second edition.) Instead, this current edition has included a new volume on *Language, Education and Technology*, with Steven Thorne as principal editor. While widely discussed across the various volumes in the second edition, the prominence and rapidity of developments over the last decade in academic discussions that address technology, new media, virtual environments, and multimodality, along with their wider social and educational implications, simply demanded a dedicated volume.

And speaking of multimodality, a new, essential, feature of the current edition of the *Encyclopedia* is its multiplatform format. You can access individual chapters from any volume electronically, you can read individual volumes electronically and/or in print, and, of course, for libraries, the ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia* still constitute an indispensible overarching electronic and/or print resource.

As you might expect, bringing together ten volumes and over 325 individual chapter contributions has been a monumental task, which began for me at least in 2013 when, at Nancy Hornberger's invitation, Springer first approached me about the Editor-in-Chief role. All that has been accomplished since would simply not have occurred, however, without support from a range of key sources. First, to Nancy Hornberger, who, having somehow convinced me to take on the role, graciously

agreed to be Consulting Editor for the third edition of the *Encyclopedia*, providing advice, guidance, and review support throughout.

The international and interdisciplinary strengths of the *Encyclopedia* continue to be foregrounded in the wider topic and review expertise of its editorial advisory board, with several members having had direct associations with previous editions of the *Encyclopedia* in various capacities. My thanks to Suresh Canagarajah, William Cope, Viv Edwards, Rainer Enrique Hamel, Eli Hinkel, Francis Hult, Nkonko Kamwangamalu, Gregory Kamwendo, Claire Kramsch, Constant Leung, Li Wei, Luis Enrique Lopez, Marilyn Martin-Jones, Bonny Norton, Tope Omoniyi, Alastair Pennycook, Bernard Spolsky, Lionel Wee, and Jane Zuengler for their academic and collegial support here.

The role of volume editor is, of course, a central one in shaping, updating, revising, and, in some cases, resituating specific topic areas. The third edition of the *Encyclopedia* is a mix of existing volume editors from the previous edition (Cenoz, Duff, King, Shohamy, Street, Van Deusen-Scholl), new principal volume editors (García, Kim, Lin, McCarty, Thorne, Wortham), and new coeditors (Lai, Or). As principal editor of *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, Teresa McCarty brings to the volume her longstanding interests in language policy, language education, and linguistic anthropology, arising from her work in Native American language education and Indigenous education internationally. For *Literacies and Language Education*, Brian Street brings a background in social and cultural anthropology, and critical literacy, drawing on his work in Britain, Iran, and around the globe. As principal editors of *Discourse and Education*, Stanton Wortham has research expertise in discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, identity and learning, narrative self-construction, and the new Latino diaspora, while Deoksoon Kim's research has focused on language learning and literacy education, and instructional technology in second language learning and teacher education. For *Second and Foreign Language Education*, Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl has academic interests in linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in the Netherlands and the United States. As principal editors of *Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, Ofelia García and Angel Lin bring to the volume their internationally recognized expertise in bilingual and multilingual education, including their pioneering contributions to translanguaging, along with their own work in North America and South East Asia. Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter, principal editors of *Language Awareness, Bilingualism and Multilingualism*, bring to their volume their international expertise in language awareness, bilingual and multilingual education, linguistic landscape, and translanguaging, along with their work in the Basque Country and the Netherlands. Principal editor of *Language Testing and Assessment*, Elana Shohamy is an applied linguist with interests in critical language policy, language testing and measurement, and linguistic landscape research, with her own work focused primarily on Israel and the United States. For *Language Socialization*, Patricia Duff has interests in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, and has worked primarily in North America, East Asia, and Central Europe. For *Language, Education and Technology*, Steven Thorne's research interests include second language acquisition, new media and online gaming environments, and

theoretical and empirical investigations of language, interactivity, and development, with his work focused primarily in the United States and Europe. And for *Research Methods in Language and Education*, principal editor, Kendall King, has research interests in sociolinguistics and educational linguistics, particularly with respect to Indigenous language education, with work in Ecuador, Sweden, and the United States. Finally, as Editor-in-Chief, I bring my interdisciplinary background in the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and educational linguistics, with particular interests in language policy, Indigenous language education, and bilingual education, along with my own work in New Zealand, North America and the UK/Europe.

In addition to the above, my thanks go to Yi-Ju Lai, coeditor with Kendall King, and Iair Or, coeditor with Elana Shohamy. Also to Lincoln Dam, who as Editorial Assistant was an essential support to me as Editor-in-Chief and who worked closely with volume editors and Springer staff throughout the process to ensure both its timeliness and its smooth functioning (at least, to the degree possible, given the complexities involved in this multiyear project). And, of course, my thanks too to the approximately 400 chapter contributors, who have provided the substantive content across the ten volumes of the *Encyclopedia* and who hail from every continent in the world and from over 50 countries.

What this all indicates is that the *Encyclopedia* is, without doubt, not only a major academic endeavor, dependent on the academic expertise and goodwill of all its contributors, but also still demonstrably at the cutting edge of developments in the field of language and education. It is an essential reference for every university and college library around the world that serves a faculty or school of education, and is an important allied reference for those working in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. The *Encyclopedia* also continues to aim to speak to a prospective readership that is avowedly multinational and to do so as unambiguously as possible. Its ten volumes highlight its comprehensiveness, while the individual volumes provide the discrete, in-depth analysis necessary for exploring specific topic areas. These state-of-the-art volumes also thus offer highly authoritative course textbooks in the areas suggested by their titles.

This third edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* continues to showcase the central role of language as both vehicle and mediator of educational processes, along with the pedagogical implications therein. This is all the more important, given the rapid demographic and technological changes we face in this increasingly globalized world and, inevitably, by extension, in education. But the cutting-edge contributions within this *Encyclopedia* also, crucially, always situate these developments within their historical context, providing a necessary *diachronic* analytical framework with which to examine *critically* the language and education field. Maintaining this sense of historicity and critical reflexivity, while embracing the latest developments in our field, is indeed precisely what sets this *Encyclopedia* apart.

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Volume Editors' Introduction to "Language Awareness and Multilingualism"

The study of language awareness or knowledge about language in education has been an important development in the field in the last four decades (Svalberg 2016). Interest in language awareness goes back to the publications of Hawkins' book *Awareness of Language: An Introduction* (1984) and the *Kingman Report* in the UK (1988), both of which triggered an intensified focus on reflecting about language and its importance (James 1999). Nowadays, there is the Association for Language Awareness (www.languageawareness.org), which defines language awareness as "the explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use." Other indicators of the intense activity in the field organized by the Association for Language Awareness are the journal *Language Awareness*, which has been published since 1993, and the Language Awareness conference, which takes place every 2 years.

Some parallel developments can be observed in the field of studies of multilingualism. It also has a long history and a real upturn in recent years where new publications abound and new branches and specializations bloom. There is a parallel International Association of Multilingualism (IAM) (www.iam.wildapricot.org/) and related to the IAM is the *International Journal of Multilingualism* published since 2004 as well as the biannual International Conferences on Third Language Acquisition and Multilingualism.

There are some terminological problems with the definition of "language awareness" and other related terms such as "knowledge about language" or "metalinguistic awareness." According to James (1999), there is strong support to use "language awareness," "knowledge about language," and even "metalinguistic awareness" interchangeably. In practice, "awareness" and "knowledge" are used in very much the same way by most researchers and at the same time "language awareness" and "knowledge about language" are usually seen as having a broader scope than "metalinguistic awareness." The latter usually refers to the more specific conscious knowledge of the formal aspects of language.

The study of language awareness has focused both on the mother tongue and on second and foreign languages; it is clearly interdisciplinary and a lot of the work in this wide-ranging field has relationships with various and diverse issues surrounding multilingualism. This includes not only formal education but also issues around raising children through several languages, minorities, immigration, intercomprehension,

superdiversity, language contact, cognitive dimensions, and linguistic landscapes. An important part of the work in this area is educational and addresses, for example, ways of improving the teaching of languages at school and other educational settings or increasing the importance of language awareness among teachers. Another perspective considers the psycholinguistic processes involved in second language acquisition and examines the role of explicit and implicit knowledge or the role of consciousness. Other researchers have looked at the effects of multilingualism or bilingualism on the development of language awareness – in particular metalinguistic awareness, for example, along with the processes of transfer and enhancement. Another interesting development is that of "critical language awareness" which analyses social practices and language and discusses the role of power and ideology. All these perspectives are discussed in this volume.

The present volume aims at giving a state-of-the-art review of academic work on language awareness and multilingualism mainly in educational contexts and at showing that language awareness is crucial in (multilingual) education. The chapters included in this volume reflect the breadth of this area and chart its possible future developments. Most of the chapters examine the more "classical" areas of language awareness which can be considered as the "core," such as language awareness in education, critical language awareness, explicit knowledge, and attention in second language acquisition. Other chapters discuss perspectives related to knowledge about language and multilingualism such as awareness of the linguistic landscape, immigrants, mobility, and transcultural flows. The volume is interdisciplinary in perspective and coverage.

As the title indicates, the volume places special emphasis on language awareness and multilingualism. In addition to a section on bi/multilingualism which discusses the effects of bilingualism, multilingualism, and language awareness in multilingual educational contexts, most of the chapters in the volume are on second/foreign language learning and bi/multilingualism. This reflects the situation of many schools nowadays all over the world. In fact, learning a second or additional language is common in school curricula and the school language is the second or additional language for many children who speak a minority language in the community or are immigrants.

Overarching themes that arise from this volume can be characterized as a general development where a cultural dimension is included, for example, relating to language and culture in the curriculum, inside the classroom or in the wider school context. The new chapters in this current volume, when compared to the 2nd edition of the encyclopedia, published in 2008, provide us with an indication of the recent directions and new themes in this dynamic field. Current research on the broader theme of language awareness and multilingualism has expanded from an earlier focus on second (or third) language learners per se, or investigations carried out predominantly in educational contexts, to include studies of additional social groups, which thus come more to the fore in the chapters of this volume. These include such diverse groups as the youngest speakers of several languages, traditional minorities, recent immigrants, or professionals in the workplace. These social groups are confronted with an increase in multilingualism in their social contexts, whether

inside the families of their upbringing, in the local or regional communities, in new multilingual and multicultural societies, or in the context of changing circumstances of employment. What these chapters about such rather different social groups share with each other is that they also debate and dispute monolingual norms that still often support a large amount of the theory and the practice in these social contexts. This overarching critique of monolingualism is also related to other chapters in this volume where issues are discussed which reflect the growth of studies of multilingualism – the so-called "multilingual turn" (May, 2014) – and the trend towards a more diverse world, captured in the key concept "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2007). This in turn underlies the chapters which focus on issues and concepts such as translanguaging, hybridity, and language contact. Language awareness and multilingualism are, of course, also related to concepts such as ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), which has a worldwide significance, and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), which is a teaching approach gaining in importance in the educational systems of Europe and, increasingly, beyond Europe as well. An important factor that drives these changes towards increased diversity is technology. As a consequence, new media in combination with language learning, but also CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning), have become important topics for investigations in the fields of language awareness and multilingualism (see also the volume by Thorne and May in the encyclopedia). Research work on either online communication or learning, or in "offline worlds," is represented in several of the chapters in this current volume. A critical stance towards all of these developments is fostered, particularly, in those chapters specifically aimed at "critical language awareness" and "critical literacy."

These recent developments may seem to have arisen "spontaneously" or "naturally" as a consequence of higher scale developments in society at large, but we argue that governments, educational institutions, and other authorities try to regulate and steer such developments. Issues of language policy and other forms of regulation are therefore also a recurring theme in the volume chapters and given special attention.

There are 29 chapters altogether, ranging from overviews of theoretical trends and empirical studies on knowledge about language to more specific projects to develop this knowledge. The contributors come from 13 different countries from all over the world, and they work with different languages. In spite of this diversity, all the chapters discuss in a direct or indirect way the development of language awareness and multilingualism in education contexts. They demonstrate that the relationships between language awareness and multilingualism are certainly relevant for all school children at all levels.

The first section, "Language Awareness and Theoretical Perspectives," includes ten chapters which elaborate different theoretical issues about language awareness, multilingualism, and education.

The section begins with Claudia Finkbeiner and Joanna White reviewing the history of the two fields. In their chapter "Language Awareness and Multilingualism: A Historical Overview" they show partially separate and partially joint developments, from the origins of the language awareness movement in English L1 teaching

to the current fruitful combination of both fields, where language awareness plays an important role in the development of multilingualism.

Ulrike Jessner continues the section with the chapter "Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends," in which she goes beyond bilingualism and examines metalinguistic awareness in multilinguals. She highlights the interdisciplinary nature of studies in multilingualism by focusing on contributions coming from linguistics, developmental psychology, and educational linguistics.

Josep Cots offers a state-of-the-art view of studies on "Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula," and he highlights two main trends: psycholinguistic and educational.

The next chapter on "Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies" by Bonny Norton and Ron Darvin adopts a critical approach to the study of language awareness by exploring power and identity aspects in the relationship between language and society.

The chapter by Marjolijn Verspoor on "Cognitive Linguistics and Its Applications to Second Language Teaching" explores the applicability of cognitive linguistics to second language acquisition and second language teaching.

Michele Koven looks into "Language Awareness and Emotion" where she addresses classic and new approaches to the relationships between emotion and language in multilingual contexts. She concludes that emotion can be treated as simultaneously embodied, social, and semiotically mediated.

Annick De Houwer explores the theme of "Early Multilingualism and Language Awareness," focusing on language awareness in young children under 6 years of age who are exposed to more than one language and who have not received literacy instruction. She also deals with several aspects of social-cognitive development related to language awareness.

Anna Verschik writes about "Language Contact, Language Awareness, and Multilingualism," and she addresses the notion of language awareness in contact linguistics which she relates to several topics that can be studied. Although there are few contact linguistic models that include language awareness, she discusses some in the final section of the chapter.

The two chapters by Nick Ellis ("Implicit and Explicit Knowledge About Language") and Peter Robinson ("Attention and Awareness") focus on some of the psycholinguistic processes of second language acquisition. These chapters discuss crucial research in knowledge about language in second language acquisition and offer insights into concepts such as explicit and implicit knowledge, noticing, attention, and focus on form.

The second section, "Language Awareness, the Curriculum, the Classroom, and the Teacher," includes ten chapters that highlight the importance of language awareness in educational contexts. Some of the chapters provide specific examples of projects and methodological approaches to foster knowledge about language, while others discuss aspects related to the curriculum or the teacher. This section provides a pedagogical focus and will be useful not only for academic researchers but also for practitioners and teacher trainers.

Maria Pilar Safont explores in her chapter "Third Language Acquisition in Multilingual Contexts" the relationships with third language acquisition, which especially in bilingual communities is now the norm rather than the exception. She points out that a thorough multilingual perspective should be adopted in all studies of third language acquisition and that accounting for all learners' languages in the third language classroom should be widely put into practice.

Yolanda Ruiz de Zarobe looks into "Language Awareness and CLIL" where she discusses the diversity and research in "Content and Language Integrated Learning" (CLIL), which is a European approach that uses the foreign language as the medium of instruction, and she demonstrates its benefits to develop language awareness. She points to the necessity for more large-scale studies and the need for integration in CLIL.

Michel Candelier in his chapter on "'Awakening to Languages' and Educational Language Policy" discusses different projects to develop an awakening to languages. The idea is to carry out activities with languages not included in the school curriculum so as to develop positive attitudes and knowledge required for individual development in multilingual and multicultural contexts.

In his chapter on "Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy" Terry Lamb distinguishes between two broad theoretical orientations: one which focuses on learning systems in which learners take decisions about the content and processes of their learning and one which focuses on the cognitive and metacognitive capacities which enable learners to take responsibility for their learning. He argues that future developments in the field must engage with the increasing complexity of the twenty-first century globalized world.

The next two entries by Amy Tsui and Anne-Brit Fenner focus on the classroom but discuss different aspects of knowledge about language.

Amy Tsui ("Classroom Discourse: Approaches and Perspectives") reviews research on the linguistic and nonlinguistic elements involved in classroom interaction, and she highlights the role of the sociocultural context in shaping classroom discourse.

Anne-Brit Fenner ("Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom") argues that cultural awareness is not an addition to the study of a foreign language but an integral part of second language learning. She highlights the need to develop cultural awareness and to learn a second language "through" culture.

Stephen Andrews and Agneta Svalberg ("Teacher Language Awareness") look at teacher development activity that focuses on the interface between what teachers know, or need to know, about language and their pedagogical practice. They review focuses on teachers of language, with particular reference to the subject matter cognitions of L2 teachers.

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter in the chapter "Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education" discuss recent views on multilingual education characterized by using a multilingual focus when teaching and conducting research. The use of pedagogical strategies based on translanguaging faces challenges such as the scope of its use or the difficulty of softening boundaries between languages.

Christine Hélot looks at an applied issue, discussing models of language education that can foster positive attitudes towards multilingualism at primary (elementary) school level in her chapter "Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education". She considers different ways to promote language awareness in general and also explains the Didenheim project, built on a collaborative approach with parents in an effort to move from monolingual attitudes to a situation in which multilingualism is valued.

Ofelia García focuses on "Multilingual Awareness in Teacher Education," and she argues that it should be the core of teacher education programs in today's multilingual schools. She describes the different degrees of multilingual awareness and its central role in education.

The third section, "Language Awareness, Bilingualism, and Multilingualism," includes nine chapters, which take up various sociolinguistic and educational approaches to multilingualism and language awareness.

Colin Baker discusses metalinguistic awareness as related to bilingualism, code switching, interpretation, and language brokering and remarks that there are still important limitations in the field in his chapter "Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism."

Jeroen Darquennes focuses on another angle of language awareness, when he elaborates the theme of "Language Awareness and Minority Languages." In his chapter, he provides an account of ideas and practices aiming at the promotion of minority languages at school through fostering pupils' language awareness.

Durk Gorter and Jasone Cenoz take a snapshot of the field of linguistic landscape, understood as the study of any display of visible written language, but not exclusively, because also multimodal, semiotic, other visual, and even oral elements can be included. The authors relate linguistic landscape to language awareness and to language learning, and they summarize studies conducted in different multilingual contexts.

Ifigenia Mahili and Jo Angouri in their chapter "Language Awareness and Multilingual Workplace" pay special attention to issues around ideology, language practice, and problems to carry out research in workplace settings. They emphasize that professional activity takes place in a cosmopolitan and transient context, which has generated considerable literature about the multilingual, multinational, and intercultural dimensions of the world of work.

Jan ten Thije and Gerda Blees present a succinct overview of the field of studies on "Receptive Multilingualism and Awareness." As they explain, receptive multilingualism is a mode of interaction in which speakers with different linguistic backgrounds use their respective preferred languages while understanding the language of their interlocutor. It can refer to interactions in typologically close as well as distant languages. The chapter argues that successful use in multilingual contexts both requires and contributes to language awareness.

KutlayYagmur ("Multilingualism in Immigrant Communities") explores the complexities of multilingualism in immigrant multilingualism, with a particular focus on societal and educational aspects, in a number of national contexts ranging from Australia to European Union.

In a related chapter "Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness," Awad Ibrahim situates the discussion on immigration, cultural flows, hybridity, and language awareness in this space of tension between a threat to the local and a space for future hope and possibilities.

Ingrid Gogolin and Joana Duarte in their chapter on "Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness" first provide an overview on the historical development of the concept of "super-diversity," with particular reference to the European context. Thereafter, they present current research on linguistic super-diversity and awareness from sociological/anthropological, sociolinguistic, education, and psycholinguistic perspectives.

In the final chapter Barbara Seidlhofer discusses "English as Lingua Franca and Multilingualism" where she explores the relationship between the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and multilingualism as two modes of international communication. She discusses the main areas and objectives of ELF research, highlighting those aspects that are relevant for multilingualism and language awareness and for language education more generally.

All in all, these 29 contributions provide an informative introduction to the complexities and controversies in this developing field of knowledge. The collection as a whole covers a broad spectrum of approaches, from educational to psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic, as well as the study of critical language awareness. The volume adopts an interdisciplinary approach and illuminates the crucial role of language awareness in education.

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Contents

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Jasone Cenoz is Professor of Research Methods in Education at the University of the Basque Country. She is the past President of the *International Association of Multilingualism*. Her research focuses on multilingual education, bilingualism and multilingualism. Her publications include *Teaching through Basque* (2008 as a special issue of Language, Culture and Curriculum), *The Multiple Realities of Multilingualism* (co-edited with Elka Todeva), *Towards Multilingual Education* (2009, Spanish Association of Applied Linguistics 2010 award) and *Focus on Multilingualism in School Contexts* (2011, co-edited with Durk Gorter as a special issue of the Modern Language Journal). She is the coordinator of the European Master in Multilingualism and Education (EMME): www.ehu.eus/en/web/mastermultilingualeducation.

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Durk Gorter is Ikerbasque research professor at the University of the Basque Country, Spain. He is the head of the Donostia Research group on Education And Multilingualism (DREAM). He does research on multilingual education, European minority languages and linguistic landscapes. Among his recent publications are, *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape* (2012, co-edited with Heiko Marten and Luk Van Mensel), *Minority Languages and Multilingual Education: Bridging the Local and the Global* (2014, co-edited with Victoria Zenotz and Jasone Cenoz) and *Multilingual Education: Between language learning and translanguaging* (2015, co-edited with Jasone Cenoz). He also teaches in the European Master in Multilingualism and Education (EMME).

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Stephen May is Professor of Education in Te Puna Wānanga (School of Māori and Indigenous Education) in the Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Auckland, New Zealand. He is an international authority on language rights, language policy, bilingualism and bilingual education, and critical multicultural approaches to education and, to date, has published 15 books and over 90 articles and chapters in these areas. His key books include *The Multilingual Turn* (2014), *Language and Minority Rights* (2nd edition, 2012), and, with Christine Sleeter, *Critical Multiculturalism: Theory and Praxis* (2010). In addition to being Editor-in-Chief of the 3rd edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, he is a Founding Editor of the interdisciplinary journal, *Ethnicities*, and was from 2005 to 2015 Associate Editor of *Language Policy*. He is also a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). His homepage is http://www.education.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/stephen-may.

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Part I

Language Awareness and Theoretical Perspectives

Language Awareness and Multilingualism: A Historical Overview

Claudia Finkbeiner and Joanna White

Abstract

In this encyclopedia entry, language awareness and multilingualism will be reviewed from a historical perspective, and current research trends will be highlighted. There is not a direct relationship between both movements from the beginning; rather there have been parallel (independent) developments. With the world becoming increasingly interconnected, multilingualism and diversity have turned into an everyday experience in various domains of life. While the field of language awareness initially concentrated on English L1 teaching, its scope and principles nowadays are much broader, including a wide variety of languages and contexts, such as L2 and L3 learning; bi-, tri-, and multilingual education; content- and language-integrated learning; and computer-/mobile-assisted learning. An examination of the articles published in the *Language Awareness* journal and the *International Journal of Multilingualism* between 2010 and the beginning of 2015 revealed that both language awareness and multilingualism encompass a wide range of topics and languages. On the whole, however, the primary focus still seems to be on English and language education, with communication in other languages and in the workplace remaining relatively unexplored. Although there are a number of well-designed small-scale studies, larger comparative studies that include and compare different

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settings and languages are needed. Altogether, it appears that the fields of language awareness and multilingualism can be fruitfully combined, with language awareness playing an important role in the development of multilingualism. In that regard, critical awareness of the role of politics is crucial since political decisions influence language use and the official status of languages as well as a person's (multilingual) identity.

Keywords

Attitudes • Borders • CLIL programme • Cognitive abilities • Computer-based langue learning • Cultural awareness • Emotions • Foreign language studies • Forensic linguistics • Garrett, P. • Hawkins, E. • Intercomprehension • Interconnected world • James, C. • Knowledge about language • Language awareness • Language education • Language instruction • Language policy • Multilingualism • Nature of language • Pedagogical activities • Pre-school language acquisition • School curriculum • Teacher language awareness • Teacher training

Contents

Introduction

There is no doubt that language awareness and multilingualism have become important issues in our increasingly interconnected world. When the wall separating East and West Berlin fell in 1989, many people hoped that a new era had begun in which disagreements between East and West would be resolved peacefully. However, conflicts and wars have continued around the globe since then, many of which have arisen from misunderstanding other perspectives. Indeed, sometimes wars of

weapons are supplemented by wars of rhetoric as even the language and drawings in cartoons can lead to disastrous conflicts. For example, the satire printed in *Charlie Hebdo* caused a cultural conflict which ended in a massacre in Paris in 2015. An immediate response was the appearance of the slogan "je suis Charlie," coined as a sign of solidarity with the victims and support for freedom of the press.

Along with geographical borders between nation states, we find mental, cultural, and linguistic borders existing in people's heads and separating them just as weapons do. However, instead of developing into new weapons, languages and cultures have the potential to become vehicles that bring people together and allow new connections to be made. We begin this chapter by defining language awareness and tracing its history over the past 50 years, from a pedagogical initiative in the UK to an international association with its own journal. Next, we provide a survey of the current topics in the *Language Awareness* journal, *The International Journal of Multilingualism*, and in other research. Following this overview, we look at language awareness issues in education and the role that language awareness can play in our interconnected world.

Early Developments

Language Awareness: Definitions and History

"Language awareness" (LA) has been defined as "a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life" (Donmall 1985, in Donmall-Hicks 1997, p. 21). The term initially referred to pedagogical initiatives that had been undertaken in England in response to the report of the Bullock Committee in 1975 and that were primarily related to mother tongue learning. The Bullock report, which investigated the teaching of English as a mother tongue and/or language of instruction, emphasized the importance of knowledge about language (KAL)[1] for the entire school curriculum and recognized the potential benefits that could result from cooperation between mother tongue (English) and modern language teachers who, historically, had operated independently. The *National Congress for Languages in Education* (NCLE), established to facilitate this cooperation, set up the *Language Awareness Working Party* in 1982 to gather theoretical support and to survey teachers to identify schools where language awareness initiatives were already in place. They found seven such schools throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, prepared an annotated bibliography, organized a conference in Leeds, and published a report edited by Donmall (1985).

By the mid-1980s, language awareness had become a *movement* in the UK. At the beginning of the 1990s, James and Garrett (1991) identified five domains of language awareness. In the cognitive domain, LA focused on language patterns. Its main goals were to promote LA in the teaching and learning of all subjects across the school curriculum and to recognize its potential as a subject in its own right that

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[1]KAL is sometimes used as a synonym for language awareness.

could bridge the space between mother tongue and foreign language instruction. Hawkins (1987a, b) hoped that for children aged 11–14, language awareness would facilitate the start of foreign language studies by connecting different aspects of language education (English, modern languages, and minority languages). To achieve this goal, he suggested contrasting the new (foreign) language with languages the students already knew (see also James 1996).

In the affective domain, language awareness focused on attitudes and emotions. LA was seen as a means to promote tolerance and understanding towards the different varieties of English and the many home languages spoken by students in the schools.[2] In the social domain, LA focused on the role of language in effective communication and interaction. In the power domain, LA was intended to alert people to the potential for language to be used as an instrument of manipulation. And in the performance domain, the hope was that increased awareness would have a positive effect on learners' "command of the language" (see James and Garrett 1991, pp. 17–20).[3] Looking back, Donmall-Hicks noted that "... LA was viewed as an enabling field, designed to facilitate people's access to one another through language, to make available the language to talk about language,[4] and to reduce jargon. Its starting point was the removal of barriers, which was to remain its essence" (1997, p. 22). However, bilingual and multilingual perspectives were still largely missing.

The Institutionalization of Language Awareness and Multilingualism

The early 1990s were important for the formal recognition of language awareness in the UK and beyond. In 1992, the British Council, the Goethe-Institut, and the French Embassy held a symposium that led to the launching of a new journal, *Language Awareness*, with an international editorial board of 21 members from 13 different countries. In the first issue that appeared in the same year, each of the five articles discussed aspects of LA in education in a different European context: England and Wales (Hawkins); the Netherlands (van Essen); France (Candelier); Spain (Prieto Pablos); and Ireland (Singleton). However, the board made a "special plea for subsequent issues for relevant work which concerns the rest of life, e.g., pre-school language acquisition, also the world of work and issues in language sensitive professions such as the law and politics. National and international perceptions of language, for example the changing moods in Europe, will be of considerable interest for most readers" (Language Awareness 1992, p. 3). With a journal already in place and 84 founding members, the *Association for Language Awareness* (ALA) was formally established in 1994 at a conference held in Plymouth, UK.

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[2]This perspective has come to be called *critical language awareness.*

[3]These domains are still referred to today. See, for example, Fehling (2008).

[4]The ability to talk about one's knowledge about language (e.g., pronunciation, grammar, lexicon, discourse) is referred to as *metalinguistic awareness.*

The *Association for Language Awareness* Defines Language Awareness

> as explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use. It covers a wide spectrum of fields. For example, language awareness issues include exploring the benefits that can be derived from developing a good knowledge about language, a conscious understanding of how languages work, of how people learn them and use them. (ALA 2012, retrieved September 7th 2016)

In France, a pedagogical initiative known as *éveil aux langues* (awakening to languages) emerged in the 1990s, led by Michel Candelier, one of the founders of the Association for Language Awareness. *Éveil aux langues* (EVLANG) provides opportunities, through a variety of pedagogical activities, for school children to engage with audio and written corpuses in many different languages and to develop "both positive attitudes towards the cultural and linguistic diversity of the world in which they live, and the desire to learn various languages" (EDiLiC 2009, retrieved July 8th 2015). The EVLANG approach, supported by the European Union, was implemented in other European countries and beyond (e.g., ELODIL in Canada). In 2001 the international EDiLiC association was set up by partners of the EVLANG program to disseminate awakening to languages internationally.

The European Commission (2007, in Cenoz 2013, p. 5) defines multilingualism as "the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives." In this definition, multilingualism includes bilingualism. Although the main focus of the journal *Language Awareness* was initially on awareness in first and second language contexts, its mandate was broad enough to include the ability to use three or more languages. Indeed, the first article on the use of more than two languages in the journal appeared in 1993 and discussed LA issues in and out of school in multilingual Belgium (Goethals 1993).

Major Contributions

Issues and Research in Language Awareness and Multilingualism from 2010 to 2015

In this section, we provide an overview of articles that appeared in the *Language Awareness* journal and *The International Journal of Multilingualism* for the period 2010 to the beginning of 2015.

In *Language Awareness* there is a wide spectrum of articles that discuss the role of LA in learning and teaching. To identify the topics more narrowly, we first surveyed the titles and keywords. The following themes emerged: the construct of language awareness, genre teaching, bilingual and trilingual teaching, curriculum, teacher training, teacher language awareness, grammar, vocabulary, literary

awareness, graphonemic treatment, word formation, phonemic awareness, meta-linguistic awareness, language attitudes and motivation, peer feedback, awareness of L1-L2 differences, language diaries and code choice, intercultural awareness, language ideology, self regulated and cooperative learning, and computer-based language learning.

Many of the journal topics are directly related to the biannual conferences of the ALA. Whereas the organizers of the first conferences did not see the need to formulate a specific title for the meeting as the focus was clearly set on broad issues related to language awareness, organizers in recent years have set specific conference themes: "Engaging with Language" in Hong Kong in 2008, "Language, Culture and Literacy" in Kassel in 2010, "Language Awareness for our Multicultural World" in Montreal in 2012, "Language Awareness – Achievements and Challenges" in Hamar, Norway in 2014, and "Languages for Life: Educational, Professional and Social Contexts" in Vienna in 2016. The conference in Vienna is a response to the call for research on the role of language awareness and cultural awareness in the workplace with multilingual communities (Cenoz and Genesee 1998, p. VII) in super diverse cities.

Next we looked at the languages investigated in *Language Awareness* from 2010 to 2015. Even though the LA movement started with a strong focus on English as an L1, current research includes a variety of other languages as well: Irish, Welsh, Spanish, Basque, Catalan, Portuguese, German, Hebrew, French, Greek, Italian, Dutch, Japanese, Mandarin, Chinese, Danish, and Indonesian. It is striking, however, that some topics have been discussed solely with respect to English: teacher language awareness, teacher training, and computer-based language learning. There is clearly a need for publications that report research involving other languages in these fields.

The first issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* was published in 2004. A look at the articles that appeared in this journal from 2010 to 2015 revealed the following themes: phonology, dual and multilanguage systems, bilingualism, trilingualism and multilingualism, linguistic nationalism, language transfer, foreign language learning, identity, the multilingual reader, and metrolingualism (a new term that looks at language as a construct situated in time and space). Other themes play an important role, such as migrant languages, ethnolect/ethnographic studies, self-formation, multilingual literacies, linguistics and ideological conflict, gender, study abroad, prior knowledge, socio-affective factors (e.g., motivation), multiple language acquisition, nexus analysis of language processes, code-switching/language-switching, social inclusion, language policy, transnationalism, Lingua Franca, the role of the teacher in a multilingual classroom, brain processes, and discursive and transglossic practices and change. Even though there is a range of target languages, English is still given the most attention, followed by other widely spoken languages such as French, German, and Spanish.

Work in Progress

Language Awareness and Multilingualism in Schools

The European Union has declared multilingualism an important goal for all member states. The policy aims at protecting language diversity on the one hand and teaching languages on the other. The European Framework of Reference regulates and demands multilingual language competence in Europe. Each European citizen should understand at least two languages other than the mother tongue. When the approach relates to language families, such as the Romance or Germanic languages, it is called intercomprehension (Capucho et al. 2011). Even though multilingualism and intercomprehension have not been fully implemented, a lot of energy and funds have been spent on language learning and mobility in Europe. Intercomprehension so far seems to be more of a grassroots movement with publications on how to implement the approach. Big scale empirical studies on the effects of intercomprehension, such as incidental vocabulary learning, have yet to be conducted.

There is a growing number of projects in Europe with a special focus on developing the language and cultural awareness of elementary school children (see, for example, Helot and Young 2002, 2006, in France and the JALIN project in Switzerland by Perregaux 2005). Krumm's (2001) project with the language silhouette, which aimed at creating awareness among children with respect to their individual multilingual diversity, has been implemented by Martin (2012) and others in several contexts and settings. Beyond Europe, a number of language and cultural awareness projects have been carried out in elementary schools in Canada (e.g., Dagenais et al. 2009).

Teacher Language Awareness

As we have said above, the language awareness movement was initially concerned with first and second language learning and teaching. From this perspective, teacher language awareness is an important prerequisite for teaching language awareness. The question is whether or not teachers who are not language aware themselves can teach or foster students' language awareness (Andrews 2007). Despite this important issue, there still seems to be a research gap, and publications explicitly focusing on teacher language awareness (TLA) are rare in the *Language Awareness* journal as well as in the *International Journal of Multilingualism*. In a number of publications that focus on grammar and the metalinguistic awareness of teachers, Andrews (e.g., 1997, 2003) provides an introduction to the nature of TLA, assesses its impact upon teaching, and its potential impact on learning.

Although there are a number of well-designed small studies on TLA, larger studies that include and compare different settings and languages are needed. One

such study was conducted by Lasagabaster and Huguet (2007), who, together with an international team of scholars, compared language use and language attitudes in multilingual contexts in Europe. The focus was on contexts where a regional language, such as Basque, Catalan, Frisian, and Welsh, played a role. The starting point was the demand of the European Union that European citizens become proficient in at least three European languages: their primary mother tongue and two other European languages. The same research design was used in all of the bilingual contexts, and the data were analyzed using the same techniques. One of the most important findings was that teachers' awareness of linguistic diversity plays an important role in the development of multilingualism.

Another important large-scale study is the one by Bangma et al. (2011). Knowledge about early multilingualism among learners at the beginning of their school career is at the center of interest of this research. The study aimed at describing trilingual primary immersion education in eleven multilingual regions in Europe: Finland, the Basque Country, Fryslân, Catalonia, Aosta Valley, Aran Valley, the Balearic Islands, Carinthia, Luxembourg, North Frisia, and the Valencial Community. The authors defined trilingualism such that all three target languages were to be taught as school subjects as well as used as the medium of instruction. The study, an update of the one by Beetsma (2002), showed that there is great variation in trilingual teaching. In comparison to the earlier study, more attention was given to (meta-)linguistic awareness. Among the challenges that were observed, a major one was the oftentimes low language proficiency of the language teachers in the three languages (Riemersma 2011) and their lack of pedagogical knowledge and skills.

LA has developed into a relevant topic in non-language subjects, as well. This can be seen in the growing number of schools around the world that offer content and language-integrated (CLIL) programs or bilingual programs. In CLIL classrooms, subjects such as history, geography, political sciences, natural sciences, and physical education are taught in the target language. Ideally, awareness is raised of conceptual similarities and differences through comparisons of mother tongue(s), first, second, and third foreign languages (Finkbeiner and Fehling 2006).

Fehling (2008) conducted a comparative longitudinal study in three grammar schools in Hesse, Germany, with students in CLIL contexts. She investigated the development of language awareness in monolingual subject matter classes (such as history) versus bilingual (English-German) CLIL classrooms over 2 years. Her focus was on three domains of language awareness: cognitive, social, and political (James and Garrett 1991). The outcomes showed that bilingual students had better cognitive abilities right from the outset that developed further during the 2 years of the study, which shows the selective character of the CLIL program. Furthermore, after 2 years students in the bilingual classes had developed more interest in the subject and more self-confidence regarding their English-speaking skills. The cognitive abilities of the monolingual students in comparison showed no significant development.

Another factor that comes into play when we are looking at TLA is cross-cultural attitudes. In this regard, an international transatlantic 2-year-long study (TRANSABCS; Finkbeiner and Lazar 2015) was implemented at 12 colleges and

universities across the USA and Europe. It aimed at developing language awareness and cultural awareness among teacher candidates and business majors through the use of autobiographies, biographies, and cross-cultural analyses (ABCs) (Schmidt and Finkbeiner 2006). An important finding is that the ABCs made the most significant impact on the group that was the least open to cultural heterogeneity at the beginning of the intervention (Finkbeiner 2015).

Language Awareness and Multilingualism in the Workplace

To date, studies on language awareness and multilingualism in the workplace are still needed, as are those investigating language awareness in relationships such as between doctor–patient, customer–client, or employer–employee. This research is important, particularly in diversified workplaces where differing underlying concepts and opposing interpretations might lead to misunderstanding and failure in work processes. In air navigation and medicine, for example, misunderstandings could contribute to the escalation of events and even be life-threatening. Also, attitudes toward dialects and language choices, as well as attitudes toward code-switching, can play a decisive role in whether or not a job applicant is successful. In the context of the migration hat has hit Europe since 2015 language awareness as well as awareness for the legal issues of language use as dealt with in forensic linguistics play an important role for the integration of refugees in the workplace. Language awareness and multilingualism in the workplace are crucial factors in super diverse communities and cannot be ignored. Research in this area would fill a gap in the literature.

Issues and Difficulties

The Role of Language Awareness in Our Interconnected World

Critical literacy (Fairclough 1992) has become an important democratic value in a world that has developed into an interconnected network shared by many. This requires awareness that democratic structures only exist on the surface layer as social networks are dictated by the few who own them.

New technologies have an effect on students' daily behavior, as well as their language learning, and critical language awareness becomes more and more important with respect to media use. This is why a special issue of the *Language Awareness* journal was dedicated to this topic in 2007 (Palfreyman 2007). Today not only computers can be used to create meaningful learning environments (computer-assisted language learning, CALL), but also mobiles (mobile-assisted language learning, MALL) and wearable technologies such as smart watches and smart wristbands. This is a new opportunity as there is easy access: more and more young people carry mobiles and/or wearable technologies. In a language-aware CALL or MALL learning environment, students need to learn about the pluses

and minuses of social networks. They should also become aware of language change in and through the media with respect to the oral and written mode as well as emoticons and discourse style. They need to relearn the distinction between public vs. private, official vs. nonofficial discourse, learn to deal with cyberbullying and apply proper netiquette. Furthermore, gender issues play a role in online communication. As Deutsch (2007, p. 116) has pointed out, "gender is 'always lurking' in interactions." If this is true, conventions that differ for male, female and other interaction, for example will be observed in online communication (style, length, politeness, use of emoticons, etc.).

The use of media thus requires new competencies. It is not only the critical use of language that students have to learn but also the critical use of the media.

Language Regulation and Educational as well as Individual Needs

Although there are around 5,000–7,000 languages worldwide[5], a few languages predominate in the interconnected world described above. According to the Ethnologue, 40% of the world's population are speakers of the eight most common languages, namely Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic, and Russian (Gordon 2005 in Cenoz 2009, p. 1). Around 6.1% of all people speak minority languages, such as Frisian, Basque, Welsh, Irish, and Catalan in Europe.

In diversifying multilingual communities (Cenoz and Genesee 1998), language choices often are political decisions. There are different ways in which languages are protected and/or promoted. A language protective situation is given in Switzerland: here the languages Swiss, German, French, and Italian are protected by declaring an official national multilingual status. This is the same with Canada, where English and French function as two official languages. The province of New Brunswick is officially bilingual, and in the province of Quebec, French is the official language.

Language policy has always been seen as the vehicle of nation building, and political changes usually bring language changes. For example, in postwar Germany the languages of the allies were taught: English and French in the West Zone and Russian in the East Zone. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, language policy changed from the top down, and this has enabled the learning of "Western" languages. As a consequence, most learners in the former East Zone have opted for English. In Hungary, Dörnyei (2001) investigated the foreign language motivation and preference of 4,765 primary school children after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Half of all children learned Russian, the other half learned German or English. Independently of regions and languages taught, the majority of all children preferred English once they had freedom of choice.

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[5]The difference between a language and a dialect is often difficult to define.

Pliska ([2015](#)) carried out an empirical study in eleven schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina with 515 eighth-grade elementary school pupils. Whereas the pupils were positive about learning foreign languages, English in particular, their attitudes towards the official languages of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian) were dependent on whether they accepted the respective language variation as a mother tongue and could identify themselves with it. Their own individual variation (Serbian, Bosnian, or Croatian) allowed strong group identification and was valued as positive, whereas the other two variations were perceived as negative. Furthermore, most pupils defined Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian as three different languages.

Examples like these show the impact of language policies on language teaching and learning. Language instruction is subject to change – not because of learners' needs but mainly for political and/or economic or dialect reasons.

The Role of the Association for Language Awareness Today: Voices from Around the World

The issues that prompted the founding of the *Association for Language Awareness* (ALA) were UK based, and many of the original members were in the UK. While ALA was mainly concerned with defining itself in the 1990s, ALA now sees itself as a way of bringing scholars and practitioners together. This will likely be the way ahead in the future as the profile of the members becomes more varied and less Europe centered, and their concerns relate to a wider variety of contexts. While English is still the predominant language being investigated, members from countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, North and South America, and Europe present their research on a variety of languages at the biannual ALA conferences. In a recent unpublished survey, ALA members identified the following topics as important to investigate: multilingual language users; intercultural communication; issues related to minority languages; and integration of the curricula of different languages. As well, there is a growing interest in the potential impact of language awareness on the workplace and in the role that critical language awareness can play in challenging stereotypes and negative language attitudes of the general public, politicians, and educators.

Conclusions and Future Directions

We can conclude that because of the increase in multilingualism in schools and in the workplace, LA has a major role to play. However, the growth of multilingualism is paralleled by the dominance of "monolingualism" in academic publications (e.g., Carli and Ammon [2007](#)). According to Guardiano et al. ([2007](#)), only 20% of all articles published in English in a global context are written by nonnative speakers. According to the philosopher's index, the share of English in selected journals of the social sciences and humanities was 82.5% in 1995, followed by French with 5.9%, German with 4.1%, Spanish with 2.2%, and other languages with 5.3%. The same is

true for English as the most important abstract language. Another database study was conducted in the Philosopher's Index 20 years later in 2015 with the two main constructs of this chapter as search terms: language awareness and multilingualism. The hypothesis was that a search with constructs that focus on the role of language awareness and multilingualism would increase the likelihood of finding multilingual contributions. The Philosopher's Index yielded 14,419 hits for the *construct language awareness* in total, out of which 13,372 hits (93%) were in English, 387 (2.7%) in German, 168 (1.2%) in French, 75 (0.5%) in Portuguese, 67 (0.46%) in Italian, and 61 (0.42%) in Spanish/Castilian. For the construct "multilingualism" the index yielded 4,822 hits in total, out of which 4,173 (85%) were in English, 247 (5%) in German, 247 (5%) in French, 57 (1.2%) in Italian, 42 (0.9%) in Spanish, and 28 (0.6%) in Esperanto. This underlines the fact that the predominance of English as the publication language in the humanities has increased even more over the last 20 years.

According to Hamel (2007), the predominance of English in the natural sciences at the end of the twentieth century is even more striking. The fact that the current debate about multilingualism and language awareness is primarily conducted from an English monolingual perspective can be seen as counterproductive. This leads to an imbalance with respect to scholars' voices around the world. As the phenomenon of "the Anglophone's free ride" (van Parijs 2007) is still acute today, we can conclude that research results and discussions have to be published in English to be noticed. This also applies to scholars publishing in the field of language awareness and multilingualism. According to van Parijs, this is not just a language issue, but a market value and economic advantage issue as well. One suggestion is that academic multilingualism should be fostered in language-sensitive disciplines: "The larger aim would be to create a multilingual comfort zone, where scholars could communicate in the language of their choice, e.g., at conferences and in publications" (Schluer 2014, p. 10). This links back to the concept of intercomprehension.

The language awareness and multilingualism movements first developed separately and consecutively. In the meanwhile, they have become important reciprocally relevant interdisciplinary research constructs: language awareness studies cannot ignore multilingualism as a factor nor can multilingualism studies ignore language awareness. Therefore, both movements have become crucial assets for the further development of the field.

Cross-References

► Attention and Awareness
► Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism

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Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends

Ulrike Jessner

Abstract

Interest in language awareness or knowledge about language has grown over the last 20 years, mainly stimulated by the language awareness movement in the UK. A literature survey reveals considerable discrepancies in definition and terminology (language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, linguistic awareness, etc.), and the reasons seem to be linked to the vast theoretical scope of the field with studies stemming from linguistics, developmental psychology, and education. The growing interest in multilingualism has given rise to a wave of research emphasis on the role of language awareness in multilingual learning and education.

In the following sections, the various strands of research, from their beginnings to their current works, and problems in the field – with regard to terminological confusion and various dichotomies in relation to the consciousness debate – will be discussed. In the final section, challenges for future studies on language awareness in multilingualism will be presented.

Keywords

Multilingualism • Language awareness • Metalinguistic awareness • Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) • Linguistic awareness • Third language acquisition • Multilingual awareness

Contents

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Introduction

Interest in language awareness or knowledge about language has grown over the last 20 years, mainly stimulated by the language awareness movement in the UK. A literature survey reveals considerable discrepancies in definition and terminology (language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, linguistic awareness, etc.), and the reasons seem to be linked to the vast theoretical scope of the field with studies stemming from linguistics, developmental psychology, and education (Pinto et al. 1999). Over the last 15 years, the growing interest in multilingualism has given rise to a wave of research emphasis on the role of language awareness in multilingual learning and education.

In the following sections, I try to bring together the various strands of research, from their beginnings to their current works. Problems in the field will be discussed with regard to terminological confusion and various dichotomies in relation to the consciousness debate. In the final section, I discuss a number of issues that present a challenge for future studies on multilingualism covering first-, second-, and third-language learning and use. The main focus of this contribution is on studies of the contact between two or more languages.

Early Developments

In his review article, Van Essen (1997) goes back to the works by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) to mark the beginnings of the early history of language awareness studies. Jespersen (1860–1943) followed as another prominent scholar dealing with foreign language teaching. Like Humboldt he assumed that conscious reflection on language form and use would be beneficial for the language-learning process. Apart from Leopold's famous study of the German-English development of his daughter Hildegard (1939–1949), for a long time most studies of language awareness focused on the onset of metalinguistic awareness in monolingual children and formed part of cognitive psychology.

That emergent metalinguistic abilities form the reflection of underlying changes in cognitive abilities were already pointed out by Piaget and Vygotsky who stated out that "... a child's understanding of his native language is enhanced by learning a foreign"

(Vygotsky 1986, p. 160). Interestingly enough, the publication of Vygotsky's book *Language and Thought* in English in 1962 (1934 in Russian) coincided with the publication of the meanwhile classical study by Peal and Lambert. Their work introduced a rather enthusiastic attitude toward bilingualism, following a detrimental phase which described the bilingual as cognitively handicapped (!) and a neutral phase where no differences between monolinguals and bilinguals were reported (for a historical overview, see Baker 2011, pp. 140–146). Although the study of Peal and Lambert has been subject to criticism, it evidenced the positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence for the first time. The authors related the cognitive advantages of 10-year-old middle-class bilingual children over their English-speaking counterparts, on both verbal and nonverbal measures in the Montreal area to the metalinguistic abilities of their subjects. Since then various studies conducted in other sociolinguistic contexts, such as Ianco-Worrall (1972) on African-English bilinguals and Ben-Zeev (1977) on Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel, followed and proved the superiority of the bilingual groups on measures of cognitive flexibility and analytic thought. Mohanty (1994) summarized several investigations carried out between 1978 and 1987 in an Indian context which showed that bilingual Kond tribal children proficient in Kui and Oriya performed significantly better than unilinguals (Kui) on a variety of metalinguistic tasks. Hamers and Blanc (1989, p. 50) published a list of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, including a variety of metalinguistic tasks which all function at the higher level of creativity and reorganization of information. Translation, a natural characteristic of bi- and multilingualism for many, which was described as a "composite of communicative and metalinguistic skills – skills that are 'translinguistic', in the sense that they are not particular to any one language" by Malakoff and Hakuta (1991, p. 142), also has to be included in a comprehensive listing.

Major Contributions

As noted in the introduction, in a survey of research on metalinguistic awareness, one has to take account of several approaches linked to the theoretical background which the research is embedded in. We can find work rooted in (i) linguistics, (ii) developmental psychology, and (iii) educational linguistics (Pinto et al. 1999). However, frequently research interests have also been of an interdisciplinary nature.

Over the last years, the "language awareness" has intensified due to a number of research activities from different theoretical backgrounds, many of which have been published in *Language Awareness*, the official journal of the Association of Language Awareness. The aims of the journal have been described as exploring the role of explicit knowledge about language in the process of language learning, in language teaching, and in language use (e.g., sensitivity to bias in language, manipulative aspects of language, critical language awareness, and literary use of language).

Linguistics

Both the creation of the adjective "metalinguistic" and its noun form "metalanguage" is rooted in linguistics. But in contrast to a psychological perspective which describes things from the point of view of the human subject by concentrating on processes, abilities, and behavior, a linguist is interested in metalanguage only in terms of words, referring exclusively to other words and classes of meaning such as in linguistic terminology.

Developmental Psychology

Metalinguistic abilities, which expand along with the cognitive and linguistic development of children, can be observed in children as young as 2 years of age when they are capable of self-corrections of word form, syntax, and pronunciation; show concern about the proper word choice, pronunciation, and style; and comment on the language of others (for an overview, see Birdsong 1989). Gombert (1992, p. 13) described metalinguistic activities as "a subfield of metacognition concerned with language and its use – in other words comprising: (i) activities of reflection on language and its use and (ii) subjects' ability to intentionally monitor and plan their own methods of linguistic processing (in both comprehension and production)." Karmiloff-Smith's RR model (1992) can be seen as one of the most influential contributions to the field. Representational redescription is defined as "a process by which implicit information in the mind subsequently becomes explicit knowledge to the mind, first within a domain, and sometimes even across domains" (Karmiloff-Smith 1992, p. 17f). The RR model attempts to account for the emergence of conscious access to knowledge and for children's theory building. This involves a cyclical process by which information already present in the organism's independently functioning, special-purpose representations is made progressively available, via redescriptive processes, to other parts of the cognitive system. Particular attention to the development of metalinguistic abilities in children, adolescents, and adults was paid to by Pinto et al. (e.g., Pinto et al. 1999) who developed one of the most comprehensive testing batteries of metalinguistic abilities.

Differential development of metalinguistic awareness can be related to numerous variables, one of which has been identified as the exposure to other languages. Recent work on the development of bilingual thinking has focused on the process rather than the product of thinking as known from earlier work. Since the early 1990s research of metalinguistic awareness in bilingual children has been influenced by Bialystok's work (for an overview, see, e.g., 2011). This research has recently been extended to investigations of adult processing which found that lifelong bilingualism protects older adults from cognitive decline with growing age (Bialystok et al. 2004). In a number of her earlier studies, Bialystok focuses on analysis and control as the metalinguistic dimensions of bilingual proficiency, thereby showing accelerated mastery of specific processes for bilingual children. Analysis of control is the process by which mental representations of information become increasingly

structured, and through the process of analysis, contextually embedded representations of words and meanings evolve into more abstract structures. Analyzed knowledge is structured and accessible across contexts; unanalyzed knowledge exists only to the extent that it is part of familiar routines or procedures. Bialystok (2011) concludes that there are no universal advantages, but that bilinguals who have attained high levels of proficiency in both languages have an advantage on tasks which require more analyzed linguistic knowledge (see also Mohanty 1994).

Educational Linguistics

By taking into account the British model, in a number of European countries, educationalists have focused on awareness raising in the classroom. Several terms in education-oriented SLA studies dealing with consciousness raising, input enhancement, and focus on form have been used to refer to similar concepts which all imply the use of metalanguage and the facilitation of learning through an attention to form. Swain's output hypothesis (1995) which is based on metalinguistic skills developed in language learning has exerted considerable influence in the field. According to Swain output can, under certain conditions, promote language development since language learners become aware of their linguistic deficits during language production in the L2. The language output serves three functions that are noticing, hypothesis formulation and testing and the metalinguistic function, enabling the learner to control and internalize linguistic knowledge or, in other words, when learners reflect on the language they produce, learning would result.

Finally, it has to be emphasized that the theoretical background of the studies has also been reflected in the methodology chosen for investigation. For instance, in second-language acquisition research, grammaticality judgment tests to elicit metalinguistic data have been widely acknowledged as predictors of success or failure in the language-learning process and to judge interlinguistic competence (Birdsong 1989). The differences in scientific backgrounds have also resulted in controversial attitudes toward testing methods. For example, whereas applied linguists accept intro- and retrospective methods to test metalinguistic awareness, (psycho)linguists would rather call them speculative.

Work in Progress

In the study of language awareness, the distinction between implicit and explicit learning and/or knowledge is fundamental but presents at the same time a rather controversial issue related to the consciousness debate (see also section on problems later). Whereas knowledge refers to a product, that is, knowledge existing in the mind of a learner, learning refers to a process of how other language knowledge is internalized. Whereas Krashen (1982) opposed to the interface between implicit and explicit knowledge, in his weak-interface model R. Ellis (1994) claimed that explicit L2 knowledge functions as a facilitator of implicit L2 knowledge. And nowadays

pedagogical research of language awareness focuses on the contribution that formal instruction can make to language learning and, if so, how implicit learning can be made explicit and vice versa.

In recent years, the study of language awareness has also been intensified in research on third-language acquisition and trilingualism which have concentrated on the detection and identification of differences and similarities between second- and third-language learning. One major interest has concerned the effects of bi- and multilingualism and/or the qualitative changes in language learning. Additive or catalytic effects in language learning have been linked to enhanced metalinguistic awareness in multilinguals as one of the key variables contributing to the advantages of bilinguals over monolingual learners.

According to holistic approaches to the study of multilingualism, the bi- or multilingual speaker is not two or more monolinguals in one person. Cook (2002), who bases his ideas on multicompetence on Grosjean's bilingual view of bilingualism (2001), describes the L2 user, the term that he prefers to bilingual, as having a different perspective of her/his L1 and L2, a different kind of language awareness and a different cognitive system. In consequence, the bi- or multilingual's communicative competence is not comparable to a monolingual's and is constantly changing as pointed out by Herdina and Jessner (2002) in their dynamic model of multilingualism (DMM). According to the dynamic systems-theoretic or complexity approach, the concept of multilingual proficiency is defined as a cumulative measure of psycholinguistic systems in contact (LS_1, LS_2, LS_3, etc.), their crosslinguistic interaction, and the influence that the development of a multilingual system shows on the learner and the learning process. These effects of multilingualism, which the authors refer to as M(ultilingualism) factor, contain an enhanced level of metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness, language management, and language maintenance. Hence, the learner develops skills and qualities that cannot be found in an inexperienced learner, and this change of quality is related to the catalytic effects in third-language learning. Multilingual awareness is defined as an emergent property of the multilingual system. Crosslinguistic interaction as defined in DMM is intended to cover linguistic and cognitive transfer phenomena with non-predictable dynamic effects of a synergetic and interferential nature which determine the development of the multilingual system.

Since DMM is a theoretical model, researchers have started to explore its validity, in particular, the effects of the M factor, by applying it to particular multilingual contexts (e.g., Bono and Stratilaki 2009). In her book on linguistic awareness in multilinguals, Jessner (2006) focuses on crosslinguistic interaction in third-language learners of English with the aim to contribute to our understanding of the emergent properties of multilingual systems. She suggests that the construct of metalinguistic awareness, which most commonly refers to grammatical knowledge, has to be widened to meet the requirements of research on multilingual learning and use. In her introspective study on lexical search in third-language production, Jessner found that crosslinguistic awareness and metalinguistic awareness, tested in the form of explicit metalanguage, exerted influence on the activation of the individual languages in the multilingual mental lexicon. In recent studies carried out at the

University of Innsbruck, the multilingual learner has indeed turned out to be a specific language learner, with a significant advantage in the development of her metalinguistic skills (Jessner 2014).

New approaches to multilingual education describe how to raise the pupils' awareness of other languages in the classroom (Candelier 2003), how to teach related languages, how to teach learning strategies, and how to make use of prior linguistic knowledge in the classroom. In a number of projects, the concept of multicompetence as defined by Cook (see earlier) has been applied – although quite often without drawing on the concept or without even being aware of its existence – to multilingual learning contexts. These new approaches, which take into account the cognitive differences between mono- and bilingual thinking, treat the L2 or L3 student as a learner who has developed different perspectives of both L1 and L2 and whose prior language knowledge should be integrated into the language-learning process (for a more detailed discussion, see Jessner 2014). In his discussion of a crosslinguistic approach to language awareness, James (1996) suggested including the metalinguistic dimension in classroom-based contrastive analysis. The experienced learner is more aware of structural similarities and differences between languages and able not only to expand her or his repertoire of language-learning strategies but also to weigh the strategies.

The number of language-learning strategies available to a learner turned out to depend on prior linguistic experience and the proficiency levels in the individual languages, and today there is no doubt about the usefulness of learning strategy training in order to make students aware of how to learn a language during language apprenticeship (Hawkins 1999). The EuroCom (European Comprehension) project (www.eurocom-frankfurt.de), for instance, aims to provide European citizens with a solid linguistic basis for understanding each other, at least within their own language family. Optimal inferencing techniques have been developed in typologically related languages to help develop at least receptive skills in the new language. Other projects have advocated a cognitive approach to language teaching, that is, creating synergy in language learning by learning and teaching beyond language borders (e.g., Hufeisen and Neuner 2003). The development shows that alongside with the recognition of a multilingual world, both on the individual and the social level, conceptualizations of modern language teaching and language education have also changed from compartmentalized to more fluid (see Cenoz 2009; Otwinoska and De Angelis 2014).

Problems and Difficulties

As already mentioned at the beginning of this entry, one of the main problems that scholars who start working in the field of language awareness have to become acquainted with is the sometimes confusing terminology, related to the various theoretical and linguistic backgrounds of the studies. In the following the main terminological and conceptual differences resulting in a number of dichotomies and competing terms will be discussed.

According to Pinto et al. (1999, p. 35), the terminological and conceptual variation is based on:

(a) Different scientific backgrounds or conceptual orientations to explore metalinguistic consciousness and awareness.
(b) Different signifiers such as metalinguistic awareness, language awareness, declarative knowledge of the rules of a language, metalinguistic ability, etc. which refer to the same ability.
(c) Different signifiers which refer to different concepts, that is, metalinguistic ability refers to a specific ability; metalinguistic task refers to a specific task or test.

James (1999) referred to four competing terms, that is, language awareness, linguistic awareness, metalinguistic awareness, and knowledge about language. He concluded from a comparison between language awareness and the other terms that language awareness is broadly constituted of a mix of knowledge of language in general and, in specific, command of metalanguage (standard or ad hoc) and the conversion of intuitions to insight and then beyond to metacognition. According to James (1999, p. 102), there are two versions of language awareness, that is, consciousness raising and language awareness proper:

> The first kind, LA [language awareness] as cognition, works from the outside in, so to speak: one first learns about language or something about a language that one did not know before. You can stop here, in which case you have done some linguistics. Or you can go on and turn this 'objective' knowledge towards your own language proficiency, making comparisons and adjustments. This is to personalise the objective knowledge gained. The second variant, LA as metacognition, works in the opposite direction: one starts with one's own intuitions and through reflection relates these to what one knows about language as an object outside of oneself.

Jessner (2006) stated that the study of metalinguistic awareness in bi- and multilinguals has shown that the two types of awareness present overlapping concepts, lately referred to as multilingual awareness.

Different terminology is also linked to languages. Whereas in Italian there are two interchangeable terms *consapevolezza* and *coscienza*, in English "awareness" and "consciousness." although clearly rooted in metacognition, are not regarded as synonyms. In French *conscience* and *prise de conscience* are used to mark notions of a process, whereas in German *Sprachbewusstsein* is the term most commonly used, and a terminological distinction between awareness and consciousness is not possible. As a consequence, translations of the individual terms into English have also led to confusion.

This confusion is also linked to the long-lasting interdisciplinary consciousness debate. Nowadays, Schmidt's (1994) distinction between four rather different senses of consciousness in language-learning studies is one of the main points of reference. He refers to:

(a) Consciousness as intentionality (the intentional/incidental learning context)
(b) Consciousness as attention (focal attention and noticing versus peripheral attention)

(c) Consciousness as control (controlled versus automatic processing, automaticity, explicit/implicit memory)
(d) Consciousness as awareness (contrasts between explicit/implicit learning and knowledge)

At the same time, he warns against the use of "conscious" and "unconscious" as umbrella terms.

Future Directions

Since the study of language awareness is rooted in a variety of theoretical backgrounds, the number of steps toward a better understanding between the individual research trends is certainly high. To reach a definition of language awareness which could be acknowledged by all linguistic disciplines might present an unrealistic albeit wishful endeavor.

In future research of language awareness, to focus on the boundaries between consciousness/awareness and explicit/implicit learning and/or knowledge would seem to lead to fruitful contributions. This discussion might result in redefinitions or new approaches following a discussion of the usefulness of such categorizations in hitherto neglected language-learning scenarios.

The definition of the role that language awareness plays in multilingual learning and use certainly presents a challenge to research on language learning in general and to common theoretical paradigms in particular. Multilingualism has been defined as an umbrella term to include first-, second-, and third-language-learning processes and products and would accordingly provide the adequate framework for a synthesis of interdisciplinary studies on language awareness. New methodological approaches to the study of language awareness are needed.

At the same time, scholars are struggling with the understanding of the cognitive consequences of bilingualism for language processing and cognition (Kroll and Bialystok 2013). Although it is clear that bilingualism changes the way of how cognitive and linguistic processing are carried out for bilinguals, it is not bilingualism per se that creates the advantages or disadvantages but rather that the mental resources are recruited differently by bilinguals.

The executive control system, which is based on a network of processes in the frontal cortex, seems to play a crucial role in the discussion.

The concept of language aptitude has also been discussed in its relation to metalinguistic awareness (Jessner 2006, 2014). Recently this topic has received attention from Singleton and Munoz (2011). In the same research context, better insights into learning artificial languages might also prove fruitful.

Apart from the effects that the use and learning of two or more languages have shown on the cognitive system, certain social skills such as communicative sensitivity and metapragmatic skills which also seem to develop to a higher degree in the multilingual system (Safont-Jordà 2013) also deserve further attention in the study of

language awareness. More suggestions for new designs in language teaching which focus on the essential part of metalinguistic knowledge in language learning are certainly welcome.

Cross-References

▶ Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism
▶ Third Language Acquisition in Multilingual Contexts
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

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Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula

Josep M. Cots

Abstract

This chapter discusses the notion of "knowledge about language" (KAL) as a fundamental issue in the design and implementation of pedagogic action in language teaching. After reviewing the origin of the notion in the development of language education policies in England during the last quarter of the twentieth century, it considers two main strands in the study of KAL: educational and psycholinguistic. The educational strand aims to improve the teaching of first, second, and foreign languages. The psycholinguistic strand tends to be associated with the field of second-language acquisition, and it places greater emphasis on the learning rather than the teaching process. Work in progress connected with KAL presents a dominance of studies carried out in situations of formal second/foreign language teaching and a balanced focus between structural and social/cultural aspects of language. From a methodological perspective, the study on KAL relies on the application of testing tools with a quantitative orientation, followed by classroom observation and interviewing. Some of the main difficulties connected with the role of KAL in language pedagogy are connected with its integration within a communication-oriented approach and the degree of explicit metalinguistic knowledge involved. Future directions in the study of KAL include detailed analyses of how learners engage with language in particular situations, a continuation of the interest in the role of KAL in language teacher training, and the development of the learners' capacity to reflect upon language and culture as an essential aspect of critical pedagogies aiming at multilingual and intercultural education.

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Contents

Introduction

The term "knowledge about language" (KAL, henceforth) is often used to refer to explicit knowledge in the form of pedagogic contents and more or less sophisticated metalanguage, which is aimed at bringing to the conscious attention of the learners particular aspects of how language functions as a system and is used in society (James 1999). KAL has been considered as an important tool not only for language learners but also in the training of language teachers to assist their understanding of language structure and function and as a tool for teaching language skills. With different connotations, perspectives, and emphases, it has been an issue of interest in both mother tongue and foreign language education under several labels: language awareness, metalinguistic knowledge, consciousness raising, focus on form, and explicit knowledge. Therefore, in this chapter I adopt an inclusive view of KAL, which considers it as a supra-label for work on language education that can be characterized with any of the key terms mentioned.

The role of KAL in language education has been and still is at issue (see, for instance, Shintani and Ellis 2015). On the one hand, it has had to confront teaching traditions, like English mother tongue teaching, which placed a great deal of emphasis on literature, aesthetic appreciation, and creativity at the expense of systematic language analysis (Mitchell and Brumfit 2001). On the other hand, KAL has also been the object of debate in the field of second/foreign language teaching, with researchers and educators struggling to clarify its role somewhere between conscious and unconscious language learning (Schmidt 1995). KAL, as defined in this article, must not be simply associated with a static body of knowledge consisting of "watered-down linguistics" (Hawkins 1984, p. 6). Rather, the introduction of KAL in the language classroom involves a particular view of the role of education for the individual and for society as well as particular sets of classroom materials and teaching techniques (e.g., Janks et al. 2014).

Early Developments

The history of the term "KAL" goes back to the Kingman Report, a document presented in 1988 and resulting from an enquiry by a committee set up by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in the UK to make recommendations about the teaching of English (James 1999). Chapter 2 of this report is entitled "The Importance of Knowledge About Language," and Chapter 3 "The model" introduces a model of language including the following aspects of English as requiring attention: the forms of the English language, communication and comprehension, acquisition and development, and historical and geographical variation (Carter 1990).

The events that led to the Kingman Report are described by James (1999). The first calls for reform are dated back to the 1960s, and they were responded to by the then recently established Schools Council with the funding of a research program, directed by Michael Halliday, to connect the work being done in linguistics with English language teaching. The National Council for Language in Education (NCLE) was set up in 1976, including a series of "language awareness" working parties. The Kingman Report of 1988 and the Cox Report of 1989 seem to have made a convincing case for the importance of learning about language in the mother tongue curriculum, resulting in the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project. This was funded by the Department of Education and Science to (i) produce materials and (ii) support the implementation of the recommendations outlined in the Kingman and Cox Reports in connection with the introduction of KAL in the English classroom (Carter 1990).

The area of foreign languages was also affected by the discussions that were taking place in connection with the role of KAL in mother tongue teaching. Hawkins (1984) suggested that the introduction of "awareness of language" as a new subject in the school curriculum would (i) provide teachers and pupils with the necessary conceptual framework to explore and discuss language issues, integrating English, foreign, and ethnic minority languages, (ii) offer a forum for appreciating linguistic diversity and confronting language prejudices, and (iii) give pupils confidence in analyzing and contrasting formal patterns in language, thereby enhancing their foreign language learning aptitude.

The development of KAL (or language awareness) outside the UK can be seen as the result of the predominance of a teaching ideology equating language knowledge mostly with morpho-syntactic knowledge and which, in spite of the advent of the communicative approaches, has survived till the present. The work of Roulet (1980) in Switzerland in the late 1970s and early 1980s is an example of the development of KAL outside the UK, and it mainly involved the development of a model to integrate and make more efficient the teaching and learning of mother tongue and foreign languages through a better understanding of language diversity and the functioning of language. Roulet's work was a direct source of inspiration for the mainly francophone approach known as *Éveil aux Langues* (awakening to languages) elaborated by Candelier (2003).

Major Contributions

In dealing with the major contributions to the work inspired by the notion of KAL, it may be possible, at the risk of over-simplifying the panorama, to distinguish between two strands with different emphases: educational and psycholinguistic. The educational strand can be considered as the direct inheritor of the grassroots teacher movement that began in the UK in the late 1970s, and its main objective can be defined as pedagogic improvement in the teaching of mother tongue, second, and foreign languages. Hawkins (1984) is generally considered to be the initiator of this first strand, and in the 1990s, he found several adherents in different publications such as Carter (1990), James and Garrett (1992), and Van Lier (1996). Within this educational strand, it is possible to distinguish a sub-strand that corresponds to the British movement known as critical language awareness (CLA henceforth). This strand represents an attempt to combine an understanding of the functioning of language as a system with the development of an awareness of the ideological bases underlying language use, and it is represented by the work of authors such as Fairclough (1992), Wallace (2005), and Janks et al. (2014).

The second strand of contributions to KAL, although still centered on language pedagogy, is more closely associated with the field known as second-language acquisition (SLA), and it has a clear psycholinguistic orientation, focusing on the learning rather than the teaching process. Doughty and Williams (1998) and Ellis et al. (2009) are among the authors or works that qualify for inclusion in this second strand. In the remaining part of this section, I will deal separately at greater length with each of the two strands of KAL.

From the point of view of the "educational strand" of KAL, in his introduction to the volume entitled *Knowledge about Language*, including supplementary articles to the material developed as part of the LINC project, Carter (1990, pp. 4–5) defines six main methodological principles for KAL work in primary and secondary schools: (i) no return to formalist, decontextualized, sentence-level analysis; (ii) building upon learners' existing abilities and resources; (iii) a dialectical relationship between learning how to use a language and learning about it; (iv) empowering pupils to uncover ideologies behind language use; (v) a gradual introduction of metalanguage in accordance with pupils' needs; and (vi) an experiential, exploratory approach to language.

As for a rationale for KAL, James and Garrett (1992) propose five possible "language awareness domains" that summarize the five main directions in which KAL work can be justified and in terms of which its effectiveness can be evaluated: (i) affective (forming attitudes and developing motivation and curiosity), (ii) social (fostering social harmony in multilingual/multicultural contexts), (iii) power (emancipating the individual from oppression and manipulation through language use), (iv) cognitive (developing linguistic as well as general intellectual aptitudes, especially in relation to language learning and use), and (v) performance (effectively improving language proficiency).

For van Lier (1998), KAL work can be seen as involving different levels of awareness, with different degrees of social interactivity and language development,

from a state of being awake (level 1) to a capacity to analyze language use as part of particular social, ideological practices (level 4), through capacities such as focusing attention on and noticing certain objects (level 2), controlling, manipulating and exercising creativity with language (level 3a), and engaging in formal analysis by applying metalinguistic knowledge (level 3b).

The analysis of the role of KAL in the classroom can be inspired in case studies such as those reported in work by Andrews (1999) and Mitchell and Brumfit (2001). The first author shows the extent to which L2 teachers' metalinguistic knowledge and their beliefs about its pedagogic role can affect their general approach to teaching. Mitchell and Brumfit (2001) point to the lack of consistency that pupils in the UK may experience in connection with KAL work in the mother tongue and in the foreign language classroom, from an emphasis on texts (mainly literary), creativity, and subjective appreciation to a focus on sentence-level, morpho-syntactic, and lexical analysis.

The main contribution of the CLA movement, which I consider as a sub-strand of the educational strand, in the definition of the role of KAL in the language curriculum is presented by Ivanič (1990): a thorough treatment of language in the classroom must go beyond the level of pattern (accuracy) and purposeful process (appropriacy); it needs to incorporate a third layer of analysis, social context, in which language and its uses are seen as (i) shaped by and capable of shaping social forces and (ii) as an element for constructing and sustaining social identity. The goal of CLA could be defined as contributing to the education of critical citizens, who can understand, and question if necessary, language use in connection with "rules" of accuracy and appropriacy (Fairclough 1992) and who can ultimately critique and react against oppressing situations of language use such as an excessive emphasis on standardization or the manipulative power of politics or advertising. The work of Janks et al. (2014) is an excellent example of how CLA can be applied to the design of curricular materials, dealing with topics such as identity, the media, or advertising. Other examples of "critical" curricular activities and materials can be found in Wallace (2005), including a thorough account of a university module on "critical reading" the author herself taught.

The second main strand of KAL, which I have labeled as "psycholinguistic," can be traced in the literature through key terms such as "explicit knowledge," "formal instruction," or "focus on form." One of the basic tenets in this strand that endorses the role of KAL is that instruction that directs learners' attention to specific formal properties of the language has positive effects on both the rate of acquisition and the ultimate level of proficiency. This is in agreement with the practices of many language teachers, who seem to rely on a model of teaching in which explicit knowledge is considered to be a "facilitator" of implicit knowledge, helping learners, in the first place, to "notice" (Schmidt 1995) certain formal properties of the input that may easily pass unnoticed. In the second place, L2 explicit knowledge can be used by the learners to monitor their output, either a priori, while planning or rehearsing, or a posteriori, when revising the output produced.

If we accept this second hypothesis, the logical question from a pedagogic point of view is whether to adopt a deductive or an inductive method. In the former, a rule

is given to learners who are later asked to identify and apply it in different linguistic or communicative contexts. By contrast, in an inductive method, learners are provided with language data and communicative opportunities from which, with or without the teacher's help, they are expected to induce particular rules of use. The former method involves a preselection of linguistic structures in the form of a syllabus, which are isolated, taught, and tested discretely; on the other hand, an inductive approach may be characterized by the priority given to meaning-focused communicative activity in a task format, in which form-focused episodes can only arise from specific problems or needs of the learners within a particular communicative activity.

Doughty and Williams (1998) make a still further distinction between planned and incidental "focus on form." The first type is based on communicative tasks that are designed to make learners aware of the relevance of a particular form and to elicit its use. Incidental "focus on form" takes place in the course of communicative tasks that are aimed at eliciting communication in general, and it occurs in the form of generally brief episodes whose occurrence depends on whether teacher or learners deem it necessary for the resolution of the task. Doughty and Williams (1998) consider planned versus incidental "focus on form" (in their terminology, proactive vs. reactive) as one of six "pedagogical choices" in connection with the presence of "focus on form" in the language classroom: (i) Is it necessary? (ii) Should it be planned in advance or simply remedial? (iii) What linguistic forms should be focused upon? (iv) How much explicit knowledge should it involve? (v) What should be the timing of focus on form in the lesson? (vi) What should be the place of focus on form in the curriculum?

Some of these questions were given an answer 13 years later in an article by Spada (2011), in which she concludes the following: (i) form-focused instruction has a positive effect in second-language acquisition; (ii) there are some types of instruction that are more beneficial than others; (iii) it is not possible to say that there is a "right time" in the learner's psycholinguistic development or in the instructional sequence because there are factors like the learner's L1 or the L2 proficiency that need to be considered; (iv) explicit instruction is equally beneficial with simple and complex language features; and (v) it is not clear whether explicit instruction can benefit certain learners more than others.

Work in Progress

Two authoritative sources of information for the work that is currently ongoing in connection with the place of KAL in the mother tongue and foreign language curricula are the biennial meetings of the Association for Language Awareness (ALA) and the journal *Language Awareness*. If we look at the contents of the last special issues of the journal with a selection of papers presented at the 2010 and 2012 ALA conferences, we can see, in the first place, that there is a clear dominance of studies carried out in the context of L2/FL formal teaching and learning. The studies included in the two volumes deal with (i) teaching strategies aimed at promoting

reading skills, fluency, vocabulary development, and peer collaboration, (ii) teachers' attitudes and cognition, (iii) learners' strategies involving pragmatic and phonetic aspects, (iv) reading and writing strategies, (v) awareness of the learning process and identity, (vi) cultural awareness, and (vii) the professional world of business.

Research on teachers' knowledge and attitudes or beliefs about language and the use they make of it in the language classroom tends to be based on the adoption of classroom observation and teacher interviewing as main research techniques. Sanchez and Borg (2014) constitute a recent example of this type of research, in which the authors analyzed the diversity of strategies adopted by two experienced secondary school teachers of English in Argentina in order to teach grammar. Research on learners' awareness tends to be more based on experimental designs such as the one used by Goh and Hu (2014), in which they employed a questionnaire, which had been used in other studies, and an official sample IELTS listening text in order to explore the possible connections between the learners' awareness of strategy use and demands from listening and their listening performance.

Svalberg's (2014) attempt to classify the articles published in the *Language Awareness* journal during the 2010–2014 period can also give us an idea of the "hottest" issues in research on KAL. The author's analysis based on the main topic of a total of 107 articles published reveals the following tendencies: the four language skills (20), with a balance among reading, writing, and speaking skills and the lowest number on listening skills; strategies (17), with more than two thirds of the articles devoted to learning strategies and the rest to teaching strategies; collaborative learning and interaction (15); language varieties/sociolinguistics (13); grammar (10); culture (7); language ideologies (6); bilingualism (6); lexis/morphology (5); phonology (4); and pragmatics (4). Two conclusions that can be derived at first sight from these results are that the teaching/learning practice in a formal context is at the center of research on KAL and that there seems to be a very balanced interest between the structural aspects of the language system (grammar, lexis/morphology, phonology, and pragmatics, 23) and the social/cultural aspects (varieties/sociolinguistics, culture, language ideologies, 26).

From the perspective of the research methodology employed in researching KAL, a review of 41 studies published in the journal in the years 2012–2014 and which involved the collection of empirical data gives the following results: 20 studies involved a test or a questionnaire amenable to quantitative analysis (with several involving pre- and posttesting); 4 studies made use of a mixed-methods approach combining a questionnaire or a test with interviewing or observation; 10 studies resorted to observation, focusing mainly on interaction and in 4 cases supplementing these data with diary or interview data; interview data constituted the main empirical basis in 6 of the studies (including one study with supplementary data based on a learner's diary); finally, one study was mainly based on a think-aloud protocol elicited by a test. The analysis shows that the use of testing tools with a quantitative orientation is very predominant in research on KAL. Classroom observation mainly focusing on the interaction that arises in this context is the next research technique used in terms of frequency. The third most frequent technique used for data

collection is interviewing. These results are in line with Ellis' (2004) distinction between explicit knowledge as "analyzed (potentially aware) knowledge" and as "metalanguage" and his suggestion to use three types of tests (language aptitude, grammaticality judgments, and metalanguage) and verbal reports as assessment tools in order to study explicit knowledge about language. The results also reveal that there is a scarcity of empirical data on KAL emerging from the observation of and users' reflection about natural situations of language use other than the language classroom (to the extent that we can consider this a natural situation of language use).

Problems and Difficulties

One of the main problems for the introduction of KAL in the mother tongue and foreign language curricula is mentioned by Carter (1990, p. 4) as the first principle for KAL work in primary and secondary schools: it must not be perceived as "formalist, decontextualized classroom analysis of language" focusing on sentence-level grammar and below, but rather it must be integrated within a clearly communication-oriented approach. The problem is perhaps more evident in the case of foreign language teaching, as pointed out by Mitchell and Brumfit (2001). Andrews (1999) and Cots (2000) also show how, at the close of the twentieth century, despite many years of apparent dominance of the communicative approach, grammar was still very much at the center of teaching materials and teachers' pedagogic practices, whether in Hong Kong or in Spain, with a syllabus and an assessment methodology that rely mostly on the learning of discrete grammatical structures. McCarthy and Carter (1994) make a specific proposal to integrate the conscious–unconscious perspectives of language learning through consciousness-raising or language awareness work along three broad parameters (i.e., form, function, and sociocultural meaning) and five curricular principles (i.e., comparing/contrasting texts, exposure to a continuum of literary and nonliterary texts, focus on inferencing procedures, progressing from the familiar to the unfamiliar, and developing critical capacity).

Among the "pedagogical choices" that Doughty and Williams (1998) point out in connection with the introduction of knowledge about the L2 in the curriculum, they mention the choice between planning it in advance and simply introducing it as a remedial work for the successful development of communicative activities. The second choice is clearly linked to communicative language teaching, and it seems to be more in line with ecological perspectives on language teaching and learning. However, Norris and Ortega (2000, p. 500), after revising 49 studies published between 1980 and 1989, concluded that although the two approaches "result in large and probabilistically trustworthy gains over the course of an investigation, the magnitude of these gains differs very little between the two instructional categories."

Another problem that appears in defining the role of KAL in the curriculum is related to the nature of metalanguage and, more specifically, to the level of sophistication required. Gombert (1997) makes a distinction between epilinguistic and metalinguistic processes, with the former referring to unconscious metalinguistic

activities and the latter having a reflective, intentional character. For Gombert, the acquisition of metalinguistic awareness follows the acquisition of the first language and of epilinguistic control. This idea is consistent with James' (1999) suggestion that KAL has a different role in the mother tongue and in the foreign language curriculum. In the first case, KAL involves the explication of intuitive knowledge; in the second case, KAL work consists of noticing and understanding the difference between the learners' present knowledge and the target they are aiming at in terms of capacity to manipulate and understand language. Leo Van Lier's (1998) proposal to posit different levels of consciousness is an important contribution toward clarifying the type of work that may be involved in KAL depending on the expectations and the abilities of the learners.

Future Directions

In her "research agenda" to continue exploring the role that knowledge about language plays in language learning and teaching, Svalberg (2012) takes to center stage the challenge of analyzing how knowledge about language is constructed, through different degrees of engagement of the participants, within the complexity of such a diverse social system as the classroom, and how this process affects language learning. This points directly at the need for future work in KAL not only to describe but also evaluate the results of its introduction in particular contexts and teaching programs, and it continues the work several researchers that have made a similar call. Thus, in the concluding chapter to their edited volume, James and Garrett (1992) argued that evaluation can be made in terms of the effects of KAL on the five domains: affective, social, power, cognitive, and performance. The need for evaluation was also pointed out by Ellis (1997), who suggested that the kind of consciousness-raising tasks he advocated need to be investigated by teachers in the context of their classrooms. Evaluation through the experimental method was also seen as necessary by Norris and Ortega (2000), who noticed a lack of studies including delayed posttests on the durability of focused L2 instruction.

Another direction for further work on KAL, which Svalberg also mentions, is "teacher language awareness." Here we could include its role in (i) the design and implementation of language teacher training programs and (ii) the configuration of the notion of "language teacher expertise." In this sense, it is interesting to bear in mind three of the findings which Bartels (2004) distils from a review of different studies: (i) the acquisition of KAL during the teacher training process does not guarantee its full and consistent transfer to L2 teaching; (ii) a solid KAL does not seem to be necessary for high teaching quality; (iii) in order to guarantee KAL transfer to teaching situations, teachers cannot be expected to make the link between linguistics and pedagogy by themselves, and they need to be taught in concrete terms how to apply KAL.

Within the broad area of teacher training, it is important to note the relatively recent interest in research that involves developing a greater awareness on the part of nonnative-speaking language teachers, of their assets and strengths, as well as of the

implications of the international role of English worldwide (Llurda 2009). This can be connected with the development of critical pedagogies which focus on the intricate connection between language use and culture (Díaz 2013) and on a general aim for second or foreign language education which is no longer that of "replicating the native speaker" but acquiring the ability to operate or mediate between languages and cultures and to reflect on the world from the point of view of another culture.

Finally, it seems obvious to say that the results of research on KAL can only reach the language classroom if they are reflected into specific teaching materials, of which there is a clear absence. One of the directions in which the development of KAL materials could proceed is the presentation of language use as negotiation of meanings situated in specific social/institutional contexts. Thornbury's (2005) material for developing language teachers' KAL is a good example of how to de-emphasize rule learning and application while placing a greater focus on KAL as naturally emerging from personal communicative experiences, contextualized (situated/negotiated) language use, and personal engagement with some kind of activity, which is not necessarily of a linguistic type. Another future direction for developing KAL materials derives from the fact that, in general, they focus on either one particular language or on language as a human capacity, and there is still a clear absence of published materials taking fully on board the notion of multilingual processing and cognition and recent calls for a plurilingual approach to language education (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter 2013).

Cross-References

▶ Early Multilingualism and Language Awareness
▶ Language Awareness and CLIL
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Amy Ohta: Sociocultural Theory and Second/Foreign Language Education. In Volume: Second and Foreign Language Education
Claire Kramsch: Applied Linguistic Theory and Second/Foreign Language Education. In Volume: Second and Foreign Language Education
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Identity, Language Learning, and Critical Pedagogies in Digital Times

Ron Darvin and Bonny Norton

Abstract

Recognizing how the social landscape of language learning has shifted with innovations in technology, this chapter examines how critical pedagogies have responded to the new structures and relations of power that have evolved in increasingly digital times. As learners perform multiple and dynamic identities in this new world order, how they navigate their investments in the language and literacy practices of classrooms and communities also becomes more complex. To understand the evolution of identity as a central construct of language learning, this chapter looks to original conceptualizations of identity and earlier scholarship that informed it. Major developments in identity research that intersect with the digital are then discussed and classified in three categories: the construction and performance of identities, structures and relations of power, and social and educational inequities. The chapter then proceeds to examine two important issues in language learning that are associated with the digital turn. First, the multiplicity of spaces learners are able to engage with requires the mastery of new and continually evolving literacies. Second, the mechanisms of power have become more invisible, requiring more critical reflection in order to identify and navigate systemic patterns of control. To respond to these challenges, the chapter concludes by recommending specific research areas that will help create transformative critical pedagogies: issues of political economy, digital exclusion, and methodological innovations.

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Contents

Introduction

Educators interested in identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies are interested in language as a social practice and the way language constructs and is constructed by a wide variety of social relationships. These relationships are as varied as those between the writer and reader, teacher and student, test maker and test taker, and school and state. What makes the educators "critical" is the shared assumption that social relationships are seldom constituted on equal terms, reflecting and constituting inequitable relations of power in the wider society. Further, the plural use of "pedagogies" suggests that there are many ways in which pedagogy can be critical; the challenge for critical language educators is to determine how best to pursue a project of possibility for language learners, across time and diverse spaces. In this view, language is theorized not only as a linguistic system but also as a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated.

In the twenty-first century, as language learners navigate new digital spaces governed by different value systems, they have to perform multiple identities and linguistic repertoires while frequently positioned in new, often invisible ways. How teachers, researchers, and policy-makers are able to map out these increasingly complex spaces, while negotiating competing ideologies and pedagogies, is perhaps one of the greatest challenges for language education in digital times. To address this challenge, language education scholars have sought to advance new understandings of identity that capture this changing relationship between the language learner and the social world. This research seeks to sharpen the lens through which language learners and teachers negotiate relations of power, challenging educational agents to reflect on the material conditions that allow language learning to take place, and how learners, inscribed by race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and sexual orientation are accorded or refused the right to speak.

Early Developments

In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars interested in second-language identity tended to draw distinctions between social identity and cultural identity. "Social identity" was seen to reference the relationship between the individual language learner and the

larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts (e.g., Gumperz 1982). "Cultural identity," on the other hand, referenced the relationship between an individual and members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (e.g., Valdes 1986). As Atkinson (1999) has noted, past theories of cultural identity tended to essentialize and reify identities in problematic ways. In more recent years, the difference between social and cultural identity is seen to be theoretically more fluid, and the intersections between social and cultural identities are considered more significant than their differences. In this research, identity is seen as socioculturally constructed, and educators draw on both institutional and community practices to understand the conditions under which language learners speak, read, and write the target language. Such research is generally associated with a shift in the field from a predominantly psycholinguistic approach to second-language learning to include a greater focus on sociological and anthropological dimensions of language learning, particularly with reference to sociocultural, poststructural, and critical theory (Douglas Fir Group 2016).

Scholars have noted that Norton's work on identity, investment, and imagined communities (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2013) has become foundational to research on language learner identity (Kramsch 2013; Miller and Kubota 2013). Drawing on poststructuralist theory and a wide range of research in the global community, Norton conceptualizes *identity* as multiple, fluid, and a site of struggle. People perform different identities in particular spaces or conditions, in the same way that they can be positioned by others by virtue, for example, of their race and gender. This applies as well to language learning contexts, where learners negotiate relations of power and seek to assert their place as legitimate speakers. Recognizing that learners are social beings with complex identities, Norton also developed the construct of *investment*, which highlights the socially and historically constructed relationship between learners and their commitment to language learning. The construct recognizes that commitment to learning is not just a product of motivation but that learners invest in particular language and literacy practices because such practices will help them acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. At the same time, how learners are able to invest in a target language is contingent on the dynamic negotiation of power in different fields and how they are granted or refused the right to speak.

Norton's challenge to examine issues of identity in language learning came at a time when second-language acquisition scholars were calling for "an enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use" (Firth and Wagner 1997, p. 285). In 1997, Norton guest edited a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* on Language and Identity, and in 2002, the award-winning *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* was launched, providing a platform for scholars from different parts of the world to publish research on identity and the sociocultural issues of language learning. By 2006, Zuengler and Miller (2006) had declared that language and identity had been established as "a research area in its own right"

(p. 43). This research suggests that second-language learners frequently struggle to appropriate the voices of others (Bakhtin), command the attention of their listeners (Bourdieu), negotiate multiple subjectivities (Weedon), and understand the practices of the target language community (Lave and Wenger). The research does not suggest, however, that the language learner should bear the primary responsibility for expanding the range of identities available to the learner; of central interest is the investment of the native speaker as well. Drawing on such theory, becoming a "good" language learner is seen to be a much more complicated process than earlier, more positivistic research had suggested.

A great number of books have helped build the canon of early identity research (see Norton 2013 for an overview). In the last decade, this interest has continued to flourish. Block (2007) provides insight on the lived experiences of adult migrants and foreign language learners; Byrd Clark (2009) discusses how youth of diverse backgrounds perform multiple identities in a globalized world; and Higgins (2011) examines an exciting range of research on identity and language learning in the new millennium. Much of this work has begun to address the importance of the digital in language learning and teaching and to incorporate the digital in diverse critical pedagogical practices. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the edited book by Cummins and Early (2010), which illustrates how students invest their identities in creative works or performances, what the authors call "identity texts."

Major Contributions

The rapid development of technology and digital innovations in recent years, together with the intensification of neoliberal pressures on different economies, have accelerated globalization. The paradox of globalization however is that while we increasingly develop a sense of the interconnectedness of the world, particularly with digital media, the world has become increasingly fragmented. The lived realities in urban cosmopolitan centers in post-industrialist societies are markedly different from those in villages of developing countries. Not only are there social, cultural, and political differences across the horizontal spaces of neighborhoods, regions, and countries but also in the vertical spaces of class, gender, and ethnicity. At the same time, the virtual world also provides an axis where people of shared interests and tastes are able to construct new communities and ideas of co-citizenship (Gee and Hayes 2011). It is the intersection of these axes in the twenty-first century that cleaves the world into very diverse, segmented spaces and that shape identities and pedagogies in new, profound ways (De Costa and Norton 2016).

In this changing digital landscape, research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies grapples with new questions of power and access, particularly when considering implications of the research for classroom practice. As the affordances of the digital have enabled innovative means of self-representation and diverse sites of social participation, identity studies have taken on different tropes. Interpretive research has examined the construction and performance of digitally mediated identities, while more critical research has focused on issues of power and

social inequities. The three common themes in the area of critical pedagogies that we will address are those on (i) the construction and performance of identities, (ii) structures and relations of power, and (iii) social and educational inequities.

The construction and performance of identities. While the digital is the medium, at the core of the performance of multiple identities is language. Through two case studies, Thorne and Black (2011) demonstrate how blogging and IM enables a stylization where writers strategically mix textual conventions with different semiotic resources to achieve more personal intentions. By developing new performative, semiotic repertoires, they are able to enact relevant identities as they interact with both close social networks and also distant and anonymous audiences. As a kind of identity text, digital stories have become a significant channel for researchers to understand how learners construct identities through textual production. By borrowing and repurposing texts, images, and music, learners are able to claim authorial agency and be coauthors and agents of literacy acquisition (Lotherington 2011). In a study of the creative process of ninth-grade students as they produce their own digital stories about "an odyssey of self," Rowsell (2012) demonstrated how learners are able to reposition their identity. By making multimodal choices to represent their lived histories, learners are granted individual creative expression that can effect subtle shifts in disposition. Because digital stories have very few structuring conditions and constraints, learners can improvise their ideas, values, and histories without critical challenge, and thus, they are able to reimagine their own self-identifications.

Conversely, Stornaiuolo et al. (2009) argue that the multiplicity of ways to represent one's self made available through the digital not only extends but complexifies self-identifications. By sharing these stories online, learners communicate across multiple symbolic systems and to audiences no longer confined to one's geographic location. While one can imagine new identities and ways of being in the world, the implied, incidental and overt audience of one's story may not share one's local understandings. Thus, there is a need to develop the adaptive, generative, and critical capacities of learners to construct coherent texts. For Darvin and Norton (2014a), digital storytelling is a powerful way to affirm the transnational identities of migrant learners. Through a workshop where high school students collaborated to produce videos narrating their own stories of migration, the learners were able to use their mother tongue and draw from the modalities of images, music, and voice to share their lived experiences and the material conditions that inscribed their own transnational journeys. Like Lam and Warriner (2012), Darvin and Norton point out that teachers who are critically informed about the material realities and inequalities of migration can develop more transformative pedagogies.

Structures and relations of power. Not only has technology enabled the performance and affirmation of learner identities, but research has also been able to examine how the digital can be used in critical pedagogies. As learners continue to engage with new technologies, Norton and Williams (2012) demonstrate how digital devices become more than mere physical tools – they become meaningful symbolic resources that accord their users' cultural capital and social power. For example, in a project where rural Kenyan students were provided digital cameras, laptops with

connectivity, and voice recorders to conduct interviews with government officials, Kendrick et al. (2012) note how digital tools became signifiers of membership in a journalistic context, which provided students with agentive power. Through role-playing that emboldened students to ask about controversial issues like dissent and police corruption, they were able to negotiate the performance of new, more empowered identities. Similarly, in a project that promoted digital literacy with girls and women from poorly resourced communities in Uganda, Norton et al. (2011) helped the participants gain access to digital tools that allowed them to research about HIV/AIDS. By accessing the internet privately, they were able to pose questions about the female body and teenage pregnancy that they might otherwise not be comfortable discussing in larger groups. Engaging with the digital allowed them not only to access English in new ways but also to construct their identities as empowered young women fully invested in learning.

In a study of how migrant learners negotiate competing language ideologies in their adoptive countries, Shin (2012) examines how some Korean students who study abroad, originally mocked by Korean immigrants as unsophisticated, were able to gain strategies of distinction through the creation of their own particular ways of communicating. By integrating Korean youth slang with English, transliterated Korean, and Korean internet shorthand and emoticons in their text messages and IM chats, they were able to style "Korean cool" and reinvest their linguistic resources with new values. Recognizing the rising prominence of South Korea in the global stage and the increased economic value of the Korean language, these learners, while originally wanting to acquire English to become global cosmopolitan citizens, reversed the indices by constructing Korean language and culture as an index of coolness, to gain more empowered identities.

Social and educational inequities. Not only does the digital construct and empower identities, it can also reproduce social inequities. A learner's identity, his or her social position and possession of capital, shapes digital access, use, and outcomes (Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010). In an ethnographic study of the digital media engagements of two families from contrasting socioeconomic settings in South Africa, Lemphane and Prinsloo (2014) demonstrate how the identities of youth shape their language use and digital practices. The middle class children who had digital devices and unlimited broadband connectivity gained access to more English language resources, allowing them to develop topic-specific vocabulary and meta-awareness of language. Adapting avatars that became identity markers, they were able to experiment with different accents and become familiar with global middle class cultural references, while developing class-specific dispositions. The working-class children, on the other hand, had only mobile phone access, and the games they were able to play on these devices provided no language development opportunities. They spoke mostly a colloquial version of the local language, index-ical of their working-class status and not valued in school. In this context, the contrasting digital practices lead to different resources, tacit knowledge, and habits that may or may not be bridged to school literacies and classroom practices.

Recognizing digital literacies as a social practice, North et al. (2008) assert that technology use is tied to one's identity. What is valued in the home greatly

determines digital tastes, which appear to be consistent among learners of a particular social class. Home socializes learners into understanding, accepting, or rejecting digital practices, and this socialization involves the appropriation of technology into existing family norms, values, and lifestyles. Whereas some families value technology for consumption of information, those who are not directed toward traditional academic success may view new media and technologies as entertainment tools. These different mindsets shape varied digital tastes that may be valued or devalued in different contexts like school and have important implications for critical pedagogies.

Work in Progress

Recognizing that the achievement gap between rich and poor learners in the United States is now twice that of white and black, Jones and Vagle (2013) call for a social class-sensitive pedagogy that recognizes and addresses these inequalities. Because of prevailing neoliberal discourses of upward mobility, status, and entrepreneurial success, classism can be unwittingly inscribed in curriculum, pedagogy, and school practices. The authors propose locating and disrupting social class hierarchies in schools and communities and integrating social class and marginalized perspectives into the curriculum. They challenge educators to have a more informed understanding of the web of economic theory, globalization, immigration policies, and labor laws, to construct a critical pedagogy that responds to differences in social class. Aligned with such a pedagogy, online content, media, and texts produced by students are used to not only represent diverse lived experiences but also to examine "assumptions of (classed) normality" (p. 134).

In this spirit, Darvin and Norton (2014b) have done a comparative case study of two adolescent migrant Filipino learners from different social class positions in Canada. They examine how differences in levels of capital shape students' language use, home literacies, and digital practices, with important implications for critical pedagogies. The youngest child of an entrepreneur and full-time homemaker, Ayrton lives in a wealthy neighborhood and speaks English almost exclusively at home and with his classmates in a private school. He has enrolled in an online course on currency trading and he views technology as a rich source of information, which can realize powerful imagined identities. In contrast, John is raised solely by his caregiver mother and lives with her and two siblings in a one-bedroom apartment. His social network is almost entirely Filipino, and he speaks about his struggle to adjust his English. In this case, the linguistic, cultural, and social capital of the two learners appear to already lead them toward different social trajectories and educational opportunities.

In 2015, a colloquium in Calgary organized by Rahat Naqvi and Jennifer Rowsell brought together renowned scholars of New Literacy Studies to discuss how literacy pedagogies need to evolve in transcultural cosmopolitan times. The work of Toohey et al. (2012) is particularly exciting in this regard, drawing on the use of video to build communities of language learners across global sites. In a multi-country

videomaking project with school children in India, Mexico, and Canada, the authors found that the making of videos offered language learners opportunities for meaning making that extended beyond their particular second-language capabilities. As educators imagine critical pedagogies that foster transnational identities, there is increasing need for critical language educators to examine issues of power and inequality (Hawkins and Norton 2009). Such pedagogies not only bring together transcultural practices, multimodal epistemologies, and multilingual forms of communication, but they also weave in a critical examination of how these practices are inscribed by relations of power.

Problems and Difficulties

As digital affordances continue to offer a more flexible engagement with the world, the implications of the virtual on identity are becoming increasingly significant. However, two important issues confront educators interested in identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies. First, these new spaces that allow learners to access, select, and transform information for individual aims and to participate in a more global community continue to multiply (Kress 2009). How learners negotiate these spaces and new forms of sociality through language becomes even more crucial, as these spaces require continually evolving forms of literacy. Second, as learners occupy more virtual and isolated spaces, the capillaries of power that manage these contexts, together with concomitant processes of inclusion and exclusion, become more invisible. As learners move fluidly across different contexts, the challenge lies in their capacity to identify and navigate systemic patterns of control, which impact their investments in particular language and literacy practices (Darvin and Norton 2015).

   While the digital shapes identity by demanding new literacies and strategies, it also constructs new forms of inequality that impinge on the agency of learners as they pursue their life trajectories. As the fulcrum of the knowledge economy, technology, according to Castells (2001), can lead to "one of the most damaging forms of exclusion" (p. 3). Social class greatly impacts access and use of technology (Darvin and Norton 2014b; North et al. 2008), but in recent language education research, it has been a largely underexamined construct (Kanno and Vandrick 2014). Traditional models of class structure, together with class-inscribed identities like "middle class" or "working class," no longer capture the realities of the new world order. For Kramsch (2013), the political promise of identity as a site of resistance is in danger of being commodified in a competitive, deregulated fast capitalism, as a means of personal gain. "Identity might then cease to be a matter of investment and imagination and might become once again a matter of birth privilege and social class" (p. 199). To respond to this threat, new, more fluid conceptualizations of class and a sharper analysis of digital inequalities are necessary to investigate identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies in the twenty-first century.

Future Directions

As a central construct in the sociocultural dimension of language education research, identity will continue to be a significant topic of discussion among teachers, scholars, and policy-makers. Further, the comprehensive model of investment and language learning, developed by Darvin and Norton (2015), invites future research on the relationship between identity, capital, and ideology. In this spirit, three particular areas are shaping new, exciting paths for research on identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies in digital times: issues of political economy, digital identities and literacies, and methodological innovations.

Issues of political economy. The neoliberal forces of deregulation and free market continue to structure relations in a rapidly globalizing and digitalizing world. Technology comes with a cost, and the capacity to access, produce, and distribute digitally mediated information considered valuable in the knowledge economy is increasingly linked to mechanisms of profit. The commodification of languages, the marketization of language learning, and the role of language in regulating and legitimizing geopolitical spaces make political economy a very important focus in applied linguistics (Block et al. 2012; Duchêne and Heller 2012). This lens enables researchers to dissect identity and to understand the challenges of learners in an increasingly polarized and segmented world. How social class intersects with other categories such as ethnicity and gender promises to be a very fruitful way to understand how learners are positioned in different learning contexts in the twenty-first century (De Costa and Norton 2016).

Digital exclusion. As the digital playground carved out by new media becomes a more ubiquitous space of language acquisition and socialization, researchers and scholars have gravitated toward this domain to examine and to discover new pedagogical opportunities. Studies however have usually come from wealthier contexts (Snyder and Prinsloo 2007), and the emerging issue is that the distribution of digital tools that enable mediation is unequal (Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010), not just across the horizontal dimensions of localities and nations but also the vertical axis of class, gender, and ethnicity. Differences in digital use, tastes, and preferences (Snyder et al. 2008) also determine learners' inclusion in these spaces. Hence, there needs to be more research that not only examines the positioning of identities in the "unglobalized" areas of the world but also in the virtual spaces where learners of different backgrounds can be granted or refused access and the right to speak.

Methodological issues and innovations. As the digital transforms conceptions of time and space by making artifacts permanent and perpetually present, multimedia self-presentations of learners can also fix representations of identity and influence their lives in complex, consequential ways (Nelson et al. 2008). At the same time, ethnographers traverse digital frontiers where boundaries of private and public are blurred, and together, this raises new questions regarding ethics, informed consent, and researcher identity (De Costa and Norton 2016). Researchers also need more sophisticated tools to observe and interpret contexts of learning, where learners move seamlessly online and offline, using Language, Education and Technology in ways

that are continually evolving. How these lead to more complex methodological issues in examining identity promises to be an exciting area in language education research.

If we take seriously the argument that the identity of the language learner is not just a character trait or "personality variable" but a socially and historically constructed relationship to both institutional and community practices, then it follows that teachers, researchers, administrators, testers, and policy-makers are all implicated in the range of identities available to the language learner. As both institutions and communities navigate new digital frontiers in an area of increasing globalization, the implications for critical pedagogies are profound.

Cross-References

▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Ron Darvin and Bonny Norton: Language, Identity, and Investment in the Twenty-First Century. In Volume: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education
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Cognitive Linguistics and Its Applications to Second Language Teaching

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Abstract

Cognitive linguistics (CL) is based on the assumption that meaning is embodied and attempts to explain facts about language in terms of other properties and mechanisms of the human mind and body. Meaning is therefore often motivated through metaphor, metonymy, and image schemas, not only at the lexical level but also in syntax and morphology. Even though studies that apply CL theoretical insights to L2 learning and teaching are still relatively sparse, applied linguists such as Nick Ellis (cf. 19 and 1999) and Jim Lantolf (2011) have explicitly stated that CL has a lot to offer to SLA because it provides for meaningful learning, giving insight into the conceptual principles that may give rise to different forms. This chapter first gives a brief overview of how CL has developed, and then after explaining CL in more detail, it shows what a CL view entails for second language development and how it may be used in raising language awareness in second language teaching.

Keywords

Cognitive linguistics • Cognitive-didactic approach • Conceptual metaphors • Connectionist models • Lakoff's theory of metaphor • Langacker's cognitive grammar • Metaphorical meaning extensions • Metonymy • Michael Tomasello's approach • Prototypical count nouns • Semantic extension principles • Usage-based linguistics

Contents

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Introduction

Traditionally language has been viewed as an autonomous system, separate from other cognitive and social abilities. In this view, the language system operates under a set of arbitrary and unmotivated rules and properties, and the various subcomponents of the language system such as syntax, morphology, and lexis are independent of each other. The approach to language learning that accompanies this view of language emphasizes the need for the learner to learn vocabulary items separately, master the grammar rules, and memorize their exceptions.

A radically different view of the language system is found in a cognitive linguistic approach. Cognitive linguistics (CL) is based on the assumption that meaning is embodied and attempts to explain facts about language in terms of other properties and mechanisms of the human mind and body. Meaning is therefore often motivated through metaphor, metonymy, and image schemas, not only at the lexical level but also in syntax and morphology.

Even though studies that apply CL theoretical insights to L2 learning and teaching are still relatively sparse, applied linguists such as Nick Ellis (cf. 1998 and 1999) and Jim Lantolf (2011) have explicitly stated that CL has a lot to offer to SLA because it provides for meaningful learning, giving insight into the conceptual principles that may give rise to different forms. This chapter first gives a brief overview of how CL has developed, and then after explaining CL in more detail, it shows what a CL view entails for second language development and how it may be used in raising language awareness in second language teaching.

Early Developments

CL developed in the 1970s from the work of a number of different researchers and has been influenced by many influential linguists, but it would be safe to say that its "founding fathers" are Leonard Talmy (1981), George Lakoff (1987), and Ronald Langacker (1987).

Cognitive linguists hold that language is part of, dependent on, and influenced by human cognition, including human perception and categorization, and that language

develops and changes through human interaction and experiences in the world. In other words, language is part of and influenced by psychological, sociological, and cultural factors. CL does not make any claims about psychological reality, but it does strive to create analyses that are at least psychologically, biologically, and neurologically plausible. Langacker even goes so far as to say that "despite its mental focus, cognitive linguistics can also be described as social, cultural, and contextual linguistics" (1997, p. 240).

In addition, during the 1970s, several other streams of linguistics developed that were quite compatible to CL in that they hold that language is best studied and described with reference to its cognitive, experiential, and social contexts, all broadly fall under the umbrella term of "usage-based linguistics" in that they hold that language emerges and changes through experience. Functional linguists such as Joan Bybee, Bernard Comrie, John Haiman, Paul Hopper, Sandra Thompson, and Tom Givon focused especially on explanatory principles that derive from language as a communicative system, and historical functional linguists such as Elizabeth Traugott and Bernd Heine showed how meaningful lexical units such as adverbs may become grammatical morphemes over time. Influenced by Piaget and by the cognitive revolution in psychology, Dan Slobin, Eve Clark, Elizabeth Bates, and Melissa Bowerman laid the groundwork for a strong functional/cognitive strand in the field of first language acquisition. Other compatible approaches developed in the 1980s. Connectionist models of language processing, such as those developed by Jeff Elman and Brian MacWhinney, which model language acquisition using connectionist networks, also hold the notion that language learning is basically a bottom-up process, approaches also compatible with Herb Clark's approach to language in interaction and Michael Tomasello's approach to first language acquisition. CL is interdisciplinary and strives to be sensitive to findings in the brain sciences, social sciences, psychology, or philosophy (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Peňa 2005).

Over the last decade, cognitive linguistic theory has developed further with work by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (2002) on mental spaces and conceptual blending, which "blends" in interesting ways with both Langacker's cognitive grammar and Lakoff's theory of metaphor. In addition, construction grammars that focus on the meanings of constructions as proposed by Goldberg (2006) or Croft (2001) are considered part of the cognitive linguistic paradigm.

As this brief overview has shown, CL is a complex, dynamic theory. For introductions into CL, the following readings are recommended: Croft and Cruse (2004), Dirven and Verspoor (1998), Evans and Green (2006), Taylor (1995), Ungerer and Schmid (2013), Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2006), and Robinson and Ellis (2008). The remainder of this chapter focuses only on those aspects and notions of CL that have found their application in second language teaching. The advantage of a CL approach to teaching language is that it helps raise awareness of

these form-meaning connections and that once an L2 learner recognizes these connections, he or she may be better able to remember them.

Major Contributions

The two most important works in CL are Lakoff's influential book *Women*, *Fire and Dangerous Things* and Langacker's *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, both of which appeared in 1987. Lakoff is especially well known for his work on metaphor and metonymy, and Langacker has developed an explicit theory of usage-based grammar. There is a great deal of overlap between the two approaches to language, and CL does not make a clear distinction between lexis and grammar, but because CL holds that syntax and morphology are governed by the same cognitive principles as lexis, the first few sections deal with motivated meaning at the lexical level and the later ones with motivated meaning at the grammatical level. Where appropriate, applications to SLA will be shown.

Prototypes and Radial Categories

One of the major ideas in Lakoff's work is that human categorization is fundamental to language use and that by looking at language we can often indirectly infer the ways that humans conceive of their world. Human categories are not clear-cut. Basing himself on work by Rosch, Lakoff argues that human categories are clusters of entities that may be more or less central to a category. The best example within a category is considered the prototype. For example, the category "fruit" has many members, such as apples, pears, pineapples, watermelons, strawberries, mangos, and so on. If you asked a group of informants in Western Europe to write down three types of fruit, they would be most likely to include apples, oranges, pears, and bananas. These would be considered the "best examples" or "prototypes," not only because they are most frequently seen but also because they have the most typical sizes and flavors (not too big, not too sour, and so on). Lemons are less central members, probably because they are atypically sour and watermelons and berries are less central because of their atypical sizes. A tomato may be considered a fruit by some if its genetic makeup is taken into consideration, but most people consider it a vegetable because of how it is used. The point of all this is that there are no objective categories out in the world but that humans impose categories upon the world, which are subject to change depending on time, place, and context.

Core Senses and Meaning Extensions

Just as categories have different members, which may be more or less prototypical, words may have different senses, some of which may be more or less central. Almost

any word in a language has more than one sense, but there is usually one sense, called the "core meaning," which typically gives rise to the other senses.

The relation between the core and the peripheral senses of a word is one of meaning extension, which can take place diachronically or synchronically. Diachronically, new senses of linguistic expressions have found their way in the language because speakers saw a conceptual link between an original sense and a newer sense; then the older sense may come into disuse or be forgotten altogether. For example, historically *launch* was metonymically related to *wielding a lance*, which over time has generalized to mean "throw [any object] forward with force."[1] For most speakers the more central sense is now probably associated with rockets or ships rather than lances. Synchronically, this newer sense would be considered a core sense as it pertains more to our everyday experience of the world than a lance and can easily explain related metaphoric senses as in *the magazine was launched last week*.

Two basic semantic extension principles are *metaphor* and *metonymy*. In the case of *metaphor*, conceived associations are among different domains of experience: the logic of one domain is mapped on to another one. For example, in the sentence *the houses had been gutted by grenades*, the verb *gut*, which literally refers to removing the bowels and entrails of an animate being, is used metaphorically to refer to destroying the inside of a building.

Metaphorical meaning extensions can also be based on image-schema transformations (e.g., Lakoff 1987, p. 440). Consider the sentence *there was a bulge in the birthrate*. Through an image-schema transformation, the multiple births are conceived as a "mass" object, and then through metaphor, the collection of births is spread over a timescale resulting in the conception of a graph with a bulge, literally a bump, representing an uneven spread.

In the case of *metonymy*, the association is within one domain of experience. An example of a metonymic meaning extension is "taut," which literally refers to "having no give or slack." When applied to a person's facial expression, it points to emotional tension as in *eye blinking*, *showing no signs of being emotionally* taut, *President Clinton looked like an ordinary man defending the ordinary lies he had concocted to hide an ordinary affair.*[2]

The conceptual links between senses of a linguistic expression mentioned earlier are not limited to the ones that occur between a core and a noncore sense, but the senses are all interrelated, as one peripheral sense may form the base for an even more peripheral sense. Cognitive linguists have demonstrated in numerous cases that the multiple senses and uses of a polysemous word are systematic. For example,

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[1]In Late Latin, the verb lanco occurred, related to the noun lancea. The English verb launch and noun *lance* are derived from two different French dialects. In its earliest attestation, launch is used with the sense of *wielding a lance*.

[2]Because there is also a degree of metaphor involved (tension projected on face) in addition to the fact that the tautness points to the person's emotion, Goossens (1990) would label this example "metaphtonymy."

seemingly unrelated uses of prepositions are actually connected in explainable ways (e.g., Brugman 1981; Boers 1996).

In second language teaching, Lindstromberg (1998) and Tyler and Evans (2004) have applied a core meaning approach to understanding English prepositions and Dirven (2001) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) to teaching English phrasal verbs. Empirical evidence for a core meaning approach to vocabulary learning has been provided by Verspoor and Lowie (2003).

Conceptual Metaphor and Fixed Expressions

The meaning extensions that pertain to individual words also apply to concepts, which in turn may give rise to fixed expressions and idioms. Cognitive linguists have shown that idioms, often thought to be "dead" figures of speech with unpredictable meanings, are usually motivated by conceptual metaphor or metonymy.

For example, as Kövecses (1986) has shown, English has a lot of expressions to describe anger that are motivated by overarching conceptual metaphors, each of which may give rise to a variety of expressions. The overarching conceptual metaphor anger as a hot fluid in a container may give rise to expressions such as *anger welled up inside me*, *I was boiling with anger*, *she was all steamed up*, *she erupted*, *simmer down*, *he flipped his lid*, *I was fuming*, and *he blew up at me*. The anger as fire conceptual metaphor gives rise to expressions such as an *inflammatory remark*, *adding fuel to the fire*, *he kept smoldering for days*, *she was breathing fire*, *she exploded*, and *he's hot under the collar*. And the angry people as dangerous animals conceptual metaphor gives rise to expressions such as *he has a ferocious temper*, *don't snap at me*, *she unleashed her anger*, and *don't bite my head off*.

In an experiment, Boers (2000) offered these expressions to Flemish-speaking learners of English, to one group organized according to their common conceptual metaphors, and to another group organized randomly. This experiment and several others showed that helping language learners to retrace idioms to their conceptual metaphors or original source domains helps them appreciate the motivated nature of such expressions and thus encourage insightful learning. In addition, other controlled experiments have shown that CL approaches to teaching idiomatic expressions can be effective in terms of in-depth comprehension, retention, and even appreciation of usage restrictions (for an excellent overview, see Boers 2013). Different cultures may use different conceptual metaphors reflecting varying degrees of preoccupation with certain "source domains," motivated by their different historical or cultural factors (Boers 2003). A contrastive analysis of metaphors as provided by Barcelona (2001), who compared English and Spanish conceptual metaphors for emotional domains such as "sadness"/"happiness," "anger," and "romantic love," shows that discovering a target language's conceptual metaphor may help not only to learn the language but also to make students aware of the differences between L1 and L2 cultural concepts. In addition, Sharifian (2001) and Sharifian and Palmer (2007) show that discovering underlying metaphors may help the learner better understand the L2 culture.

Radial Categories, Construal, and Grammar

CL theory holds that grammatical categories, albeit more abstract, are just as meaningful as lexical categories (Langacker 1987, 1991). In fact, grammatical and lexical meanings are not two discrete types of meaning but exist along the same continuum at opposite ends of a spectrum. Just as with lexical entities, the different senses of grammatical morphemes such as case endings or classifiers, grammatical constructions such as tenses, or syntactic constructions such as SVO can be more or less central, with a central sense, the more salient prototype, giving rise to the more peripheral ones. In other words, as Taylor (1995, p. 197) explains, "[linguistic] constructions . . . need . . . to be regarded as prototype categories, with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others." It is these "better examples" that are represented in the intuitions of speakers, not only about their own first language but also about the language to be learned. A principled approach to the description of textbook grammar could, therefore, start out by teaching prototypical grammar items and gradually introduce less prototypical examples. In this way, the teaching of grammar would tap into learners' intuitions.

Another key concept in cognitive grammar is the notion of construal. According to Langacker (1991), an expression's meaning does not only call to mind some conceptual content but also how the speaker construes it. For example, looking at a group of stars, a speaker can refer to them as *a constellation*, *a cluster of stars*, *specks of light in the sky*, and so on, expressions that are semantically distinct. In other words, speakers can construe the same objective content in alternate ways. The notion of "construal" certainly has an impact on the teaching of grammar. For example, if one wants to explain to L2 learners of English the use of the definite versus indefinite article as in "I will have *the* tuna fish sandwich" versus "I will have *a* tuna fish sandwich," one could point out that the definite article, which implies that both speaker and hearer have mental access to the entity referred to, is more likely to be used in a more individually catered restaurant, where the sandwich is construed as unique to that restaurant.

One of the first to discuss in detail the cognitive-didactic approach to grammar is Dirven (1989), who investigated where CL can make a contribution to the general process of facilitating language learning. He argues that discovering the conceptualizations laid down in linguistic expressions in the L2, especially where they differ from the L1, facilitates the learning process. Taylor (1993) also makes the claim that a cognitive approach to grammar is inherently contrastive, albeit focused on semantic content and conceptualization rather than on formal properties. He argues that target language structures that are difficult to acquire are usually those that symbolize conceptual categories that are not in the learner's L1. Some clear examples of conceptual categories that are difficult to acquire for learners of English as an L2 are the use of the present versus the present progressive tense, the use of the *to* infinitive versus plain infinitive and -*ing* form as complements of verbs, and the use of articles in English.

Two volumes edited by Pütz et al. (2001a, b) show how pedagogic cognitive linguistic approaches to different topics may be worked out. In one of the papers, for example, Tyler and Evans (2001) offer a systematic, motivated account of how

English tense usage works, and they show that a number of distinct and fundamentally nontemporal meanings associated with tense can be distinguished, such as intimacy (between speakers), salience (foregrounding vs. backgrounding), actuality (realis vs. irrealis), and attenuation (linguistic politeness), which are all shown to be related to each other in a systematic principled way. Bielak and Pawlak (2013) provide an in-depth view at cognitive grammar and test its application in the L2 classroom. Holme (2012) gives some more ideas on how to incorporate CL in the classroom.

To show how a cognitive approach to grammar could be implemented in a classroom, the teaching of the notoriously difficult English article system will be used as an extended example. Huong (2005) addresses Vietnamese learners, whose L1 has a classifier system that does not mark for definiteness. He suggests that rather than giving incorrect "rules of thumb," lots of isolated rules, long lists of uses, and loads of exceptions to the rules, as given in many standard textbooks, a cognitive approach gives a coherent account of the whole article system, showing how the core meaning associated with each form may also be used in nonprototypical senses.

The approach would first address the fact that in English, one must always mark whether an entity (the person or thing the noun refers to) is definite or not. An entity is considered definite when in a given context a speaker and hearer can both make mental contact with it. In other words, both know which particular entity is referred to. This is the case with most proper nouns, such as *Tom* and *Vietnam*, but also with names of sports, meals, days of the week, and months of the year such as *tennis*, *lunch*, *Monday*, and *November*. These proper nouns and names have the ultimate sign of definiteness: the "null" article. The fact that "null" is very definite can be inferred by contrasting (a) "father helped me" versus (b) "my father helped me" wherein (a) the speaker probably assumes the hearer also knows the father.

Whereas the "null" article marks definiteness in proper nouns and names, the definite article *the* must be used with a common noun used in a definite sense, no matter whether it is a count noun, singular or plural, or a mass noun as in *I saw the bike/the cars/the water*. The prototypical examples of definite entities are unique ones in the world, in the larger context, or in the immediate context such as *the sun*, *the president*, or *the door*. Other definite entities are those that are unique to the speaker and hearer's discourse, either explicitly or implicitly as in *I rode a taxi home*; *the taxi was yellow* or *I rode a taxi home*; *the driver was friendly*. More peripheral members of definiteness would be entities that are not necessarily identifiable to both the speaker and hearer, but the hearer can infer that the speaker refers to a unique one in his or her mind as in *be aware of the dog*, *I went to the park*, or *I took the bus*. An even more peripheral example of definiteness is one where the noun does not refer to a particular unique entity but to a whole class of entities in a so-called type hierarchy. For example, in *the dog is a domestic animal*, the dog refers to a type (rather than a token) within the hierarchy of animal-domestic animal-dog. (A similar account is possible for nonprototypical use of generic *a* or generic plurals.)

If the L2 learner wants to determine which article to use, it is best to first determine whether the common noun is definite or not because there is only one form: *the*. If the noun is used in a nondefinite sense, some further choices have to be

made. Singular count nouns must have *a*, but plural count nouns and noncount nouns do not. Now it is important to know whether the noun is count or noncount. As Taylor (1993, p. 211) points out, the prototypes of "count noun" can be seen as a three-dimensional, concrete "thing" and of "mass noun" as an internally homogenous, divisible "substance" (i.e., "bottle" vs. "beer"). Prototypical count nouns refer to entities that are "bounded" such as bikes, tables, or pens, and prototypical noncount nouns are entities that are "unbounded" such as water and gold. One way to distinguish a bounded entity from a nonbounded one is as follows: If you take a piece of the table, such as a leg, you do not have a table, but if you take some water, you have some water in your hand and in the container. In other words, an unbounded entity is more diffuse than a bounded one. What seems most difficult for L2 learners is to understand why some nouns may be count in one case and noncount in the other as in (a) *I had a good sleep* versus (b) *I need sleep*. The notion of construal is important in understanding why: in (a) the noun refers to an instance of a bounded event with a clear beginning and end but in (b) to any instantiation of a more diffuse event. In addition, a noun like education may be confusing: (a) *He needs an education* versus and (b) *children need access to education*. In (a) *education* is construed as a rather linear training with a beginning and end, but in (b) *education* is a rather diffuse, abstract concept that includes any activity of learning and instruction and those that impart knowledge or skill.

This brief treatise of the English article is of course not complete but shows that, with a cognitive approach, it may be possible to explain in a systematic and coherent manner the conceptualizations that give rise to forms, starting from more prototypical examples to more peripheral ones. The assumption is that such an approach would raise awareness, constitute insightful learning, aid retention, and finally aid correct application.

Work in Progress

Within the field of CL, an enormous amount of research has addressed the motivation of linguistic constructions in a host of different languages, and a few of the findings have found their way into published articles about and textbooks for second language teaching and acquisition.

Problems and Challenges: Future Directions

There is sound evidence that making learners aware of core meanings of words or of conceptual metaphors that give rise to figurative expressions helps learners to retain these noncentral and figurative senses. There is no doubt that CL can also aid learners in becoming aware of cross-cultural differences in conceptualization. But as far as a CL approach to teaching grammar, there is mixed evidence. There are several reasons. For one thing, in the light of the popularity of communicative approaches to language teaching, grammar teaching has received very little attention, and secondly effect studies are notoriously difficult to conduct. The only systematic study into the effect of

a cognitive approach that I am aware of so far is by Huong (2005), who compared the cognitive approach with teaching articles described earlier with a commercially available functional approach. The short-term results were very favorable, but the long-term effects showed no significant differences. More research needs to be done in this area. Even though the role of explicit grammar teaching might be debatable, the fact is that there are many grammar books for both teachers and students, which are often consulted by second language learners. As Corder (1967) already pointed out, "It is a defining concern of second language research that there are certain aspects of language to which second language learners commonly prove impervious, where input fails to become intake," and in such cases, a qualitatively sound and meaningful explanations are needed. CL can offer these.

Cross-References

▶ Attention and Awareness
▶ Early Multilingualism and Language Awareness
▶ Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Constant Leung: Second Language Academic Literacies. In Volume: Literacies and Language Education
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Language Awareness and Emotion

Michele Koven

Abstract

This review addresses classic and new approaches to the relationships between emotion and language in multilingual contexts. I first discuss prevalent ideologies that treat emotion as biological and individual, and language as only referential. I then discuss a more fully semiotic view of the relationship between language and emotion that can productively inform examinations of the relationship between multilingualism and emotion. Multilingual displays, interpretations, and experiences of emotion have been studied at three analytic levels: interactions, communities, and individuals. Emotion does not only reside in individual psychobiology but also in semiotically (verbally and nonverbally) mediated social interactions. Emotion can then be treated as simultaneously embodied, social, and semiotically mediated.

Contents

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Introduction

This chapter addresses classic and new approaches to the relationships between emotion and language in multilingual contexts[1]. Specifically, I review scholarship on multilingual displays, interpretations, and experiences of emotion, as these have been studied at three different analytic levels: interactions, communities, and individuals. Focus on the different levels then treats the relationship between multilingualism and emotion as either an interactional, group level, or psychological phenomenon.

I review how emotion does not only reside in individual psychobiology but also in semiotically (verbally and nonverbally) mediated social interactions. I then discuss classic sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological approaches that treat language as a multifunctional medium through which people signal affect implicitly. That is, people do not only use language to refer to emotions explicitly, but also to summon them up indexically and iconically in particular ethnographic contexts. Emotion can then be understood as simultaneously embodied, social, and semiotically mediated. Furthermore, because emotive communication (like all communication) involves metacommunication (Silverstein 1993), i.e., reflexive construals of what is communicated, I also examine the interpretive filters or language ideologies (Schieffelin et al. 1998) through which people display, infer, and experience the various "meanings" of emotion in multilingual discourse. I end with suggestions for integrating semiotic, interactional, and embodied perspectives on the links of language(s) to emotion across levels of the interaction, group, and individual.

Early Developments

Dualisms in the Study of Emotion and Language

The literature on emotion and its relationship to language (and culture) is vast and fraught with controversies. Long-standing dualisms of body versus mind, nature versus culture, individual versus social, ideational versus expressive have plagued

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[1]I use will use emotion and affect interchangeably, following Wilce (2009).

folk theories and scholarship on the topic (Rosaldo 1980; Lutz 1988; Lutz and White 1986). Emotion has then often been treated as exclusively the domain of one pole of these mutually reinforcing dichotomies, i.e., bodily and individual. For example, because emotion has so often been understood as "natural," it has often been relegated to universal, nonverbal expressions Darwin (1965/1872; Ekman 1993).

Treating emotion as situated in individual psychobiology has presented challenges to investigating how emotion unfolds in intersubjective, semiotically mediated interaction (Wilce 2009), subject to norms of conventionalized display (Irvine 1982, 1990). Furthermore, biological and individualist assumptions have limited more macrosocial investigations of affect. That is, emotion has most often been investigated in "private," rather than "public" communicative contexts, impeding understanding of how emotion emerges in public and/or collective events (White 2005), such as ritual (Durkheim 1912/2001; von Scheve and Ismer 2013)[2]. This has also discouraged examination of affect's connections to politics or political economy (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; McElhinny 2010).

Finally, accompanying these problematic dualisms around emotion is the dominant scholarly treatment of language as primarily ideational, not embodied. The most promising approaches construe language use as material, embodied, communicative practice (Gal 1989; Irvine 1989; Bourdieu 1977). Approaches to emotion as simultaneously embodied, semiotically mediated, and interactionally embedded highlight the multidimensional and multimodal aspects of emotion. Emotions generally involve triggering events and appraisals of those events (Averill 1982; Oatley et al. 2006; Scherer et al. 2001; Kockelman 2010). Both the trigger and the appraisal manifest across semiotic modalities: corporeal, cognitive, and socially conventionalized verbal and nonverbal signs. Human actors also reflexively (re) interpret both the initial events and responses to them. Language can play a role at all moments and levels: in the triggering event, appraisal, and subsequent or simultaneous reflexive appraisals of the appraisal. For this review, the challenge will be how to give language its proper place in a discussion of emotion as simultaneously embodied, semiotic, and social.

Language Ideologies, Language(s), and Emotion

Language ideologies (Schieffelin et al. 1998), the often implicit beliefs about linguistic form and function that shape how participants produce and interpret their own and others' discourse, also shape people's understandings of the relationships between language(s) and emotion. Of particular importance to dominant understandings of the relationship between language and emotion is a Euro-American ideology that language is used to refer to and describe preexisting entities in the world (Silverstein 1976), traceable back to Lockean and Saussurean notions of linguistic function (Bauman and Briggs 2003). Language is then viewed as separate

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[2]See Gal 2005 for analysis of discursive and cultural constructions of the private/public distinction.

from the body and other sources of material existence and practice. In this view, language refers to, but is not of the material, and by extension, the affective realm.

A Lockean referentialist language ideology may contrast or co-occur with Herderian notions of particular language(s) as suited to capturing local authenticity (Bauman and Briggs 2003). These ideologies emerge in discussions of the primordiality of the mother tongue, or of language as heritage (versus skill) (Duchene and Heller 2012), where local languages are often romanticized relative to more "useful" languages of wider circulation. By informing people's interpretations and experiences of multiple ways of speaking as more expressive or instrumental, Herderian perspectives pertain to discussions of the relationship between language(s) and emotion.

Finally, often combined with referentialist, ideational, and expressivist, ideologies of language is personalism (Keane 2007; Hill 2008). Personalism locates feelings inside the individual's heart and mind, understood as a self-contained unit with stable and continuous contents. This perspective treats emotions as fully formed inside the individual that words then name more or less accurately and sincerely. When social workers wanted chemically dependent clients' words to truthfully label their feelings as preexisting, internal states, personalism and referentialism co-occur in an ideology of "inner reference" (Carr 2011).

Together, these ideologies have informed scholarly and folk understandings of the relationship(s) between language(s) and emotion(s) and contribute to the dualisms surrounding the topic. I next review scholarship that has sought to bypass earlier assumptions about emotion as individual and internal, and language as referential.

Classic Sociolinguistic and Linguistic Anthropological Work on Emotion

Some early scholarship highlighted affect as one among multiple functions of language (Sapir 1921/2004; Jakobson 1960; Labov 1984). Here, emotion is understood as a dimension of utterances and activities. With a focus on communicative situations rather than individual speakers, Hymes (1974/1995) and Goffman (1974) implicitly discussed the affective framing of communicative activities with the notion of "key" (Besnier 1990, Schieffelin and Ochs 1988).

Interactional sociolinguists discussed participants' (individual and joint) "involvement," without which interactions cannot be sustained (Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1989). Stance is also relevant to the linguistic signaling of affect (Jaffe 2009; Biber and Finegan 1989; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012; Ochs 1992).

Linguistic anthropologists have shown that affect is central to verbal interaction (Irvine 1990; Ochs 1988; Besnier 1990; Schieffelin 1990; Kulick 1992; Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005). Children may learn to infer and signal affect along with or even before they learn to signal propositional content (Ochs 1988). People may also "do" affect in genre or channel-specific ways (Abu-Lughod 1986; Ahearn 2001). Particular affects are also linked to specific communicative activities, such as lament or ritual wailing (Briggs 1992; Wilce 2009).

One can then ask *where* to situate affect in linguistic form. "The emotive function...flavors to some extent all our utterances on the phonic, grammatical, and lexical level... (Jakobson 1960, p. 354)." Contra a referentialist language ideology, forms that explicitly refer to emotions may not be critical for "doing" affect in talk. Indeed, the relationship between language and emotion is multifunctional. More precisely, people mostly display and interpret affect through co-occurring verbal and nonverbal forms that "point" to, or *index* affect, rather than that explicitly label it (Peirce 1940; Besnier 1990; Irvine 1982, 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). Indeed participants signal and interpret affect through all levels of language and discourse (Besnier 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Irvine 1982), including pronouns, interjections (Goffman 1981; Jakobson 1960; Dewaele 2010, Smith 2012, Kockelman 2010), evidentials, diminutives (Silverstein 1981), verbal aspect, reported speech (Besnier 1992; Tannen 1989; Koven 2007), discourse markers, adverbs of intensity (Labov 1984), interactional sequences (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012; Goodwin and Goodwin 2001), and code and style switching (see below).

Pragmatics/Metapragmatics of Affective Discourse

If affect is signaled implicitly, how do people "read" each other's affect? The relationship between signaling and interpreting affect points to the more general pragmatic/metapragmatic dialectic (Silverstein 1993). That is, participants' display and inference of affect is part of contextualization (Gumperz 1982), where participants' contributions to interaction are mediated by their ongoing construals of "what's going on." One could analyze affect in psychotherapy in terms of this pragmatic/metapragmatic dialectic, examining the relation between how therapist and client affectively key their here-and-now interaction with each other in relation to how they attribute affect to those in there-and-then narrated events. Moments when the current and narrated interactions appear to converge may be particularly affectively intense, i.e., when participants enact with each other the same affect they describe (Smith 2015; Wortham 2001). This thus shows a complex relationship between describing, doing, and interpreting affect.

However, although participants easily signal and infer affect as part of an interaction, they may be hard-pressed to say explicitly which features "do" the affective signal (Besnier 1990, 1992; Silverstein 1981). They may be most able to report on those discourse forms that are referential, presupposed, and continuously segmentable, such as words that label emotions (Silverstein 1981), rather than on more covert (and perhaps more compelling) indexes of affect.

Social and Affective Indexicality

As affect is signaled alongside other dimensions of social context, it is tricky to delineate the relationship between affective and social indexicality (Ochs 1992;

Irvine 1982; Besnier 1990). There may not be a set of linguistic forms that uniquely and exclusively indexes affect, separately from how the forms point to other dimensions of context, such as setting, deference to addressee, and/or speaker demeanor[3]. Communicating affect is thus intermingled with social communication more generally.

We see the interconnections between affective and social indexicality in discussions of interjections and forms of address. While some have treated interjections as direct indexes of the speaker's affect (Jakobson 1960; Dewaele 2010; Harris et al. 2003), interjections are also oriented to overhearers (Goffman 1981; Kockelman 2010, Smith 2012). Similarly, while people may use and interpret forms of address as signaling affection or hostility, they also index setting, participants' relationships, and positional identities (Friedrich 1972; Brown and Gilman 1960). Analysts cannot then straightforwardly infer and attribute affect from participants' use of particular multifunctional forms, without knowing how participants also use and interpret those forms to signal situation and social category.

Highlighting the interconnectedness of social and affective indexicality, Irvine argued that affective style should be central to sociolinguistic analysis (Irvine 1982, 1990). As low-ranking Griots are known for verbal effusiveness and high-ranking nobles for their reserve, affective style is part of how Wolof participants interpret the relation between speech and social category. Speaking norms presuppose affective styles associated with situated images of local social types.

Presupposing Versus Creative Indexicality and Affect

However, group membership does not *determine* affective style. Participants sometimes use a way of speaking associated with an other group as a communicative resource, creatively instantiating new affective stances. Following how indexical signs work in general, participants use language not only to reflect preexisting affect but to establish new affect (Wilce 2009). Thus the relationship between language and emotion cannot simply be one of inner reference to affect, as people use language to "make" affect with each other.

To sum up, challenging notions of emotion as solely nonverbal, individual, and internal states, to which language only refers, I have reviewed interactional and semiotic, specifically indexical, approaches. As most affective indexes are multifunctional, linguistic forms may index affect nonexclusively. Affective indexing often simultaneously summons up images of speakers as social types and situational expectations. Finally, people can use language both to presuppose and transform affect.

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[3]This contrasts with Pavlenko (2008) who argues for the existence of a domain of emotion-laden words.

Major Contributions

Multilingual Discourse and Affect

The above approach allows us to consider systematically the role of emotion in multilingual language usage. Scholarship on multilingualism and emotion varies in its focus: the interaction, the community, or the individual. With a focus on interaction, code-switching can be treated as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982) that presupposes or establishes affect in interaction. With a community-level focus on a group's ideologically mediated multilingual communicative repertoire, children may learn to associate different languages with different dimensions of salient context, to include affect (Paugh 2005; Garrett 2005; Kulick 1992). One can also focus on multilingual individuals' language-specific affective responses. I review below exemplars of research with the different foci below.

Social and Affective Meaning Through Code-Switching

As noted above, people can use their different languages as communicative resources, code-switching to index affect and other dimensions of social context[4]. For instance, following Gumperz (1982), bilinguals may code-switch metaphorically, creatively invoking the associations of the other code in ways that transform the ongoing interaction. They may then switch from the minority to the dominant society's language (the "we" code to the "they" code) to change the affective tone of speech. Switches from a "we" to "they" code may render utterances more objective or more authoritative, whereas switches in the reverse direction may personalize or soften an utterance. Similarly, as even transient code-switching may emblematically enact an in-group identity, people may treat their minority language as more affectively evocative than the majority language. Participants thus use the broader associations of language and social group to communicate affect.

Crossing, Social Meaning and Affect

People may also switch to codes associated with groups and personas marked as "other" (Bakhtin 1981; Rampton 1995). Such switches often produce positive affect for participants in the immediate interaction. Yet, crossing to an out-group code may re-inscribe more broadly circulating sociolinguistic hierarchies. White Anglo speakers may, for example, project jocular affect and a laidback persona through mock Spanish (Hill 2008). However, beyond their immediate awareness, this usage stigmatizes Spanish and Spanish speakers. Participants' multilingual performances then produce different affect for differently positioned participants: pleasure for ratified Anglo participants and negative affect and other negative consequences for

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[4]Pavlenko (2008) discusses other dimensions of individual bilingualism and emotion, to include bilinguals' lexical resources for talking about emotion, and less referentially explicit "emotion-laden" forms, such as interjections.

Latino overhearers. Affect may thus be differentially distributed and produced across a participant framework, in ways that connect to larger social hierarchies. Multilingual discourse may thus entail complexly voiced affects and personas, not all attributable to the speaker animating them (Goffman 1981; Bakhtin 1981).

Heteroglossia of Emotion Talk

Multilinguals may thus distribute different languages across participant roles heteroglossically (Besnier 1992; Hill 1995; Irvine 1990; Koven 2007). As such participants may use a particular language, not only to display their "own" affect but to quote a figure from which they distance themselves. When Spanish-Nahuatl bilingual Don Gabriel narrated his son's murder at the hands of Spanish-speaking capitalists, he implicitly used and condemned Spanish as the out-group, power code (Hill 1995). As such, contra personalist language ideologies described above, code-switched utterances need not directly index the affect of the person animating them.

Studies of Multilingual Language Socialization, Affect, and Ideology

Children in multilingual communities may learn to associate different languages with different types of affect (Kulick 1992; Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005). Languages, speech genres, types of speakers (male/female, old/young, etc.), and types of affective display come indexically bundled. Kulick's participants associated the indigenous language, Taiap, with women's angry public insults, positioning them as unChristian and unmodern. Yet, participants associated the national language, Tok Pisin, with men, calmer dispositions, and public oratory, positioning them as Christian and modern. Such associations between language, speech genre, affect, (de) valued types of person, and chronotopic images of (non)modernity can play a role in language shift and cultural change.

Furthermore, because linkages between particular affective displays and social types are often hierarchically ranked, perceptions of affect connect to questions of power and inequalities. Attributing socially sanctioned affects to others, e.g., framing a particular group as angry, agitated, labile, etc., can contribute to various forms of gendered or racialized othering (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Besnier 1990).

Work in Progress

Language as Object of Affect

Language can itself be the object of affect, not just its vehicle (Wilce 2009). Sociolinguistic insecurity, stigma, and prestige can be understood through an affective lens (Wilce 2009), as a new prism to understand older questions about language attitudes and ideologies (McEwan-Fujita 2010). Indeed one can desire (Piller and Takahashi 2006), be ashamed of, proud of, anxious about (Dewaele 2010; Hiramoto and Park 2014), or willing to die for (McElhinny 2010) a language. For example, Japanese women may desire native English-speaking men for their English (Piller

and Takahashi 2006). It may then vary whether the affective target is the language itself and/or the (images of) person, place, and time associated with it.

Connecting Language and Emotion to Broader Regimes and Hierarchies

Illuminating why and how people have particular affective orientations toward a language requires a broader political economic understanding of the regimes of value in which languages are embedded. One can look at the power-laden relationships between language and affect under colonialism, postcolonialism, and neoliberalism (McElhinny 2010). Similarly the notion of investing in the pride and profit of various languages and language varieties (Duchene and Heller 2012) inevitably manifests itself though people's affective alignments toward linguistic "goods" that are considered valuable across multiple scales.

Language and Emotion for Multilingual Individuals

Another line of work starts with the multilingual individual. This may mean examining how and whether multilingual individuals "do" affect in (non)equivalent ways in their different languages (see Pavlenko 2006; Koven 2007), and whether they can learn new ways of displaying, experiencing, and interpreting affect.

Discourse About Multilinguals' Language Specific Emotional Experiences

Much scholarship has used *reports about* multilinguals' language-specific emotional displays and experiences. There are two general trends across these studies. First, many multilinguals report displaying and/or experiencing less affective intensity in languages acquired later, especially languages acquired in classroom or professional contexts, showing a L2 detachment effect (Pavlenko 2012). Second, some multilinguals report that later-acquired languages afford them new types of affective display and personhood, which they may view positively, if these afford them new, valued relationships and contexts.

Language-specific affect is commonly reported. For example, multilingual authors/memoirists display heightened metalinguistic awareness of the affective experience of living and writing in more than one language, when writing in a language learned in childhood or in a later-acquired language (Hoffman 1989; Pavlenko 2006). Clinicians have discussed their multilingual patients' use of different languages in talk-based psychotherapy (Pavlenko 2006; Dewaele and Costa 2013; Koven 2007, Amati Mehler et al. 1994), asking whether therapy in a second language may be less affectively engaged.

Researchers have also asked multilinguals to report how they express emotion in their different languages. Order of acquisition and language dominance play a major role in people's reported language-specific affective intensity, (Dewaele 2010). The

majority of respondents to a large web-based questionnaire reported "expressing feelings" more in earlier-acquired languages (Dewaele 2010). They also reported preferring to engage in verbal acts associated with high negative and positive affect (such as swearing and declaring love) in earlier-acquired languages, unless these activities are considered taboo in the communicative contexts associated with L1.

Scholars have then asked whether and how these frequently reported experiences of emotion in different languages co-occur with many participants' reported sense of feeling like a different person (Koven 2007; DeWaele 2010; Pavlenko 2006). One can then ask why and under what circumstances some, participants interpret their different ways of speaking as indicative of "being a different person." Indeed, as noted above in ethnographic scholarship, people commonly link types of affective display to images of people as particular social types.

Of course, there are limitations to *reports about* relations between language, emotion, and experience of self, which should not be taken at face value (Koven 2007). Such reports differ from participants' actual language-specific emotional displays. Abstracted from real time communication of affect, reports are ideologically mediated interpretations (Koven 2007; Pavlenko 2006)[5].

Experimental Elicitations of Affective Responses in Their Multiple Languages

Others have explored L2 affectivity with methods that bypass the limitations of self-report, with tasks that simulate how multilinguals "do" affect in real situations. Exploring whether multilinguals make moral decisions differently in L1 and L2, Keysar et al. (2012) found that people are more analytic and objective in L2, as opposed to L1.

Bilinguals may also "do" affect in narrative in language-specific ways (Pavlenko 2006; Koven 2007). Specifically, I investigated the discourse strategies which French-Portuguese childhood bilinguals used to display affect, in tellings of the "same" stories of personal experience in their two languages. Participants' narrative voicings (Bakhtin 1981) or production formats (Goffman 1981) varied according to language, as shown by their inhabitance of different *speaker roles* in French versus Portuguese. Specifically, I compared frequencies and proportions French versus Portuguese of three storytelling speakers roles through which people displayed affect heteroglossically: 1. "narrator" role, i.e., speech that presents a "there-and-then" event; 2. "interlocutor" role, speech directed to the "here-and-now" of the telling. In the interlocutor role, the storyteller may display both her current affective alignments with the listener and with narrated figures; and 3. "character" role, speech used to perform the quoted speech of narrated figures of self and others. What do speakers' language-specific proportions and frequencies of these speaker roles reveal about

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[5]One can triangulate such reports with other methods, such as asking other bilinguals to react to and discuss recorded storytellers' affective displays (Koven 2007). Bilingual listeners found recorded bilingual speakers sounded like different types of people in French versus Portuguese, whom they imaginatively situated in French and Portuguese sociocultural landscapes.

language-specific affect and persona? Participants consistently inhabited the interlocutor role more in French than in Portuguese tellings, displaying greater "here-and-now" affect in French, relative to their listeners and in relation to the story world. Participants also consistently swore more in French in the interlocutor role, and as first-person characters (self-quotes) in the narrated event. However, although they swore less in Portuguese in the interlocutor and first-person character roles, they swore more freely in third-person character roles (other-quotes), easily attributing profanity to others. By quoting others' but not their own profanity, they demonstrated awareness of the social meanings of curses in Portuguese, without adopting them in their own voice. Concretely, this might mean that they could present themselves in French but not in Portuguese as having insulted someone with taboo language. By comparison, in Portuguese, they could present *others* using taboo words but present themselves more "politely." Participants' language-specific distributions of participant roles, and of swearing across the roles, reveals that these bilinguals use heteroglossia to "do" different degrees and types of affect and persona in their two languages. I linked their French versus Portuguese affective performances to their positions in their different ethnographic contexts, i.e., to the social types they could enact in urban, peer-oriented French versus rural, family-oriented Portuguese contexts.

Scholars have also examined the relationship between affective intensity and narrating in the language of the original experience (Marian and Neisser 2000; Schrauf and Rubin 2000; Koven 2007). Do multilinguals "relive" affect differently or more vividly, when the languages of the narrating and narrated events match? While some have found that bilinguals do relive more intensely when the languages of the two events match (Marian and Neisser 2000; Schrauf and Rubin 2000), I did not find this. My participants showed comparable amounts of direct quotation, a key strategy for narrative reenactment, when narrating in a language other than that of the original experience (2007). Regardless of whether the languages of the narrated and narrating events matched, participants could still conjure vivid narrated worlds for current storytelling participants.

Moving from production to reception, how do multilinguals interpret and respond to affective speech in L1 versus L2 (Rintell 1984; Harris et al. 2003, 2006)? Multilinguals display different skin conductance (a physiologic measure of emotional responsiveness), in response to affective speech (declarations of love, curses, and scolds) in L1 versus L2 (Harris et al. 2003, 2006). The findings may be complicated for childhood bilinguals and those who have learned and used their L2 in a variety of interpersonal relationships.

Problems and Difficulties

Such language-specific emotional responsiveness compels us to think about the "embodied" nature of multilinguals' affective responses (Pavlenko 2012). But how best to understand these responses as simultaneously embodied, semiotic, and intersubjective? We should avoid returning to the dualisms described above. This

means that we should not treat biologically documentable responses that follow from or co-occur with speech as more "real" than the socially documentable, semiotic responses that unfold in interaction. It would be a sad irony if, in accounting for people's responses to semiotically mediated interactions, we ultimately reimported earlier asocial, universalist biologisms. To simulate how multilinguals signal, interpret, and experience affect in real, high-stakes encounters (as opposed to the lab), we should be careful not to extract bilinguals (and their bodies) from the flow of linguistically mediated social interactions in the world (Pavlenko 2006).

Future Directions

Semiosis and Embodied Experience: Indexicality and Iconicity

Finally, one may ask why scholars (myself included) are so intrigued and perplexed that people use and respond to different semiotic forms (here languages) with different affects. Why expect people to "do" and interpret the "same" affects across contexts, genres, and languages in the first place? Perhaps such differences are only perplexing from personalist, referentialist, and romantic perspectives, if we treat affect as a static core of personhood, which language labels rather than helps to create. If affect is semiotically and intersubjectively "done," why wouldn't different languages shape how people display, interpret, and experience affect?

Furthermore, one should complicate the L1 embodiment versus L2 detachment effect. Beyond a psychological framework, how do experiences and perceptions of emotional intensity/neutrality relate to more macrosocial, ideologically mediated interpretations of bilingual repertoires? The embodiment-detachment distinction intersects intriguingly with the distinction between language as authentic heritage and language as neutral, instrumental skill (Duchene and Heller 2012). For example, my French-Portuguese bilingual participants often offered seemingly contradictory displays and assessments of the relative affective expressiveness of their two languages. On the one hand, their speech contained fewer markers of affective intensity in Portuguese than in French. Yet, they often mentioned greater emotional attachment to Portuguese as the warmer language "of their heart," and French (the language of education and future employment), the "colder" language of their "head." This apparent contradiction suggests that multilinguals may display and understand notions of detachment and emotionality in several seemingly disparate ways, mediated by their socialization experiences, and by larger language ideologies that construe their languages as more or less emotional. This requires further attention to the multiplicities and nuances in people's understandings of language-mediated affective intensity/neutrality. For example, do people construe intensity as a quality of an utterance or as the essence of an entire language? Do they interpret intensity as a sign of an individual's stance toward others, of a transient internal state, or of their intrinsic demeanor, as a particular social type? And how do people construe the links across these levels?

Finally, there are new approaches to the semiotics of embodiment that might further illuminate relationships between multilingualism and emotion. Recent work

in linguistic anthropology has stressed not only indexical but also iconic relations between language and emotion (Irvine and Gal 2000; Keane 2003; Chumley and Harkness 2013). Specifically, people may apprehend particular semiotic objects in terms of qualia or socially constructed sensuous properties (Peirce 1940; Harkness 2013). This perspective can inform how multilinguals experience different languages as connected to different essences (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal 2013). For example, Gal's Hungarian-German bilingual participants experienced their two languages through the locally salient contrast of fanciness versus coarseness. She then examined how such "essences" were semiotically produced. This new focus on iconization allows analysts to explore multilinguals' embodied, affective experiences of and in language (including detachment and emotionality) in semiotic, sociocultural terms, rather than more asocial, biological terms.

To understand why and how analysts and participants continue to interpret the relationships between language and emotion dualistically, we could analyze how the dualisms are semiotically produced, through axes of differentiation and fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal 2005). This again links the social and the affective, as people's treatment of particular languages as more or less emotional may be associated with their treatment of social types as inherently more or less emotional.

In the study of multilingualism and emotion, we still confront the challenge of treating language as not inherently separate from but fully part of bodily and material practice and experience. Emotion is not just something that individuals "have" but something people "Communicatively do." As people do emotion through multiple co-occurring semiotic modalities, language(s) provide(s) key examples of such embodied modalities.

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Language Contact, Language Awareness, and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Xiaoting Li: Researching Body Movement and Interaction in Education. In volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Early Multilingualism and Language Awareness

Annick De Houwer

Abstract

This contribution concerns early language awareness in young children under 6 years of age who have been exposed to more than one spoken language and who have not yet received any formal literacy instruction. Multilingual exposure may have taken place from birth, or children may first have heard a single language to which another language was added after some time. The review concerns children whose multilingual proficiency includes well-developed comprehension skills in two languages (relevant studies concerning trilingual children are scarce).

Language awareness is here defined as the totality of metacognitive skills needed to allow reflecting on language as an object and the monitoring of one's own language use and that of others. Characteristic for bilinguals is that in addition to reflection on aspects that monolinguals may also be aware of, e.g., the phonemic make up of a word in one particular language, specifically bilingual aspects of language use may be reflected on or monitored.

Behaviors showing language awareness reviewed here include children's requests for translations, spontaneous or prompted translations, sound play, performance on tasks designed to test children's phonological awareness (PA) and their ability for morphosyntactic error detection, showing a realization that people may understand two languages, discussing languages and who uses them, language choice patterns, repairing one's language choice or other aspects of one's own language use, and corrections of other people's language usage. The review concludes with a brief discussion of bilingual children's theory of mind

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(TOM) development and other aspects of their sociocognitive development that may relate to language awareness.

Contents

Introduction

This contribution concerns early language awareness in young children under 6 years of age who have been exposed to more than one spoken language. Multilingual exposure may have taken place from birth (Bilingual First Language Acquisition, BFLA), or children may first have heard a single language to which another language was added after some time (Early Second Language Acquisition, ESLA) (De Houwer 1990). Language awareness (LA) is here defined as the totality of metacognitive skills needed to allow (1) reflection on language as an object and (2) the monitoring of one's own language use and that of others. Characteristic for bilinguals is that in addition to reflection on, e.g., the phonemic make up of a word in one particular language, specifically bilingual aspects of language use may be reflected on or monitored.

The sole focus here is on bilingual children under age 6 who have not yet received any formal literacy instruction; studies involving 5-year-olds who had some literacy instruction are thus excluded from review. Studies that collapse data for younger and older children are excluded as well. The review concerns children whose bilingual proficiency includes well-developed comprehension skills in two languages and thus excludes children who have just started to be exposed to an L2. Although dialectal differences may be as large as or larger than structural differences between languages, this contribution does not concern children acquiring two varieties of what is commonly regarded as the same language. Names of languages below refer just to languages, without implications for nationality.

Early Developments Including Initial Contributors

Ronjat's (1913) pioneering study of BFLA by Louis, who acquired German and French from birth, contains a separate chapter on LA that includes as a sign of a budding metalinguistic awareness the use of phonological processes, whereby as a part of normal phonological development, children substitute and delete phonemes in comparison to the adult form (e.g., *cwy* for *cry; ephant* for *elephant*). However, such aspects of children's developing language proficiencies are distinct from LA, although it is often difficult to draw distinct lines between the processing of forms necessary for basic language acquisition and the metacognitive skills needed to reflect on them.

Ronjat's (1913) contribution to understanding LA in young bilinguals lies in his keen identification of the following chronologically ordered behaviors that have later been found time and again in longitudinal studies of BFLA children (see further below):

- Louis used the language he heard his interlocutor speak to him. This interlocutor-driven language choice started at age 1;4 (year; month) and continued throughout.
- At 1;8, Louis spontaneously juxtaposed words from both languages that had the same meaning: Louis pointed to his eye and said in French *oeil (eye)* directly followed by its German translation *Auge* (Ronjat 1913, p. 81).
- Starting at 1;8, when prompted, Louis would provide a word in one language for a thing he had just named in the other language, e.g., when asked by his mother (in German) what his father had in his mouth, Louis furnished the German word for *pipe*; when his father then took the pipe out of his mouth and asked him in French what is was, Louis furnished the French translation (Ronjat 1913, p. 76).
- Starting at 1;9 and continuing throughout, Louis frequently spontaneously repeated something he had said in one language (to a speaker of that language) in the other language (to a speaker of that other language). Louis was so good at translating that he was used as a messenger between monolinguals of each language.
- At 2;2, Louis spontaneously self-corrected a French word in a German utterance by providing the German translation.
- Starting at 2;4 and continuing throughout, Louis spontaneously started saying that X (a word in German) was also Y (a word in French) (or the other way round). These translations occurred in conversations with one and the same interlocutor.
- Occasionally, Louis' mother inadvertently used a French word in a German utterance she addressed to Louis. There are some examples starting at 2;10 where Louis tells her she's wrong and furnished the German word.
- At three, Louis started requesting translations for words and phrases he knew only in one language.
- At three, Louis started commenting on how he spoke to particular individuals; he was not explicitly taught the names of languages, but rather *how mummy speaks* and *how daddy speaks*.

Besides these examples, which are only possible in a bilingual setting, Louis was also observed to correct a grammatical mistake in German (at 3;2; Ronjat 1913, p. 80).

In the next study of bilingual acquisition, this time covering ESLA, Pavlovitch (1920) briefly drew attention to his son Douchan's awareness of bilingualism. Douchan heard his first language (L1) Serbian from birth and started hearing his second language (L2) French at 1;2. Like Ronjat, Pavlovitch saw bilingual awareness as a gradually developing phenomenon and considered that adjusting one's language choice to one's interlocutor showed such an awareness. By age three, Douchan was speaking Serbian with Serbian speakers and French with French speakers.

Werner Leopold, who published his insightful four-volume work on his BFLA daughter's German- English development between 1939 and 1949, was probably the first to suggest a possible advantage for bilingual children in the realm of metalinguistic awareness: "Hildegard never clung to words, as monolingual children are often reported to do. She did not insist on the exact wording of fairy tales. She often reproduced even memorized materials with substitutions of other words [..]. I attribute this attitude of detachment from words confidently to the bilingualism. Constantly hearing the same things referred to by different words from two languages, she had her attention drawn to essentials, to content instead of form" (Leopold 1949, pp. 187–188).

In the 1980s, LA in bilingual children started to be much more in focus. De Houwer (1983) explained Dutch-English Kate's different language choice patterns with monolingual vs. bilingual interlocutors between 2;7 and 3;4 in terms of different levels of metacognitive self-monitoring. Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1983) compared seven Spanish-English bilingual children between 4;5 and 5;6 with monolingual peers on their abilities to note structural errors, correct these errors and explain them, and found that bilingual children's metalinguistic abilities were higher. Similarly, Bialystok (1986) found a bilingual advantage in 4- and 5-year-olds' word identification abilities. Idiazábal (1984) discussed signs of LA in Maider, an ESLA child with Basque as an L1 and Spanish as an L2 from 1;9 onwards. Clyne (1987) reported on LA in his German-English BFLA daughter Joanna between two and five.

Major Contributions

Within the main components of behavior reflecting LA (reflection on language as an object and the monitoring of one's own language use and that of others), a distinction is made here between subtopics particularly relevant to bilinguals and those that are more generally relevant. The review covers longitudinal in-depth case studies (mostly of BFLA children) and group studies utilizing structured tasks and/or experiments (it is not always clear whether children grew up in BFLA or ESLA settings). Some group studies compared data with those for matched monolinguals, others focus just on bilinguals.

Reflection on Language as an Object

Among behaviors specific to bilingual environments are translation requests. In the most comprehensive study of BFLA children in the first 2 years of life to date besides the classics by Ronjat and Leopold (see above), Cruz-Ferreira (2006) noted some early instances. At 1;5, Mikael knew the Portuguese word for *sock*. In interaction with his Swedish-speaking father he waved his sock around and said the Portuguese word in a questioning tone, which his father interpreted as a translation request. Father then provided the Swedish word, and Mikael started saying the Swedish word as well (Cruz-Ferreira 2006, p. 79). A few months after their second birthdays, Cruz-Ferreira's (2006, p. 78) three children, whose mother addressed them in Portuguese and their father in Swedish, started to frequently ask each parent what the other parent would call a particular object. Alexander, a German-Farsi BFLA child, started to frequently ask for translations as of 2;6 (Afshar 1998. p. 142).

Indeed, young BFLA children by necessity will need to acquire at least some translation equivalents, that is, they will need to learn words that more or less mean the same in the two languages they are acquiring (De Houwer 2009). The fact that linguists categorize a pair of words as translations of each other does not imply that children are aware that these words are in fact translations. Leopold (1949, pp. 179–180) described what he called an early "involuntary translation," that is, "a transposition from one language medium into another via an act which was linked by association with words in both," for example, when at 1;4 Hildegard said English *up!* as she rose after her father had told her in German to get up.

By children's second birthdays, such "transpositions" have transformed into real translations that bilingual children are able to offer spontaneously (see examples from Ronjat's (1913) Louis above). As of 2;4, Afshar's (1998, p. 142) Alexander provided many translations from German to Farsi and the other way round. Many such translations may be seen as a kind of word definition, especially if they are of the form *Palo es un stick* (*a stick is a stick*, with the Spanish word *palo* translated into English), said by Spanish-English BFLA Nico at 2;9 (Silva-Corvalán 2014, p. 94). Idiazábal (1984) gave similar examples for ESLA from same aged Maider. Many BFLA children can also provide translations when explicitly or implicitly prompted (De Houwer 2009; see below).

There are several other metalinguistic behaviors that are not specific to bilingual environments. One of them, naming languages and discussing who uses them, has not been reported for young monolingual children. In contrast, bilingual children often state things like *Mummy says__* and will often say this spontaneously while offering a translation of a word or phrase they just said in the other language (Cruz-Ferreira 2006; Ronjat 1913). Such pronouncements may occur as early as at age two. Soon after their second birthdays, children may start to use the actual names of their languages (Clyne 1987; De Houwer 1990). Cruz-Ferreira's (2006, p. 87) two-and-a-half-year-old daughter asked whether her newborn sister spoke Portuguese and Swedish; 3-year-old Mikael asked his mother what language a person they were about to meet for the first time spoke (p. 78). De Houwer's (1990) Kate declared that all women spoke English and all men Dutch. As of age three,

Clyne's (1987) Joanna made many statements about who used what language. At 3;6, Silva-Corvalàn's (2014, p. 94) BFLA subject Brennan made fun of his grandfather's English-style pronunciation of a Spanish word. At 3;10, Joanna asked her father why the people in his department in Australia were speaking German (Clyne 1987, p. 93). Some of these comments imply a monitoring of other people's language use (see below).

Behaviors reflecting on language that have been documented for both bilingual and monolingual children include anecdotal evidence of children discussing the structure and/or meaning of a word (De Houwer 2009). Signs of phonological awareness (PA) have been noted in case studies: De Houwer (1990) described several examples of Kate's sound play from the first recording at 2;7 onwards; Silva-Corvalàn (2014) mentioned the onset of spontaneous rhyming games by her two BFLA subjects at 3;6. However, it is mostly in group studies using specially designed or adapted tests that PA has been specifically addressed. Using a sample of 123 Spanish-English children between 2;10 and 5;0, Dickinson et al. (2004) found that PA in one language strongly predicted PA in the other. Verhoeven (2007) compared 75 5-year-old ESLA children's L1 (Turkish) and L2 (Dutch) proficiencies at the beginning of their kindergarten year and at the end and evaluated children's PA in the L2 at the end of the year against their language proficiencies (there was no emphasis on literacy at the Dutch kindergarten these children were attending). The children with the highest proficiency levels in both languages did best on the PA tests, especially on those involving phoneme segmentation.

In their study comparing 25 Russian-Finnish BFLA 4-year-olds to monolingual Finnish peers, Silvén and Rubinov (2010) found no bilingual-monolingual differences in tasks assessing aspects of phonological, morphological, and semantic awareness. All their preliterate subjects already showed some skill in explicitly recognizing syllables and sound patterns in words, though. Only the BFLA children with equally proficient skills in both languages had equal levels of PA in both languages. This finding accords with Verhoeven's (2007) results for ESLA.

Davidson et al. (2010) compared 18 Urdu-English bilingual children between 3;8 and 4;7 with monolingual English peers on a syntactic awareness task where children were explicitly asked whether a particular sentence sounded ok or not, and, if not, why. There were no bilingual-monolingual differences but the bilingual children performed better on the Urdu than on the English syntactic awareness task (children were generally very bad at giving reasons why a sentence did not sound ok). Finally, Siegal et al. (2010) showed that 36 German-Italian BFLA and 33 English-Japanese BFLA or ESLA children between three and six were more sensitive to violations of the four Gricean conversational maxims than Italian and Japanese monolingual peers.

Monitoring One's Own Language Use and that of Others

Specific to a bilingual environment is that young bilingual children build up expectations about their interlocutors' language choice. Cruz-Ferreira (2006, p. 62) notes that at age 4 months, her Portuguese-Swedish-learning children would respond

rather negatively when at the end of a day of only speaking Portuguese to them their mother addressed their father in Swedish. In my unpublished data, a Dutch-French BFLA child aged 11 months who had hitherto heard one of her caregivers speak only Dutch opened eyes and mouth wide in amazement when she heard that caregiver read a text in French.

Several case studies on BFLA children's own language use show children addressing familiar people in a language that their interlocutors understand but do not speak to children themselves (De Houwer 2009). This implies that children must have some awareness that certain people can understand two languages. A study of 32 bilingual 20-month-olds showed that in contrast to monolingual peers, bilingual children did not assume that people can speak only a single language (Pitts et al. 2015). In a similar vein, Byers-Heinlein et al. (2014) found that bilingual 2-year-olds (but not their monolingual peers) had an understanding that people do not necessarily share the same linguistic repertoires. Thus, the realization that people may understand two languages is not something that comes naturally to young monolinguals. Young bilinguals, on the other hand, have this understanding from early on.

Many young BFLA children are able to speak the language they are addressed in from very early on (De Houwer 2009). Usually, it is familiar people who speak with children, and children's language choice may thus, to a large extent, be the result of habit. The real test of children being able to respond in the language they are addressed in comes from data on what they do with strangers. Genesee et al. (1996) showed that even 2-year-old bilinguals can be sensitive to unfamiliar people's language characteristics. Three of the four children they studied showed this by mainly speaking a stranger's language, even if they were not very proficient in it. Tare and Gelman (2014) summarized a study they did with 28 Marathi-English BFLA children between 2;7 and 4;11 growing up in the United States. In free play sessions with either an English- or a Marathi-speaking unfamiliar researcher, children addressed the researchers mainly in the language they addressed children in (see also Comeau et al. 2007).

Some young bilinguals show little accommodation to their interlocutor's language and will address them in a language these interlocutors do not speak to them (see above). However, this is the marked case for BFLA children who have not yet started to go to (pre)school (De Houwer 2009). Children's lack of accommodation may have many reasons, among them children's proficiency in a particular language, which in turn largely depends on socialization patterns and the frequency with which children hear a particular language (De Houwer 2009).

Bilingual children not only monitor other people's language choice but also their own. This is clear from repairs children make to their language choice spontaneously (Comeau et al. 2007; De Houwer 1990) or in response to signs from their interlocutor that they were not understood. De Houwer's (1990) Kate data showed changes in language choice after clarification requests at 2;7 and 3;1. Comeau et al. (2007) studied 26 French-English BFLA children between 2;3 and 3;7. All 3-year-olds and some 2-year-olds interpreted their unfamiliar interlocutor's signs of misunderstanding when children had not used the interlocutor's language as a cue to repair their initial language

choice (see also De Houwer 2009, pp. 270–272). The growing ability to repair language choice after being prompted is in place starting at around the age of two and a half but may be affected by the setting in which this prompting takes place (Tare and Gelman 2014). Finally, bilingual children may make explicit comments on what forms in what language they speak when: When he was nearly five, Afshar's (1998, p. 247) Alexander commented on his use of specific phrases that he identified as Farsi and that he used with his grandmother in Iran.

Bilingual and monolingual children alike show the monitoring of their own language use in their use of repairs to (parts of) their utterances on the structural, pragmatic, or semantic level, either spontaneously or when prompted. For BFLA Kate, De Houwer (1990) found a clear developmental pattern in spontaneous repairs in both languages, with many more such self-corrections occurring between 3;1 and 3;4 than between 2;7 and 3;1. This increase coincided with a clear sudden increase in proficiency levels in both languages after age three. Also, similar to monolingual children, Kate's repairs were made to forms that had just been newly acquired in production.

Hesitations can also be seen as showing some sort of low level self-monitoring. These were found in the Kate data throughout but greatly increased towards 3;3 when Kate was starting to construct much more complex utterances (De Houwer 1990).

Finally, explicit corrections to someone else's utterance require both reflecting on language as a system and monitoring other people's language use. Bilingual and monolingual children alike may correct others as they reach their third birthdays. Cruz-Ferreira (2006, p. 91) reported that her bilingual daughter corrected her mother's pronunciation of *Carl* by saying in Portuguese *it's not [*a*], mummy, it's [a:]* (2;9). Equally at 2;9, Kate corrected her Dutch interlocutor's use of a Dutch diminutive and reprimanded her mother for saying an unexisting Dutch word (De Houwer 1990, pp. 325–327).

Some of bilingual children's metalinguistic behaviors have been interpreted as relating to their underlying sociocognitive skills such as theory of mind abilities. Related to this is that compared to monolinguals, bilingual children show an increased attention to pragmatic cues and less of a reliance on mutual exclusivity, a word-learning strategy that assumes that newly heard word forms cannot refer to things one already knows a label for. These issues are discussed in the final section.

Work in Progress

As a result of a cooperative project between the University of Erfurt and the Max-Planck-Institute for Human Cognitive and Brain Sciences in Germany, publications are in preparation that will shed light on German-Spanish BFLA children's reliance on mutual exclusivity, syntactic information, and pragmatic gestures in novel word learning (Groba 2014). Both behavioral data and neurophysiological experiments are available. Children were three and a half and 5 years old, and results are compared to data collected for monolingual German peers.

Many other research laboratories are conducting studies that can inform the relation between early bilingualism and cognitive developments supporting both language awareness and language acquisition. For instance, the Concordia Infant Research Laboratory at Concordia University in Canada under the direction of Dr. Byers-Heinlein is investigating bilingual and monolingual children's understanding of the conventional nature of language (http://infantresearch.concordia.ca/ Concordia_Infant_Research_Laboratory/Research.html). The Cognitive Development Lab at York University in Canada directed by Dr. Ellen Bialystok continues to examine the effects of bilingualism on cognition in children between 4 and 8 (http://cog.lab.yorku.ca/current-research/). At Columbia University in the United States, Dr. Natalie Brito is linking up her previous work on memory and early bilingualism (e.g., Brito et al. 2014) with research into socioeconomic disparities (http://www.nataliebrito.com/). In the Language And Social Cognition Lab at the Singapore University of Technology and Design in Singapore directed by Dr. Quin Yow, researchers are investigating the role of a bilingual environment in children's perception of communicative cues and in their ability to make social inferences (http://people.sutd.edu.sg/~quin/).

Work at Loyola University's Children's Language, Memory and Cognition Research Lab in the United States directed by Dr. Denise Davidson is examining word-learning strategies in bilingual children as well as their phonological and syntactic awareness, particularly as they relate to early literacy development (http://www.luc.edu/langmem/language_studies.shtml). Research into phonological awareness in young bilingual children and on precursors of early literacy is currently underway in laboratories led by, for instance, Dr. Lee Branum-Martin at Georgia State University in the United States (http://www2.gsu.edu/~wwwpsy/ branummartin.html) and Dr. Xi Chen-Bumgardner at the University of Toronto in Canada (http://chenlab.awardspace.com/projects.html). (All internet sources here were accessed on February 12, 2015).

Problems and Difficulties

The identification of behaviors indexing LA in bilingual children here followed the literature of the last decades and picked up on Ronjat's (1913) lead. As noted for Ronjat's position that children's early phonological processes show metalinguistic awareness, the identification of behaviors showing such awareness is not clear-cut. Basic mechanisms of language acquisition likely contribute to language awareness, and increased LA may contribute to developing better language proficiency. The identification problem is particularly relevant to bilingual children's pragmatic differentiation, that is, their convergent accommodation to their interlocutor's language choice. This practice is commonly identified as a type of metalinguistic behavior because it likely relies on the theory of mind (TOM) insight that people may fail to understand a language they are not speaking, and on an understanding of interlocutors' communicative intentions (Tare and Gelman 2014). A lack of pragmatic differentiation can then be explained through a lesser degree of TOM insight.

However, young bilingual children may also fail to show pragmatic differentiation as a result of not yet having the necessary proficiency to speak each language when socially required (Afshar 1998; De Houwer 1990). Thus, a lack of pragmatic differentiation does not necessarily imply a lack of sociocognitive insight.

LA is a multicomponential construct. Some components may develop gradually and to varying degrees. There may also be individual differences among children in the extent to which a particular LA component develops more gradually or in a more discrete fashion. An example here once again is children's pragmatic differentiation. Some children like Ronjat's (1913) Louis showed pragmatic differentiation from the start of recognizable word production, whereas other children present with a more gradual development. Similarly, translating behaviors may or may not be metalinguistic in nature. Children may use words from two languages that happen to be translation equivalents, but children may just use these appropriately in different language contexts without connecting them with each other. Only gradually may children become consciously aware that a word in one language means the same thing as a word in their other language.

There is a lot of individual variation in children's use of translation equivalents (De Houwer 2009, p. 231 ff.). This and other variation in bilingual children's early LA may to a large extent be affected by parental discourse strategies drawing attention to referents having two possible labels: to parents' requesting children to translate words into the other language and to parental talk about language (see also Tare and Gelman 2014). The environmental factors supporting developing early bilingual LA are still poorly understood.

For bilingual-monolingual comparisons of LA behaviors that are not specifically bilingual in nature it is important to recruit participant groups that differ only in the number of languages being learned. This is a difficult methodological requirement. As Davidson et al. (2010) suggest, studies should take into account when bilingual children learned the languages that are being tested. Here the difference between BFLA and ESLA is particularly relevant. Comparisons of bilingual-monolingual performance on metalinguistic tasks in one particular language should hold the total time for learning that language constant across group. For instance, comparing 4-year-old monolinguals to same-aged bilinguals with only 2 years' exposure in the test language, their L2, is not appropriate. Ideally, bilingual-monolingual comparisons should utilize BFLA children. This holds the total time of language learning opportunities constant.

The review above focused on preliterate children. Even in the absence of formal literacy instruction, children may be visiting preschools that differ greatly in the attention given to language and sound play. Especially for children that are recruited from very different kinds of preschools, as was the case in the Davidson et al. (2010) study, which recruited monolinguals from public and parochial schools and bilinguals from Muslim schools, it needs to be explained how similar or different the instructional approaches are. Different instructional programs may affect children's LA.

The decision here to exclude young bilinguals who had already received formal literacy instruction was based on the notion that such formal literacy instruction can

affect LA. Children attending kindergarten in the United States were assumed to already have some formal literacy instruction and were therefore excluded from review. It was striking that these studies did not provide any information on the nature of early literacy instruction. Given that literacy instruction can affect LA, studies would need to control for it. One way of doing so would be to use bilingual and monolingual participants from the same classroom. However, if added to this bilingual participants need to be age-matched BFLA children, recruitment becomes very difficult.

Future Directions

A big question is the extent to which LA in bilinguals is language dependent or language independent. For instance, phonemic awareness and morphosyntactic awareness may depend on the specific (pairs of) languages children are acquiring. More research is needed to further explore the role of language and other variables (Barac et al. 2014; Branum-Martin et al. 2014). However, LA is normally seen as forming part of global cognitive development. Given that one person has one mind, cognition is a personal attribute not linked to a specific language. On the whole, then, metalinguistic awareness should be evident regardless of which language children are speaking.

Cognitive factors possibly underlying bilingual children's metalinguistic behavior include theory of mind (TOM), that is, the development of the ability to ascribe mental states to others (Barac et al. 2014). The limited number of studies comparing TOM development in young bilingual and monolingual children have consistently found more advanced TOM understanding in bilinguals (Barac et al. 2014). More importantly, TOM understanding likely contributes to pragmatic language differentiation (see the previous section). In a summary of their work, Tare and Gelman (2014) described how bilingual children's convergent accommodation after implicit prompts to switch languages in an object-naming task correlated with children's scores on a TOM task that was unrelated to language choice. More studies like these measuring both LA behaviors and TOM are needed to explore the role of TOM development for bilingual children's pragmatic language differentiation. Such studies are of particular interest towards understanding why some bilingual children are slow to adjust to their interlocutor's language choice and develop lesser proficiency in one particular language, which ultimately leads to its loss (De Houwer 2009). The fact that bilingually raised children speak only a single language does not contribute to families' and children's well-being (De Houwer 2009). Whereas parental discourse strategies and other input factors play an important role (De Houwer 2009), TOM development may turn out to be a key factor.

In single-language communication with a particular speaker, bilingual children learn to suppress the other language they know (De Houwer 1983). Bilingual children's self-generated experience with speaking one particular language but not another that they could also be using may lead to increased levels of general inhibitory control, that is, the ability to resist a habitual response or irrelevant

information (Yow and Markman 2011). This may help explain why bilingual 2-, 3-, and 4-year-olds performed as well as much older monolinguals (5-year-olds) in several tasks that required the correct interpretation of an experimenter's nonverbal communicative cues in order to solve a hiding game (Yow and Markman 2011). Clearly, bilingual children's attention to communicative cues such as gaze and pointing and their ability to monitor them was higher. In work on cues that children use to learn novel words, Brojde et al. (2012) found a similar bilingual preference for pragmatic cues. This more pragmatic orientation in young bilinguals may, once again, be a result of their daily need to pay more attention to socially based variation in their language environment. It may also help explain why bilingual children pay less attention to mutual exclusivity (see Groba 2014, for a review), a word-learning strategy whereby children assume that newly heard word forms cannot refer to things they already know a label for. There now is ample evidence that bilingual children have an increased awareness that labels are not intrinsically linked to a particular referent, something Leopold already proposed in 1949. More research is needed to explore the connections between children's daily communicative environments, their TOM development, and their ability to use different communicative cues in order to carry out metalinguistic tasks.

There is a substantial body of research showing an early bilingual advantage in children's executive function, which includes attention, selection, inhibition, monitoring, and flexibility (Barac et al. 2014). This research concerns children acquiring two languages. Brito et al.'s (2014) work on memory flexibility in children aged 1;6 found a bilingual but not a trilingual advantage. More research is needed to examine this intriguing result. Generally, there is little, if any, information on young trilinguals' LA.

As Silva-Corvalàn (2014, p. 95) notes, children's two languages are omnipresent, and bilingual children "are accustomed to comparing and contrasting them, to inhibiting or activating one or both in their daily lives." Heightened sociocognitive skills exist simultaneously with young bilingual children's ability to reflect on language as a system and to monitor their own and others' language use from early on. Future work will benefit from studies exploring the precise connections between sociocognitive skills, children's LA behavior, and their bilingual experiences.

Cross-References

▶ Attention and Awareness
▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Implicit and Explicit Knowledge about Language
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Alison L. Bailey: Assessing the Language of Young Learners. In Volume: Language Testing and Assessment

Amy Kyratzis and Marjorie Goodwin: Language Socialization and Social Practices in Children's Peer Interactions. In Volume: Language Socialization

Lyn Fogle and Kendall King: Bi- and Multilingual Family Language Socialization. In Volume: Language Socialization

Sheena Gardner: Role Play and Dialogue in Early Childhood Education. In Volume: Discourse and Education

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De Houwer (2009) gives a detailed overview of the developmental course in BFLA. Paradis et al. (2011) focuses on the developmental course in both BFLA and ESLA. In addition to describing structural and lexical features of BFLA children's language development, De Houwer (2009) also discusses the use of translations by BFLA children and their language choice; the little information on trilingual acquisition is also referenced. In addition, De Houwer (2009) gives extensive attention to the role of children's bilingual learning environments. This role is the sole focus of Grüter and Paradis (2014). Hammer et al. (2014) is a highly valuable resource for finding information about journal articles published in English between 2000 and 2011 on language and literacy in typically-developing bilingual children between zero and five. The pioneering Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1983) chapter reviewed above was later published as Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1990) and has become somewhat of a classic in this form. Barac et al. (2014) reviewed article-based studies of early bilingual phonological and morphosyntactic awareness between 2000 and 2013 and Barum-Martin et al. (2014) offered a meta-analysis of 22 studies of phonological awareness in bilingual children with English as one of their languages from pre-kindergarten to grade 8. These reviews are, however, not limited to children without early literacy instruction. Stuart-Smith and Martin (1999) is a necessary backdrop to most of the studies covered in Barac et al. (2014) and Branum-Martin et al. (2014) because of its keen and linguistically informed focus on the many methodological issues that arise in assessing bilingual children's PA, many of which are ignored in more recent studies (Stuart-Smith and Martin (1999) was not reviewed above, since it concerns children between six and seven who were receiving literacy instruction). Finally, Barac et al. (2014) reviewed articles published in English between 2000 and 2013 relating to cognitive development in children exposed to two languages in early childhood.

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Language Contact, Language Awareness, and Multilingualism

Anna Verschik

Abstract

The article addresses the notion of language awareness in contact linguistics. The notion has recently become a focus in many neighboring disciplines such as language learning and teaching, multilingualism and multilingual identities, discursive aspects of multilingualism, heritage language research, early multilingualism, and some others. In contact linguistics language awareness has been dealt with mostly implicitly. The article takes the definition of language awareness (provided by Association of Language Awareness) as a point of departure and suggests that the link between language contacts and language awareness appears in the following topics: code-switching, multilingual conversation, and aspects of language choice; awareness of contact effects in language planning; language attitudes in multilingual communities; individual awareness and conscious use of contact-induced features; emergence of mixed languages; multilingual interaction and receptive multilingualism; multilingualism and emotions; and multilingual linguistic creativity. To date, there are few contact linguistic models that include language awareness. Some of them are discussed in the final section of the article: Heine and Kuteva's (2005) notion of equivalence in contact-induced grammaticalization, Matras' (2012) activity-oriented approach to multilingualism and probabilistic scale of awareness in various types of contact-induced effects, and Thomason's (2007) idea of change by deliberate decision and negotiation as mechanisms of contact-induced language change.

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Contents

Early Developments

According to the definition proposed by Association of Language Awareness, language awareness may be characterized as "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (see: Association of Language Awareness 2014 www.languagea wareness.org/web.ala/web/about/tout.php). It is a rather broad definition without direct reference to multilingualism and language contacts. Indeed, language teaching can also mean mother tongue teaching and language use is not necessarily that of multilinguals. However, the ultimate goal of learning additional languages is multilingualism, and in the multilingualism and in contact linguistic research, the focus is on naturalistic language use in multilingual settings/by multilingual individuals. The journal *Language Awareness* is dedicated to language awareness in the broad sense and contains articles on case studies in both mono- and multilingual environment.

Terms "language awareness," "metalinguistic awareness," and "knowledge about language" are used as synonyms (James 1999). In a recent publication, Jessner (2014: 177) suggests that metalinguistic awareness can be defined as "an ability to focus on linguistic form and to switch focus between form and meaning." This understanding is also valid for language contacts because, in a sense, the process and outcome of language contacts is about innovation and restructuring of forms and meanings under the co-influence of several language systems in a multilingual's cognition. Recall the early remark by Weinreich (1953: 71) about bilingual brain being a locus of language contacts. However, it remains to be seen what kind of contact-induced innovations is conscious in multilingual users. This topic will be discussed below.

Most of the literature is in the sphere of SLA (Kecskés and Papp 2000), cognitive (Diaz 1985) and social aspects of bi- and multilingualism (Aronin and Singleton 2012), language teaching and language pedagogy (Jessner 2006), language learning, teaching and identity (Norton 2012), language attrition and L2 impact on L1 (Pavlenko 2003), etc. Jessner (2014: 177) points at different orientations and different methodologies in language awareness research and explains that language awareness in multilinguals has been added to research agenda relatively recently. It seems reasonable that the topic of awareness is discussed in many fields in linguistics because language use combines both conscious selection and automatic production.

Language awareness and multilingualism has been treated also in literature on child bilingualism. For instance, Grosjean (1982: 206–207) describes "playing with

language" among bilingual children who deliberately code-switch or insert stems from one language into the grammatical frame of another. Language awareness in polyglots and self-instructed language learning is addressed in the volume by Todeva and Cenoz (2009).

As Sanz (2011 and references therein) summarizes, an ample body of research findings point at a greater awareness in multilinguals. This claim is valid both for early and adult multilingualism. Since the 1990s, Cook has systematically presented arguments for multi-competence (defined as "the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language"), claiming that, even if a multilingual person is more proficient in one language and less proficient in others, the nature of his/her knowledge of the dominant language differs from such knowledge of a monolingual person (for more recent contributions, see Cook 2013).

The growing literature on L3 acquisition also demonstrates abilities of L3 learners/users to consciously draw on their L2 (see Cenoz 2003; Jessner 2014). Jessner (2014) suggests in general that a multilingual learner presents a specific case of learner because of his/her special kind of language awareness (multilingual awareness). Multilingualism or M-factor is an emergent property and becomes a crucial component of the multilingual system. The role of language contacts for the development of linguistic awareness is appreciated by Jessner (2006: 122) who states that keeping languages apart in the curriculum contradicts research on multi-lingualism and that language contact has a beneficial effect on the emergence of links.

In language contact literature, there is not much explicit talk about awareness but, given the definition, it is possible to detect ideas and arguments that can be interpreted as dealing with awareness, albeit the term is not necessarily used. One of the problems is that many disciplines (SLA, bi- and multilingualism research, heritage language research, contact linguistics) deal with similar or even partly overlapping phenomena but have different terminological traditions and underlying views on language as such and multilingualism in particular. For instance, compare the different status of a (monolingual) native speaker in SLA and in contact linguistics, "incomplete L1 acquisition" in heritage language research versus contact-induced language change in language maintenance in contact linguistics, etc. In what follows several topics in contact linguistics research will be addressed that also implicitly deal with awareness in its broader and narrower sense (the latter as defined by Jessner 2014: 177).

The range of the themes includes, for instance, code-switching, multilingual conversation, and aspects of language choice; awareness of contact effects in language planning; language attitudes in multilingual communities; individual awareness and conscious use of contact-induced features; emergence of mixed languages; multilingual interaction and receptive multilingualism; multilingualism and emotions; and multilingual linguistic creativity. All these quite diverse topics deal with language awareness to different degree. Awareness is linked to micro-decisions multilinguals make, for instance, what items from what language and in what combination should be used in a given situation, or to choice of models in

corpus planning, such as promotion or stigmatization and eradication of certain features because they originate from or have clear parallels in language X. Awareness is also related to more fundamental issues of identity in multilinguals, for example, deliberate use of stylistically marked contact features or, on a larger scale, emergence of mixed languages as a marker of a new identity. In the final section, some generalizations are presented and models and disciplines that to a smaller or greater extent deal with language awareness in language contact situations (PAT- and MAT replication model, contact-induced grammaticalization, some mechanisms in contact-induced language change, such as change by deliberate decision and negotiation).

Main Topics

In his classical work *Languages in Contact*, Weinreich (1953: 64–65) discusses extralinguistic factors that play a role in language contact outcome. Not all but some of these factors are linked to awareness, for instance, loyalty to source/recipient language, social value of languages, etc.

One of the reasons why awareness has not been explicitly discussed in contact linguistics is that usually the focus is on a multilingual community and not so much on an individual. On the community level, a general view (still held by some) is that no deliberate manipulations with languages can succeed. However, quite early in history of linguistics, in the 1930s, the Estonian language planner Tauli argued against claims by Paul and De Saussure that all attempts to change language would be doomed to failure. His theory of language planning presupposed interference when necessary. It also makes sense to ask under what circumstances deliberate innovations in corpus planning are successful. The Estonian case suggests that there are certain factors contributing to the general spread and acceptance of the innovation: small size of the speech community and egalitarian language planning (i.e., the absence of Estonian-speaking aristocracy as a model for imitation and the idea that the standard should be accessible to everyone).

Much later, Thomason (2007: 45, 2008: 51 and references within) pointed out that sociolinguistic and anthropological studies are full of examples of deliberate language manipulation by multilingual individuals in order to create a separate, bi-, or multilingual identity.

Another reason for absences of references to awareness is a predominant focus on structure. There are numerous attempts, often based on structural features, to explain and predict language choice in multilingual situations. If multilingual speech and subsequent contact-induced language change can be predicted based on the structural features of the languages involved, then there is little room for awareness. The same is valid about a view that certain macro-sociolinguistic factors such as language status, prestige, power relations, symbolic value of each variety, etc. govern language choice and code-switching. Myers-Scotton (1993) has suggested that there exists an unmarked, expected language choice that corresponds to the norms of a multilingual community, and a marked, unexpected one (markedness model). This

view was challenged by Auer (1998) who assumes that language choice does not rest upon any preexistent set of norms but instead speakers are creative and produce social meaning in a particular interaction.

Works by Auer (1998) apply conversation analysis tradition to code-switching research. Unlike in the markedness model, Auer maintains that macro-sociolinguistic factors cannot explain complexities of language choice in code-switching. According to him, code-switching patterns can be either discourse related (topic of conversation, context, language associated with a certain domain, etc.) or participant related (attitudes, proficiency in languages, demonstration of distance, or solidarity). Not only choice of a certain variety but choice whether to code-switch may be conscious as well. In a longer run, code-switching mode can become a norm for a multilingual community and a symbol of a new identity, while pragmatic and discursive functions may fade away.

Implicitly, the topic of multilingual awareness is present in discussions and decisions concerning corpus planning. This is especially noticeable in planning of relatively young standard languages (the nineteenth–twentieth century). Purism usually assumes that planners of a certain language are multilingual and are aware of impact of other languages, especially of powerful and old standard languages with a high status in the region, languages of aristocracy, education, etc. Such attitudes are possible only when planners, educators, elites, literati, etc. know other languages. For instance, spelling in Modern Standard Estonian was normalized by the way of distancing from the German model and adoption of the Finnish model (phonetic spelling) in the second half of the nineteenth century. The close relatedness of Finnish and Estonian was one of the arguments. To take another example from Estonian language planning, also conscious manipulation of morphology occurred according to the Finnish example as well: by the end of the nineteenth century, a whole new case of essive was introduced because such case exists in Finnish (both languages have a rich case system). Another example of such thinking is a suggestion to avoid compounding in Lithuanian derivation due to its non-authentic character, as formulated by Jablonskis, one of the founders of Lithuanian language planning on the turn of the nineteenth–twentieth century (Rinholm 1990: 280).

Still, language planners may hold a model provided in a closely related language as a negative example. They would try to substitute lexical items or even constructions, explaining this by the fact that these are "too close" to those in a closely related language. This is a case of *Ausbau* efforts in language planning. The concept of *Ausbau* (literally, "building away/out") was introduced by Kloss (1967). In his now classical paper, he argued that some varieties are perceived as distant by default (so-called *Abstand* or "stand alone" languages) and no questions are asked about autonomy of these varieties, yet in cases of closely related varieties, autonomy is not so obvious, especially if one of the varieties in the pair has a long established written language tradition and enjoys prestige. To argue against the claims like "X is not a language but merely a dialect of Y/poor version of Y," language planners consciously increase distance between the varieties, choosing archaic or marginal patterns or leaning on patterns from languages other than X. The *Ausbau* discussion was prominent in the case of Yiddish versus Modern Standard German. Yiddish is a

Germanic language, spoken on a wide scale by Jews of Central and Eastern Europe before the Holocaust. Due to several reasons, such as its proximity to German and perceived lack of autonomy on the one hand and, on the other, anti-Semitic view of Yiddish as "corrupt" German, subsequently internalized by adherents of Jewish Enlightenment, the question of the status of Yiddish became closely linked to the issue of autonomy, that is, difference from Modern Standard German. Adherents of Yiddishism believed that Yiddish is a separate language and not a mere variety of German. That is why Max Weinreich (1938) in his programmatic article called against "daytshmerish," i.e., Modern Standard German models, constructions, and patterns in Modern Standard Yiddish. However, his ideal was often at odds with the real language use.

Research on multilingual communities demonstrates that speakers also can maintain demarcation lines between varieties and avoid/introduce certain grammatical features (Aikhenvald 2007). Avoidance of English lexical items in Montana Salish, a language spoken by very few individuals, is also a manifestation of language awareness who wish to avoid English influence (Thomason 2007: 48). Needless to say, all speakers of Montana Salish are bilinguals.

Until recently language planning and language policy and their impact on language use have been considered on the level of communities. However, individual planning, that is, not only choice of language for interaction but also conscious choice of language items, structures, and models has to be accounted for, too. This is an issue of agency: some language users deliberately wish to act against the prevailing norms and expectation. This often applies to choices and, on a larger scale, identities of multilingual language users. For instance, Verschik (2014: 81–82) refers to metalinguistic comments of a Russian-Estonian bilingual whose L1 is Russian. The bilingual uses a common internationalism in its Estonian version and states that, although she is aware of the fact that in (monolingual) Russian the norm is different, she does not care because she is entitled to use the Estonian version if she chooses to.

Some speakers deliberately choose to use features that are usually considered to be substratum features of L1 (often indigenous languages or immigrant languages). Quite often such features are stigmatized by the mainstream and erroneously believed to be a result of laziness and carelessness or disability to produce target features. However, this occurs not because second-generation immigrants are unable to speak the mainstream variety but because they do not want to be considered members of the mainstream speech community. Features that are characteristic of first-generation immigrant varieties of majority languages (i.e., L1 features in L2), albeit stigmatized by older generation, educators, and politicians, may be considered as something refreshing, creative, "cool," etc. and consciously used by individuals. In this spirit, Cutler (2008) describes "appropriation" of hip-hop markers by European immigrant youth in the USA. Some of the informants in her study find mainstream white culture dull and uninteresting, so that the decision is purely esthetical and personal. Cornips (2008) argues that the loss of grammatical gender in Dutch is not merely a feature of incomplete acquisition of Dutch but also an act of identity for the subsequent generations whose main language is Dutch. If and when

needed, the speakers would produce target forms. To a certain extent, research on multilingual youth language deals with such phenomena, albeit without a focus on contact-induced language change.

The emergence of a certain class of contact languages, mixed languages in particular, has an all-important effect on the structures of the new varieties and at the same time cannot be separated from identity and awareness issues. This is also true about secret languages where the goal is to create clear group borders (this will be discussed below, see Matras 2012). Mixed languages have two "parents" who contribute in a different way, for instance, content morphemes come from one variety and grammatical morphemes/words originate from the other, like in Anglo-Romani (Matras 2010), or noun phrase and verb phrase are from different languages, as in Michif where noun phrase comes from French and verb phrase from Cree (Bakker 1997). Copper Island Aleut is a specific case where the whole finite verb paradigm has been imported from Russian (see references in Thomason 2007). Mixed languages with their very distinct structural properties arise either as a result to maintain and redefine a group's identity in new sociolinguistic circumstances (Anglo-Romani) or as a symbol of a new (mixed) group (both Michif and Copper Island Aleut emerged in mixed marriages where partners had a rather different ethnolinguistic and sociocultural background).

To a certain extent, scholars who investigate multilingualism and emotion pay attention to multilinguals' self-reflection on contact-induced phenomena in conceptualization of emotions. Mostly, these are reflections and extensive metalinguistic comments on emotion words and metaphors describing emotions (Pavlenko 2008). The picture is far from straightforward: some prefer emotion words from L1, some from L2, and in some cases it depends on the particular emotion, conversational situation, etc. Code-switching of emotion words is not unusual (see Panayotu 2004 on emotion vocabulary in English-Greek bilinguals, also Pavlenko 2008: 158–160). Multilinguals may feel that some of their languages have a more adequate emotion words than others. Pavlenko (2003) describes code-switching and loan translations of emotion words and expression in Russian speakers in the USA who feel that English is better equipped with the appropriate resources, hence the telling article title "I feel clumsy speaking Russian."

Awareness and language contact phenomena are manifested in multilingual conversation, as mentioned in the description of Auer's model of code-switching. But code-switching is not the only example. A relatively new area of receptive bi- and multilingualism (Rehbein et al. 2012) focuses on passive or receptive skills when participants in communication use their respective mother tongues or occasionally introduce modifications and compromise into their preferred variety so that other participants would presumably understand. This is valid not only about closely related varieties but also distant ones, given that the participants are able to understand the other variety at least to some extent. Compromise strategies can be quite conscious and elaborate: for instance, all nouns, adjectives, and numerals rendered in A while the rest is in B (especially in communication over the counter) and usage of conversational formulas (greetings, expressions of agreement/disagreement, discourse words) in order to demonstrate solidarity and politeness, etc. In closely

related varieties, speakers may engage in phonetic manipulations if they roughly understand the logic of sound correspondences in cognates (x in language A corresponds to y in language B). Note that speakers may be quite conscious that they produce nontarget forms; it is not about precision but about approximation and, so to say, meeting the partner half-way. Speakers may use meta-communicative devices through which they would help each other to navigate and direct the conversation.

A relatively recent direction of research is multilingual texts, written code-switching (Sebba et al. 2012 and contributions within), and language contacts on the internet (Dorleijn and Nortier 2009). Until very recent the field of contact linguistics has used predominantly oral communication data because of the dominant interest toward naturalistic language use. Nonetheless, contact phenomena appear in written text as well. Sebba and associates have presented evidence that code-switching is very much an attribute of written texts. The fact that writing is more mediated and goes through some filters ("internal editor") makes it even more relevant for the present discussion: multilingual writers consciously decide to alternate between varieties or insert lexical items from another variety. As for internet communication, there are different genres and types of text: monologue (blogs) versus polylogue (forums, groups, social networks), synchronous (SMS, Skype) versus asynchronous (forums, blogs, e-mails), with limited writing space (Twitter) or unlimited space (blogs, e-mails), etc. Some genres are close to conventional writing (official e-mails), while some are more oral like (chats). Studies on multilingual blogs (for instance, Verschik 2014) emphasize that blogs are personal virtual spaces where individual language policy can be implemented implicitly or explicitly. Not only code-switching (i.e., impact on lexicon) but also other contact phenomena (loan translations, structural borrowings, etc.) are present in internet communication. Sometimes users explicitly comment on their choice of linguistic resources, showing that they are entirely aware of usage of items, forms, and patterns unacceptable in standard monolingual varieties.

Some scholars in the field of contact linguistics discuss linguistic awareness (albeit not necessarily under this term) in the context of multilingual creativity and humor. So-called macaronic poetry is a well-known genre where combining lexical elements from several languages is deliberate and the goal is to create a comic mood. There is some literature on linguistic creativity and language contacts: Deumert (2005: 131–132 and references therein) discusses creative multilingual behavior of colored working-class communities in Cape Town and Woolard and Genovese (2007) elaborate on the notion of bivalency in bilingual texts that make sense both in Latin and in Spanish. Matras (2012: 44) mentions "theatrical" (deliberate) mixing as a separate subset of contact-induced phenomena. Golovko (2003) formulates the following theoretical question: does intended manipulation of resources of several varieties bring about different results compared to "natural" contact-induced effects? The question has not been answered yet.

Models and Theories

As mentioned, contact linguistics literature does not focus on awareness as a rule but there are some contact linguistic models that address awareness explicitly or implicitly.

If we accept that, as mentioned in the introduction, awareness is not only the ability to consciously reflect on language use and to provide metalinguistic comments but also an ability to focus on form; then the notion of equivalence becomes central. The question is how multilingual speakers decide that a pattern, category, form, or construction X in variety A corresponds to a pattern, etc. X in variety B. In multilingual speech and writing, such correspondence can be an innovation on the part of multilingual speakers. There are two models that deal to a smaller or greater extent with equivalence, that of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2005) and pattern and matter replication model (or PAT and MAT replication, Matras and Sakel 2007, subsequently developed in Matras' later works).

Heine and Kuteva (2005: 219) write that the notion of equivalence is central for most works in language contacts. They do not discuss lexicon in their model and concentrate on contact-induced grammaticalization, stating that speakers establish some kind of equivalence necessary for grammatical replication.

Heine and Kuteva (2005: 220 ff. distinguish between structural isomorphism (correspondence between semantic and morphosyntactic structures) versus translation equivalence (involving rather different structures) and semantic equivalence versus morphosyntactic equivalence. It is important that equivalence is both a process and a result and so the concept of evolutionary equivalence is introduced (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 227). It is a kind of an equivalence that did not exist in the precontact period but gradually emerged in the process of language contacts.

Matras and Sakel (2007: 830) speak of pivotal matching. In their model pattern, replication, that is, replication of structures and meanings rather than form-meaning complexes (contend words), is a process that involves pivot-matching. It means "identifying a structure that plays a pivotal role in the model construction, and matching it with a structure in the replica language, to which a similar, pivotal role is assigned in a new, replica construction." In PAT replication, pivot-matching leads either to grammaticalization or other outcomes.

The further two approaches, by Matras (2012) and Thomason (2007), explicitly discuss conscious choice in contact-induced innovation and language change.

For Matras, this is a development of PAT and MAT replication model. In later works Matras (2012: 22 48) argues that matter replication (lexical borrowing in more traditional terms) tends to be more conscious than pattern replication and that there exists a continuum of consciousness: choice of some elements is more conscious than that of others. Matras' approach (2012) is functional and activity-oriented. This is important for understanding of contact-induced language change: multilingual speakers do not have several language systems but rather an extensive repertoire with a wider range of linguistic resources than monolingual speakers have. The

choice of forms, meanings, and patterns from this repertoire is not necessarily dictated by asymmetry in different varieties (i.e., gaps in lexical inventory) but is rather governed by communication goals and norms in a particular communication situation. Multilingual speakers choose what is communicatively effective; their choice is sanctioned by the assumption that their interlocutors would understand them.

In specific situations of deliberate manipulations with language, speakers consciously violate norms/expectations and produce forms and meanings that are not necessary for the effectiveness of communication, the ultimate goal being special effects. Another goal is to create separation, i.e., a mode for in-group communication, such as secret languages and professional jargons. One such instance is Lekoudesch with its deliberately introduced content words from Hebrew, an in-group speech mode of Jewish cattle-traders in pre-WWII Germany (Matras 2012: 46). Multilinguals are quite inventive; the ability to consciously manipulate the whole range of multilingual repertoire is available to very young children (see several examples in Matras 2012: 44–47). His conclusion is that multilingual speakers are creative "in seeking new ways to achieve goal-oriented tasks in communicative interaction" and contact-induced language change cannot be exhaustively explained by either structural or social factors (Matras 2012: 48).

To the best of my knowledge, Thomason (2007) is the only scholar to date who has incorporated two awareness-related mechanisms into her model of (contact-induced) language change: change by deliberate decision and negotiation.

She discusses at length various kinds of change by deliberate decision and argues that they can be very far from trivial and do not affect lexicon only. For instance, bilinguals use correspondence rules for phonetics of new borrowings (Thomason 2007: 43–44). Note that not only conscious changes but also conscious non-changes count. One of the best known examples of non-changes is resistance to lexical borrowing (either by language planners or communities). Deliberate changes can occur in structure as well (several cases are discussed by Thomason 2007: 50 ff). In this connection, mixed languages and secret languages are discussed, in which case differences are increased, the goal being to create the distance and making language less intelligible to outsiders. The line of argumentation here is very similar to that of Matras (2012). But also conscious approximation of structure of another language is possible. Thomason (2007: 54–55) mentions a deliberate mode of structural convergence toward English, chosen by her Montana Salish informant during the elicitation session. In other circumstances, Montana Salish speakers would not converge toward English but in this case the informant supposed that this was precisely what was required of him. Another example of deliberate convergence may be a conscious orientation of language planners toward a certain language or language group (and not only avoidance); the introduction of the Essive case in Estonian on the Finnish model, discussed earlier, can also be considered in this category.

The mechanism of negotiation does not literally mean negotiation of language choice or search of common language in a multilingual conversation but is understood as approximation of one's speech to that of interlocutor. This mechanism is present both in language maintenance and language shift. Quite obviously,

negotiation is very much present at early stages of pidgin formation where nobody knows the interlocutor's language. In addition to this, negotiation is present in situations of receptive multilingualism where speakers have at least some idea about each other's variety. It is a conscious approximation of lexicon, structure, or, in the case of closely related languages, phonetic correspondences to those in the interlocutor's variety. The speakers may be quite aware that what sometimes they can end up with nontarget forms but one may question where the notion of target language is adequate in such dynamic situations. The objective is not to produce "correct forms" but to offer something intelligible to the interlocutor.

Future Directions

It would be useful to the field in general if contact linguistics dedicates more attention to language awareness. It is not only about language choice in code-switching but other choices multilingual speakers do all the time. Matras' (2012) continuum of more and less conscious contact-induced innovations, linked to PAT and MAT replication model, is a good start for exploration. For instance, one may ask in what cases language users are more aware of pattern replication. Is it only in the instance of the emergence of mixed languages, secret languages, and multilingual humor or are there any other options?

A lot of new information could be gained from experimental studies. It is true that contact linguistics mainly focuses on naturalistic language use, yet experiments involving elicitation of metalinguistic comments on realistic language use and/or constructed examples may be useful for a further investigation. In fact, Toribio (2001) conducted a test where the respondents had to assess possibility/impossibility of English-Spanish code-switching in a text especially written for the experiment. The problem with this test was the lack of triangulation (i.e., the lack of comparison with really produced code-switches) because one only gets information about perception of multilingual speakers from a certain sociocultural setting rather than a confirmation to assumed constraints on code-switching. All in all, the idea of experimental study of linguistic awareness in language contacts should be developed further.

Cross-References

▶ Language Awareness and Emotion
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism
▶ Receptive Multilingualism and Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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Implicit and Explicit Knowledge About Language

Nick C. Ellis

Abstract

Children acquire their first language (L1) by engaging with their caretakers in natural meaningful communication. From this "evidence" they automatically acquire complex knowledge of the structure of their language. Yet paradoxically they cannot describe this knowledge, the discovery of which forms the object of the disciplines of theoretical linguistics, psycholinguistics, and child language acquisition. This is a difference between explicit and implicit knowledge – ask a young child how to form a plural and she says she does not know; ask her "here is a wug, here is another wug, what have you got?" and she is able to reply, "two wugs." The acquisition of L1 grammar is implicit and is extracted from experience of usage rather than from explicit rules – simple exposure to normal linguistic input suffices and no explicit instruction is needed. Adult acquisition of second language (L2) is a different matter in that what can be acquired implicitly from communicative contexts is typically quite limited in comparison to native speaker norms, and adult attainment of L2 accuracy usually requires additional resources of explicit learning. The various roles of consciousness in second language acquisition (SLA) include: the learner noticing negative evidence; their attending to language form; their perception focused by social scaffolding or explicit instruction; their voluntary use of pedagogical grammatical descriptions and analogical reasoning; their reflective induction of metalinguistic insights *about* language; and their consciously guided practice which results, eventually, in unconscious, automatized skill. From various divisions of cognitive neuroscience we know that implicit and explicit learning are distinct processes, that humans have separate implicit and explicit memory systems, that there are different types of knowledge of and about language, that these are stored in

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different areas of the brain, and that different educational experiences generate different types of knowledge.

Contents

Early Developments

Theoretical dissociations between implicit and explicit knowledge of language evolved relatively independently in language education, applied linguistics, psychology, and cognitive neuroscience.

In language education, differing assumptions about the nature of language representation and its promotion motivated different teaching traditions (Kelly 1969). Traditional grammar translation foreign language (FL) instruction and the cognitive code method popular in the 1960s and 1970s capitalized on the formal operational abilities of older children and adults to think and act in a rule-governed way. This allowed their instruction, through the medium of language, in pedagogical grammar rules, with lessons focusing on language forms such as, for example, particular tenses and inflectional patterns. These explicit methods were motivated by the belief that perception and awareness of L2 rules necessarily precedes their use. In contrast, more recent "natural" and "communicative" approaches maintained that adult language learning is, like L1 acquisition, implicit. Since language skill is very different from knowledge about language, they consequently renounced explicit grammar-based instruction.

In applied linguistics, the defining distinction between implicit acquisition and explicit learning of L2 was made by Krashen (1982). He argued that adult L2 students of grammar-translation methods, who can tell more about a language than a native speaker, yet whose technical knowledge of grammar leaves them totally in the lurch in conversation, testify that conscious learning about language and subconscious acquisition of language are different things, and that any notion of a "strong-interface" between the two must be rejected. Krashen's input hypothesis, an extreme "noninterface" position, thus countered that (i) subconscious acquisition dominates in second language performance; (ii) learning cannot be converted into

acquisition; and (iii) conscious learning can be used only as a monitor, i.e., an editor to correct output after it has been initiated by the acquired system. In Krashen's theory, SLA, just like first language acquisition, comes naturally as a result of implicit processes occurring while the learner is receiving comprehensible L2 input. The input hypothesis was the theoretical motivation behind natural and communicative approaches to instruction.

In psychology, two important foundations were the dissociations of implicit and explicit memory, and of implicit and explicit learning. The dissociation between explicit and implicit memory was evidenced in anterograde amnesic patients who, as a result of brain damage, lost the ability to consolidate new explicit memories (those where recall involves a conscious process of remembering a prior episodic experience) to update their autobiographical record with their daily activities, to learn new concepts, or to learn to recognize new people or places. Nevertheless, amnesiacs maintained implicit memories (those evidenced by the facilitation of the processing of a stimulus as a function of a recent encounter with an identical or related stimulus but where the person at no point has to consciously recall the prior event) and were able to learn new perceptual skills like mirror reading and new motor skills (Schacter 1987). They also showed normal classical conditioning, thus the famous anecdote of the amnesic patient who, having once been pricked by a pin hidden in the hand of her consultant, refused thereafter to shake him by his hand while at the same time denying ever having met him before.

The dissociation between explicit and implicit learning was made by Reber (1976) who had people learn complex letter strings (e.g., MXRMXT, VMTRRR) generated by an artificial grammar. In the course of studying these for later recognition, they unconsciously abstracted knowledge of the underlying regularities, so to be able to later distinguish between novel strings which either accorded or broke the rules of the underlying grammar. However, like young children who can pass "wug tests" in their native language, these adult participants too were unable to explain their reasoning. Such research illustrated quite different styles of learning, varying in the degree to which acquisition is driven by conscious beliefs, as well as in the extent to which they give rise to explicit verbalizable knowledge: Implicit learning is acquisition of knowledge about the underlying structure of a complex stimulus environment by a process which takes place naturally, simply, and without conscious operations. Explicit learning is a more conscious operation where the individual attends to particular aspects of the stimulus array and volunteers and tests hypotheses in a search for structure.

In brain science, neuropsychological investigations of the results of brain damage demonstrated that different areas of the brain are specialized in their function and that there are clear separations between areas involved in explicit learning and memory and those involved in implicit learning and memory (Dehaene 2014). Explicit learning is supported by neural systems in the prefrontal cortex involved in attention, the conscious apperception of stimuli, and working memory; the consolidation of explicit memories involves neural systems in the hippocampus and related limbic structures. In contrast, implicit learning and

memory are localized, among other places, in various areas of perceptual and motor cortex.

Major Contributions

These foundations demonstrated that human learning can take place implicitly, explicitly, or, because we can communicate using language, it can be influenced by declarative statements of pedagogical rules (explicit instruction). These modes of learning apply to differing extents in all learning situations. There are at least some mutual influences in their development too. Consider, for example, that from implicit to explicit knowledge: Although in native language acquisition implicit learning is primary, the development of self-awareness allows reflective examination, analysis, and reorganization of the products of implicit learning, resulting in redescription at a higher level and the formation of new independent and explicit representations. Thus an older child can make a good stab at explaining how to form a plural in English because they have realized the relevant metalinguistic insight of "add –s" from observing themselves forming plurals in this way. The central issue of the interface question is just how much influence there is in the reverse direction, how much do explicit learning and explicit instruction influence implicit learning, and how can their symbiosis be optimized? Subsequent research took up this theme, though now as a better informed interdisciplinary collaboration (Ellis 1994).

In language education, analyses of learners in "grammar-free" immersion L2 and FL programs demonstrated significant shortcomings in the accuracy of their language (Lightbown et al. 1993). This prompted renewed calls for explicit instruction, but the pendulum didn't swing back all the way, this time instruction was to be integrated into the meaningful communication afforded by more naturalistic approaches: learner errors should be picked up by a conversation partner and corrected in the course of meaningful, often task-based, communication by means of negative evidence which offers some type of explicit focus on linguistic form (Doughty and Williams 1998). Long (1991) argued that this type of feedback, which he called focus on form, was a necessary element of successful L2 instruction. Prototypical focus on form instruction involves an interlocutor recasting a learner's error in a way that illustrates its more appropriate expression. Recasts can present learners with psycholinguistic data optimized for acquisition because – in the contrast between their own erroneous utterance and the recast – they highlight the relevant element of form at the same time as the desired meaning-to-be-expressed is still active, enabling the learner to attend the relevant part of the form and engage in conscious input analysis. Long contrasted this with the decontextualized and often meaningless grammar drills of traditional grammar translation instruction, which he termed focus on forms. The period from 1980 to 2000 was a time of concerted research to assess the effectiveness of different types of explicit and implicit L2 instruction. Norris and Ortega (2000) reported a meta-analysis of 49 of the more empirically rigorous of these studies which in sum demonstrated that focused L2 instruction resulted in substantial target-oriented gains, that explicit types of

instruction were more effective than implicit types, and that the effectiveness of L2 instruction was durable. This in turn spawned a new wave of research which importantly includes both implicit and explicit outcome measures (Ellis et al. 2009; Rebuschat 2013).

In applied linguistics, critical theoretical reactions to Krashen's input hypothesis (e.g., McLaughlin 1987), together with empirical investigations demonstrating that it is those language forms that are attended that are subsequently learned, prompted Schmidt (1990) to propose that conscious cognitive effort involving the subjective experience of noticing is a necessary and sufficient condition for the conversion of input to intake in SLA. Schmidt's noticing hypothesis was the theoretical motivation for subsequent research efforts, both in laboratory experiments and in the classroom, into the role of consciousness in SLA. The shortcomings in uptake and the consequently limited end state of naturalistic learners, together with the demonstrable role of noticing in SLA, obliged in turn the rejection of the extreme "no-interface" position. Applied linguistics was thus left with something in-between, some form of a "weak interface" position (Ellis 2005b; Long 1991) whereby explicit knowledge plays a role in the perception of, and selective attending to, L2 form by facilitating the processes of "noticing" (i.e., paying attention to specific linguistic features of the input) and by "noticing the gap" (i.e., comparing the noticed features with those the learner typically produces in output). Some weak-interface variants also saw a role of consciousness in output, with explicit knowledge coaching practice, particularly in initial stages, and this controlled use of declarative knowledge guiding the proceduralization and eventual automatized implicit processing of language as it does in the acquisition of other cognitive skills.

In psychology, subsequent research in implicit and explicit learning of artificial languages, finite-state systems, and complex control systems showed: (1) When the material to be learned is simple, or where it is relatively complex but there is only a limited number of variables and the critical features are salient, then learners gain from being told to adopt an explicit mode of learning where hypotheses are to be explicitly generated and tested and the model of the system updated accordingly. As a result they are also able to verbalize this knowledge and transfer to novel situations. (2) When the material to be learned is more randomly structured with a large number of variables and when the important relationships are not obvious, then explicit instructions only interfere and an implicit mode of learning is more effective. This learning is instance based but, with sufficient exemplars, an implicit understanding of the structure will be achieved. Although this knowledge may not be explicitly available, the learner may nonetheless be able to transfer to conceptually or perceptually similar tasks and to provide default cases on generalization ("wug") tasks. (3) Whatever the domain, learning the patterns, regularities, or underlying concepts of a complex problem space or stimulus environment with explicit instruction, direction, and advances clues, heuristics, or organizers is always better than learning without any cues at all (MacWhinney 1997). (4) Although Reber had emphasized that the results of implicit leaning were abstract, unconscious, and rule-like representations, subsequent research showed that there was a very large contribution of concrete memorized knowledge of chunks and sequences of perceptual input and

motor output that unconscious processes tally and identify to be frequent across the exemplars experienced in the learning set (Perruchet and Pacton 2006).

On the broader stage of cognitive science, the period from 1980 showed a parallel shift away from an almost exclusively symbolic view of human cognition to one which emphasized the overwhelming importance of implicit inductive processes in the statistical reasoning which sums prior experience and results in our generalizations of this knowledge as schema, prototypes, and conceptual categories. Everything is connected, resonating to a lesser or greater degree, in the spreading activation of the cognitive unconscious, and categories emerge as attractor states in the conspiracy of related exemplars in implicit memory. These are the aspects of cognition that are readily simulated in connectionist models (Elman et al. 1996) and which subsequently have had considerable influence upon our understanding of implicit knowledge of language and its statistical learning (Christiansen and Chater 2001; Rebuschat and Williams 2012).

In cognitive neuroscience, technological advances in functional brain imaging using electroencephalographic (EEG) and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) triangulated the findings of earlier cognitive neuropsychological studies of brain areas involved in implicit and explicit memory. Subsequent improvements in the temporal and spatial resolution of these techniques afforded much more detailed descriptions of the dynamics of brain activity, promoting a shift of emphasis from knowledge as static representation stored in particular locations to knowledge as processing involving the dynamic mutual influence of interrelated types of information as they activate and inhibit each other over time – as Charles Sherrington had put it 60 years previously, "an enchanted loom, where millions of flashing shuttles weave a dissolving pattern, always a meaningful pattern though never an abiding one; a shifting harmony of subpatterns." The last 20 years have shown a rapid rise in our understanding of the neural correlates of consciousness (NCC) (Dehaene and Changeux 2011; Koch 2012).

Work in Progress

Thus research in these various disciplines has converged on the conclusion that explicit and implicit knowledge of language are distinct and dissociated, they involve different types of representation, they are substantiated in separate parts of the brain, and yet they can come into mutual influence in processing (Rebuschat 2015).

With regard to language pedagogy, there is now consensus in the acknowledgment of the separable contributions of explicit and implicit language learning, and it is more usual to hear of the necessity of a balanced learning curriculum that provides opportunities for meaning-focused input, meaning-focused output, form-focused learning, and fluency development (Ellis 2005b; Nation 2007). Nevertheless, there is still considerable work involving the particular details of how different tasks encourage the use of different aspects of language, how this processing encourages different learning outcomes, and how they should be structured, sequenced, and

coordinated (Long 2014). The pursuit of these goals involves improved operationalizations of implicit and explicit knowledge in educational testing, the investigation of individual differences in implicit and explicit learning, and the determination of interactions between different learner aptitudes and different educational treatments. With regard to language learning, investigation has turned to much more detailed investigations of the processes and outcomes of implicit and explicit SLA:

What is the nature of the implicit knowledge which allows fluency in phonology, reading, spelling, lexis, morphosyntax, formulaic language, language comprehension, grammaticality, sentence production, syntax, and pragmatics? How are these representations formed? How are their strengths updated so to statistically represent the nature of language, and how do linguistic prototypes and rule-like processing emerge from usage? The vast majority of our linguistic processing is unconscious and is underpinned by our history of implicit learning which has supplied a distributional analysis of the linguistic problem space. Frequency of usage determines availability of representation and tallies the likelihoods of occurrence of constructions and the relative probabilities of their mappings between aspects of form and interpretations. Generalizations arise from conspiracies of memorized utterances collaborating in productive schematic linguistic constructions. It is now possible, using fMRI and ERP techniques, to image the implicit processing of words which, despite being presented below the threshold for conscious noticing, nevertheless result in subsequent implicit memory effects, and to identify the very local regions of sensory cortex where this processing takes place (Ellis 2005a). Such implicit learning, operating throughout primary and secondary neocortical sensory and motor areas, collates the evidence of language, and the results of this tallying provide an optimal solution to the problem space of form-function mappings and their contextualized use, with representational systems modularizing over thousands of hours on task (Frequency Effects 2002). There is broad agreement on these generalities and considerable uncertainty of the details (Rebuschat 2015).

If these implicit learning processes are sufficient for first language acquisition, why not for second? One part of the answer must be transfer. In contrast to the newborn infant, the L2 learner's neocortex has already been tuned to the L1, incremental learning has slowly committed it to a particular configuration, and it has reached a point of entrenchment where the L2 is perceived through mechanisms optimized for the L1. The L1 implicit representations conspire in a "learned attention" to language and automatized processing of the L2 in nonoptimal L1-tuned ways. Current research is focused on psychodynamic tensions in the unconscious mind of the second language speaker, not the psychodynamics of Freudian psychology, but of a more psycholinguistic kind: how associative and connectionist learning principles explain the shortcomings of SLA, the fragile features which, however available as a result of frequency, recency, or context, fall short of intake because of one of the factors of contingency, cue competition, salience, interference, overshadowing, blocking, or perceptual learning, all shaped by the L1 (Ellis 2006).

Transfer, learned attention, and automatization provide some reasons why implicit learning does not work for L2 as it does for L1. The pedagogical reactions to these shortcomings involve explicit instruction, recruiting consciousness to

overcome the implicit routines that are nonoptimal for L2. What then are the detailed mechanisms of interface? What are the various psychological and neurobiological processes by which explicit knowledge of form-meaning associations impacts upon implicit language learning? This is a question not just about language learning, but involving human cognition and human neuroscience as a whole, an enterprise as fascinating as it is audacious. However naïve our current understanding, we have at least moved on from static conceptualizations of language, of representation, and of physical interface. The interface, like consciousness, is dynamic: It happens transiently during conscious processing, but the influence upon implicit cognition endures thereafter (Dehaene 2014).

The primary conscious involvement in SLA is the explicit learning involved in the initial registration of pattern recognizers for constructions that are then tuned and integrated into the system by implicit learning during subsequent input processing. Neural systems in the prefrontal cortex involved in working memory provide attentional selection, perceptual integration, and the unification of consciousness. Neural systems in the hippocampus then bind these disparate cortical representations into unitary episodic representations. ERP and fMRI imaging confirm these neural correlates of consciousness, a surge of widespread activity in a coalition of forebrain and parietal areas interconnected via widespread cortico-cortico and cortico-thalamic feedback loops with sets of neurons in sensory and motor regions that code for particular features, and the subsequent hippocampal activity involved in the consolidation of novel explicit memories (Koch 2012). These are the mechanisms by which Schmidt's noticing helps solve Quine's problem of referential indeterminacy. Explicit memories can also guide the conscious building of novel linguistic utterances through processes of analogy. Formulas, slot-and-frame patterns, drills, and declarative pedagogical grammar rules all contribute to the conscious creation of utterances whose subsequent usage promotes implicit learning and proceduralization. Flawed output can prompt focused feedback by way of recasts that present learners with psycholinguistic data ready for explicit analysis. We know of these processes, but we too are like those children doing "wug" tests: at present we can say little about their details. It is the results of thinking that come to consciousness, not the thinking itself, but consciousness then broadcasts these results throughout the brain to the vast array of our unconscious sources of knowledge, and by these means, consciousness *is* the interface (Baars 1988; Ellis 2005a).

Problems and Difficulties

The problems and difficulties are abundant. The understanding of human consciousness is the toughest intellectual problem with which we are set. How do the contents of consciousness, what philosophers call "qualia" – the lilt of Welsh pronunciation, the pleasure of a good pun, the pedant's irritation with bad grammar, the loss and frustration that go with comprehension breakdown, the bitterness of lies – how do these arise from the concerted action of nerve cells? Compared to the vast number of unconscious neural processes happening in any given moment,

the stream of consciousness evidences a very narrow bottleneck. How is it that a single percept is elected as the current focus of consciousness from the massively parallel activity of the unconscious mind? And what are the functions of these conscious thoughts? Despite our preoccupation with many of these questions throughout our philosophy, until quite recently their scientific study was stifled. Consciousness reacts to investigation. The unreliability of the introspective methods of early structuralist approaches to psychology led to the denial of any discussion of these ideas within behaviorism. The Association for the Scientific Study of Consciousness was established only as recently as 1996. But despite rich subsequent developments in NCC research, we are still only at the beginnings of understanding consciousness.

Our uncertainties about the nature of consciousness are well matched by those relating to the fundamentals of linguistic knowledge. The last 60 years of linguistic theorizing has seen an impressively contradictory lineup of theories about the nature of linguistic representations, including structuralism, universal grammar (government and binding theory), minimalism, lexico-functional grammar, cognitive grammar, construction grammar, emergent grammar, and many more. Equally contrary are the linguistic positions concerning whether second language has access to the same universal grammar learning mechanisms as does first language: The complete range is still on the table, including "full access/no transfer," "full access/full transfer," and "no-access" positions whereby SLA is fundamentally different from first language acquisition. Such uncertainty about the proper nature of the representations of first and second language does not help in the proper characterization of the learning processes.

Because both consciousness and linguistic knowledge are difficult to conceptualize and operationalize, much existing research has taken a pragmatic approach and, like the drunk who looked for his car keys under a lamppost a block away from where he dropped them, "because the light is better there," used easy to administer grammaticality judgments, or metalinguistic judgments, or multiple choice or other limited response format measures of language proficiency. Such tests have questionable validity as measures of language proficiency and in their very nature they are more likely to tap explicit conscious learning than are measures involving free constructed responses (Norris and Ortega 2000). There have been useful developments in the assessment of implicit and explicit learning and knowledge, but relevant methods can be complicated and time-consuming (Rebuschat 2013).

It is also an area beset by the experimenter's dilemma: should research strive for the research validity afforded by laboratory control and experimentation, or the ecological validity given by observing language learning in its natural environment (Hulstijn et al. 2014)? Every study falls down in one of these respects: Consciousness is hard enough to pin down in the laboratory, never mind the classroom. Connectionist models learn language that is a very small sample compared to yours or mine. It's hard to be natural in a loud and claustrophobic fMRI scanner. Real language learning takes tens of thousands of hours, not the minutes of the typical psychology experiment and so forth.

Future Directions

The dynamics of language learning are inextricably linked to the dynamics of consciousness, in neural activity and in the social world as well. Input is gated by consciousness, and consciousness is coconstructed in social interaction. In these ways language learning is socially gated. It takes place in social usage, involving action, reaction, collaborative interaction, intersubjectivity, and mutually assisted performance. Speech, speakers, identity, and social relationships are inseparable. Individual learning is an emergent, holistic property of a dynamic system comprising social, individual, and contextual influences. Constructionist approaches to language (Tomasello 2003) emphasize the unique place of social cooperation in humans, and the Vygotskian intelligence hypothesis whereby regular participation in cooperative, cultural interactions during ontogeny leads children to construct uniquely powerful forms of perspectival cognitive representation including language itself. The last 40 years have seen considerable progress in research into social cognition, and within social cognitive neuroscience there is now a rich understanding on the role of implicit and explicit knowledge in social cognition, on consciousness and meta-cognition for social interaction, and in the brain mechanisms involved in these processes (Frith and Frith 2012). SLA is no different: Second language cognition and consciousness are coconstructed in social interaction. So a future priority is the bridging of social and cognitive research into implicit and explicit learning (Hulstijn et al. 2014).

For future research to properly address these issues, the studies of implicit and explicit language knowledge, SLA, applied linguistics, cognition, consciousness, learning, education, social interaction, and brain must proceed in consort within the broader inquiries of cognitive science and cognitive neuroscience. Sophistication in one of these areas is not enough if naivety in others flaws the whole. Interdisciplinary collaboration is essential in the development of both theory and empirical methods. Particular priorities include:

- Measurement: improved operationalizations of implicit and explicit learning, knowledge, and instruction in the classroom, psycholinguistics lab, and brain imaging scanner.
- Triangulation: predictive and concurrent validity assessment of the interrelations of these measures.
- Psychometrics: investigations of the core dimensions and latent structure of these variables.
- Meta-analysis: research synthesis allowing the determination of moderator variables in research outcome.
- Content-validity: the different types of implicit and explicit knowledge of language must be properly represented in batteries of outcome measures in studies of different learning or instructional regimes.
- Individual differences: the assessment of individual differences in implicit and explicit learning aptitude.
- Factorial research: the assessment of aptitude/instruction/outcome interactions.

- Brain imaging: electrical and hemodynamic imaging of the results of learning in cross-sectional comparisons of first language learners and multilinguals and also of the processes of language learning.
- Computational modeling: there are so many variables involved that proper understanding can only come from simulation research.
- Mindfulness of complexity: awareness of the dynamic processes, reactivity, and emergent properties of the complex system that relates language, culture, brains, learners, and their conscious and unconscious knowledge representations.

Cross-References

▶ Attention and Awareness
▶ Cognitive Linguistics and Its Applications to Second Language Teaching

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Alan Rogers: Learning – Embedded, Situated, and Unconscious. In volume: Literacies and Language Education

Frank Hardman: Guided Co-construction of Knowledge. In volume: Discourse and Education

Rebekha Abbuhl: Second Language Acquisition Research Methods. In volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Attention and Awareness

Peter Robinson

Abstract

Attention and awareness are closely related concepts and can function in the environment for language learning at different levels. To begin with the concept of attention, a distinction needs to be made between two levels of attention, and the mechanisms regulating them, which will be important to the issues of language learning raised below. This distinction is between (1) *perceptual attention* to the numerous phenomena which we attend to automatically and involuntarily (during, for example, a conversation with a colleague), such as the room temperature or noises from the room next door, and (2) *focal attention* which is under some degree of voluntary executive control, such as the attention we pay to our colleague's words and facial expressions while they are speaking and while we are trying to understand what they intend to communicate. Issues of how much, and also what quality of, attention to input is necessary for subsequent retention and learning are major topics of research in the broad field of cognitive psychology and in the content specific domain of second language acquisition (SLA). Although there have been claims in both these broad and narrower domains that nonattentional learning is possible, this almost always means learning without focal attention to the input stimuli, which *selects* them for further processing and encoding in memory. In such cases, simple *detection* of input at a stage of perceptual processing prior to selection is argued to contribute to learning. If this is so, then learning could be said to take place without *awareness*, since focal attention is widely argued to be a precondition for awareness (see Robinson, P. Attention and memory during SLA. In C. Doughty & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 631–678). Oxford: Blackwell, 2003; Schmidt, R. Attention. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Cognition and second language instruction* (pp. 3–32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001,

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for review). The necessity of awareness of input for SLA (or for other learning domains) is therefore more disputed than the claim that attention to input is necessary. Like attention, awareness can also be at a number of different levels, varying from what Schmidt (Appl Linguist 11:129–158, 1990) called "noticing" of elements of the surface structure of utterances in the input to those higher levels of awareness implicated in "understanding" metalinguistic rules and regularities which the surface structure elements conform to.

Contents

Early Developments

The possibility, and extent, of learning without awareness (implicit learning) became a topic of major interest in cognitive psychology in the 1960s and 1970s. Claims about the contribution of implicit learning to SLA also led to developments in SLA theory, most notably Krashen's monitor model (Krashen 1981) which argued there are two distinct consciously and unconsciously regulated systems involved in language learning. These developments prompted fine-grained information-processing accounts of the roles of attention and awareness in SLA in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Subsequently, experimental and quasi-experimental studies, in laboratory, and classroom contexts were performed to test the claims of these accounts. This review describes some of this earlier research, its historical antecedents in SLA theory, and current research which is examining the same issues with a steadily increasing range of methodologies. It also describes two more recent developments this research has led to – reconceptualizations of the role of aptitude in learning under different conditions of instructional exposure and competing claims about the structure of, and capacity limits on, the attentional resources drawn on during task-based language learning and performance.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, research and theory in cognitive psychology increasingly addressed the role of the "cognitive unconscious" in learning. This included research and theorizing about: implicit, unaware "learning" of complex

stimulus domains (Reber 1993); the contribution of "tacit knowledge," which could not be verbalized, to problem-solving and performance in everyday life (Polanyi 1958); and the relationship of conscious, "explicit" memory for events to "implicit" memory, which (in contrast to explicit memory) involves no deliberate conscious attempt at recall (Schacter 1987). Research showed that implicit and explicit learning, and memory, could be dissociated from each other, suggesting functionally independent learning and memory systems. Reber (1993) further argued that implicit learning and memory processes are earlier evolved in childhood, are drawn on during child first language (L1) acquisition, and that complex information can only be learned implicitly.

In SLA theory, a very similar proposal to that of Reber was developed by Krashen (1982). He argued there are two separate conscious and unconscious learning systems and associated processes termed "acquisition" and "learning," respectively. Acquisition processes resulted in a "natural" order of L2 development – so-called because it closely resembled the order in which the first language is acquired by children. Krashen also argued that the acquired system was uninfluenced by, or "noninterfaced" with, the conscious learning system. Knowledge that had been consciously learned could only be used to "edit" production initiated by the acquired system. Successful SLA was therefore largely the result of unconscious acquisition, Krashen claimed, and conscious learning contributed very little to the process.

Three lines of dissent were taken, following Krashen's proposals, which continue to the present day to stimulate research into the roles of: (1) *attention*; (2) *skill acquisition*; and (3) *awareness* during instructed SLA. Firstly, Sharwood Smith (1981) argued that "consciousness raising" activities could be potentially helpful for instructed L2 learners, and he distinguished four types of intervention that could be used to direct learners' *attention* to language form. These ranged from provision of pedagogic rules (highly demanding of focal attention) to "brief indirect clues" to the L2 structure (much less attention demanding), such as visually enhancing, or otherwise making perceptually salient, a particular structure in the input to language learning activities. Similarly, Long (1991) argued that a "focus on form," or brief *attention* to language as object during meaningful language exposure, could be beneficial to language learners. These two proposals formed the early rationale for subsequent research into the effects of different pedagogic techniques for directing learner attention to form in communicative and task-based classrooms. Research in this area has flourished in recent years (Doughty and Williams 1998) as will be described in the following section.

A different response to Krashen's proposal was to argue that SLA was essentially a process of *skill acquisition* (McLaughlin 1987) and that – following the then current cognitive models of automatization processes – the early phase of instructed language learning involved exclusively effortful, conscious, controlled processing. With practice, explicitly learned knowledge becomes restructured, and access becomes less effortful, and eventually automatic. Versions of this approach are also currently being explored. A third response to Krashen was to argue that consciousness was insufficiently defined in Krashen's theory. Schmidt (1990)

pointed out that "unconscious" (the defining feature of Krashen's "acquisition" process) can be used in three distinct senses: to describe learning without "intention," learning without metalinguistic "understanding," and learning without "awareness." While L2 learning without intention and without metalinguistic understanding are clearly possible, Schmidt argued, there can be no learning without attention, accompanied by the subjective experience of "noticing" or being *aware* of aspects of the "surface structure" of input. All L2 learning is conscious in this sense. Schmidt assumed that focal attention and the contents of awareness are essentially isomorphic. Robinson (1996) further argued that focal attention together with rehearsal processes in short term and working memory jointly gives rise to awareness. Consequently, differences in attentionally regulated rehearsal processes shape the contents of awareness and the extent of learning and retention it results in. However, Tomlin and Villa (1994) argued that while attention was necessary for L2 learning, awareness was not and that detection outside of focal attention was the initial, prerequisite level of processing needed for SLA. Much contemporary research continues to examine evidence for and against these three lines of reaction to Krashen's claims.

Major Contributions

SLA researchers in the 1980s and 1990s were dissatisfied not only with the theoretical position taken by Krashen, described above, but also with the methodology used in studies reported to support the claims of the acquisition/learning distinction. These were overwhelmingly method comparison studies of the effects of learning (over a semester or longer) in instructed settings which focussed on meaning (leading, Krashen claimed, to superior "acquisition") such as content-based, or immersion classrooms, versus those which focussed on grammar instruction (and which emphasized explicit "learning"). However, it is clearly impossible to know with any certainty that learners in focus on meaning classrooms, over the course of a semester, are not also – outside of or inside classrooms – focussing their attention on grammar, with a full intention to learn it. Consequently, in attempts to relate the cognitive phenomena of interest (attention and awareness) to specific learning processes and outcomes, researchers adopted a range of methodologies for addressing the issue in the fine-grained detail needed to have certainty about causal relationships. Three such methodologies were: (1) the use of case studies of the role of awareness; (2) experimental laboratory studies of implicit, incidental, and explicit learning; and (3) quasi-experimental classroom studies of the effects of focus on form.

In one of the first of these fine-grained detail studies of the effects of attention and awareness on language learning, Schmidt (Schmidt 1990; Schmidt and Frota 1986) found some evidence for his "noticing" hypothesis in a case study of his own learning of Portuguese over a 6-month period in Brazil. Schmidt kept a diary of his experiences in using and learning Portuguese, noting a variety of aspects of the language (sounds, phrases, inflections, etc.) as he became aware of them or "noticed" them in the input. He also had periodic conversations in Portuguese, with a native

speaker, which were recorded and later transcribed. Looking at the diary entries and the transcriptions, Schmidt noted a strong tendency for those things he had noticed in the input to subsequently appear in his own production. Such learning, then, was not unconscious or implicit, Schmidt claimed, it was conscious though incidental (i.e., unintentional).

Laboratory studies of the role of attention and awareness in learning have the advantage of allowing tighter control over the amount and nature of the input to learning than is possible in case studies of naturalistic learning, taking place over lengthy periods of time. In the 1990s, a number of experimental laboratory studies made use of computerized delivery of different learning conditions to examine the relative effectiveness of implicit versus explicit learning, and the synergistic effects of combining both. DeKeyser (1997) and Robinson (1996) both addressed the issue of what kinds of L2 phenomena can be learned under implicit and explicit conditions. DeKeyser found superior explicit learning of categorical rules, whose condition statements can be stated clearly, but equivalent, and poor, implicit and explicit learning of rules which are gradient and fuzzy. Related to this, Robinson found learners in an explicit condition that received instruction on rules and applied them to examples in the input outperformed those in conditions that searched for the rules in the input, or processed input for meaning alone, or simply memorized it. This was most clearly so in the case of a rule of English judged to be easy and largely so also for a rule of English judged to be hard. Ellis (1993) in a study of the acquisition of rules of Welsh found that a condition that combined implicit (memorize examples or instances) and explicit (understand a structured rule presentation) conditions outperformed those in implicit or explicit only conditions, who had the same amount of exposure.

Understanding the relationship of attention and awareness to basic learning and other psychological and psycholinguistic processes is essential to understanding the cognitive underpinnings of SLA (see the edited collections by Ellis 1994; Hulstijn and Ellis 2005). However, experimental laboratory studies are open to the charge of limited ecological validity when comparing the settings in which their findings are arrived at with those of classroom instructional contexts. A third kind of study – classroom studies of the effects of briefly drawing learners' attention to language form during meaningful language exposure – has therefore been conducted to examine the generalizability of findings about basic processes, as revealed in laboratory settings, to classroom instruction. An edited collection by Doughty and Williams (1998) illustrates both the research questions guiding, and the methodologies adopted in pursuing, this research agenda. Three basic issues that have guided much subsequent research are: which kind of focus on form technique shows the most consistently successful results; which kind of forms are most susceptible to learning via various focus on form techniques that have been proposed; and should the delivery of the technique be decided and contrived prior to sessions of instructional exposure to meaningful activities (i.e., planned off-line), or only be improvised as an on-line reaction to learner errors and production problems in situ, as they occur during communication. In line with the laboratory findings briefly described above, techniques for focus on form which are more attention demanding, such as

processing-instruction, and which involves brief rule explanations have been found to be quite consistently successful. Less attention demanding and less communicatively intrusive techniques, such as delivering a recast of a problematic form in the speech of an L2 learner during conversational interaction, have shown more variable effects on uptake and learning of the corrected form. Recent overviews of the – now extensive – findings for the effects of attention and awareness on learning induced by both the recasting and the processing-instruction techniques for focus on form can be found in Long (2014) and VanPatten (2004), respectively.

Work in Progress

The issues described above all concern the role of attention and awareness in processing input and the extent to which levels of attention and awareness are necessary for retention of input and further learning. Experimental laboratory and classroom research continues to address these issues. Recently, however, two additional areas of research have attracted an increasing amount of theoretical discussion, and empirical studies of these issues are increasing. The first of these areas concerns not simply attention to and awareness of *input* occurring during communicative activities but also attention to and awareness of the form of language production or *output*. The theoretical question of interest here is the notion of attention as "capacity." Clearly, the human information-processing system is limited in its ability to process and respond to information in the environment, but are breakdowns in performance that occur caused by limits on attentional resources? Skehan (1998) argues for this position, claiming capacity limits on a single pool of attentional resources leads to decrements in the fluency, accuracy, and complexity of L2 speech when tasks are high in their attentional, memory, and other cognitive demands. Consequently, Skehan has shown, when planning time is allowed, which reduces task demands, then there is greater fluency and accuracy of L2 speech than when the learner has no planning time before performing a task in the L2. A contrasting position has been proposed by Robinson (2011) who argues that some dimensions of tasks are separately resourced and do not draw on a single undifferentiated pool of attention. Increasing complexity along these dimensions of tasks, such as increasing the amount of reasoning the task requires, can lead to greater accuracy and also complexity of L2 production compared to performance on simpler task versions, requiring no or little reasoning. Further, along these resource-directing dimensions, greater complexity of the task leads to greater noticing and uptake of task relevant input. This multiple resources view is motivated in part by arguments from functional linguistics that greater effort at conceptualization leads to greater complexity and grammaticization of speech.

   A second area of recent research concerns the contribution of individual differences in cognitive abilities to successful learning from the focus on form techniques described above. Do different techniques for focus on form draw on different sets of learner cognitive abilities: for example, delivering a recast of a problematic learner utterance in the hope that the learner will notice and use the recast form in their own

production versus giving a brief metalinguistic explanation of the error or rule that has been broken? Research has shown that working memory capacity is related to the ability to notice and use the negative feedback provided in recasts (Mackey et al. 2002) – those with higher working memory capacity profit more from this technique and are also better able to notice and learn aspects of grammar while processing input for meaning (Robinson 2002, 2005). Findings such as these are prompting new proposals for comprehensive aptitude batteries that sample the abilities drawn on under a range of input processing conditions and in response to a range of focus on form techniques.

Problems and Difficulties

Two issues which are problematic in the empirical study of the role of attention and awareness in learning are: (1) the problem of task construal and (2) the sensitivity of measures of awareness. Firstly, in studying the role of attention and awareness on learning, research in cognitive psychology, and increasingly SLA, has presented stimuli under different (experimental or classroom) task conditions. In Reber's (1993) research into implicit versus explicit learning, learners in two training conditions are presented with the same stimuli – for example, strings of letters that follow complex rules for which combinations of letters are permissible. Implicit learners are instructed only to memorize the display, whereas explicit learners are instructed to search the stimulus display in order to identify rules. On post-training transfer tests learners in the implicit condition are often found to be sensitive to the rules, i.e., they correctly classify as grammatical those letters strings that follow the same rules as the training task stimuli and correctly reject as ungrammatical those that do not. However, learners in these conditions are argued to be unaware of these rules, as revealed by their inability to *verbally report* them. They just "felt" some letter strings were more acceptable, or similar to the training set stimuli, than others. The Ellis (1993), Robinson (1996), and DeKeyser (1997) studies reported above adopted very similar procedures but used either an artificial language (DeKeyser) or a natural language (Ellis and Robinson) as the stimulus to be learned, while Robinson (2010) compared the results for learning and awareness using both an artificial and a natural second language.

The first problem this procedure raises is that of "*task construal*": are learners in fact following the instruction to memorize only in the implicit condition, or are they adopting a more analytic approach, and in fact doing what learners in the explicit condition are instructed to do, i.e., search for rules explicitly? That is, are they construing the demands of the task in the way the researcher intends them? There is, of course, no guarantee that they will, and this raises difficulties in interpreting results of learning under one condition versus another as evidence of supposedly causal and categorical differences in the way input is processed. This caveat also applies to inferences about the causal effects of different degrees of attention to and awareness of form in classroom studies. For example, learners presented with one technique for focus on form (such as textual input-enhancement, in which various

elements, such as regular past tense inflections in English, have been made perceptually salient via underlining) may be processing it in many different ways. This leads to the second problem for research in this area: the need for *sensitive measures of awareness* to examine what learners are actually doing and aware of during experimental task and classroom exposure. Verbal reports requiring rule explanation, as in Reber's experiments, may not have been sensitive to what implicit learners actually did attend to, and were aware of, such as noticing of co-occurring "chunks" of letters in the input. If such noticing did guide judgements of grammaticality following exposure, then implicit learning can not be called "unaware" or nonconscious in Schmidt's (1990) terms, since learners were basing their decision-making on what they "noticed" in the input. Consequently, research in SLA is exploring a range of methods for assessing learner awareness, both during and following treatments which aim to manipulate it. Gass and Mackey (2000) have examined the effectiveness of a method called "stimulated recall," in which learners are videotaped during classroom activities which adopt one focus on form technique or another, and then following the treatment learners are shown the video and prompted to recall what they were thinking and aware of at certain points in the activity. This is an off-line, post-experiential means of assessing awareness, but it has the advantage of greater sensitivity to the causes and contents of awareness than post-treatment verbal responses to decontextualized questions, such as "Were you looking for rules?" or "Can you describe the rules?," etc. An on-line technique for assessing awareness *while* treatments are being delivered is the use of protocols, in which learners verbalize what they are thinking, attending to, and aware of as they perform a task (see Leow and Morgan-Short 2004). This is a potentially sensitive measure of awareness, but there is the important issue of whether performing the protocol interferes in a substantial way with the nature of the processing the experimental task or classroom activity aims to induce. In an extended review of studies of this issue of "reactivity," Bowles (2010) concludes that there is little evidence that protocols negatively interfere with the learning processes of interest in studies of the relationship between learning, attention, and awareness. Most recently, Leow and Hama (2013) have presented arguments questioning the claims made by Williams (2005) to have demonstrated learning without awareness based only on nonconcurrent, off-line measures of awareness such as verbal reports, since learners may have forgotten or not be able to verbalize what they were aware of "at the point of" learning. Paclorek and Williams (2015), in contrast, argue that their experiment demonstrates unaware learning of and sensitivity to semantic distinctions in a semiartificial language (such as living versus nonliving) which are easily reportable and unlikely to have been noticed and then forgotten.

Future Directions

Future research will likely adopt increasingly sensitive measures of the contents of awareness and explore new methodologies for operationalizing these. As in recent work (Rebuschat et al. 2015) it is likely that concurrent and retrospective verbal

report measures of awareness will both be used, accompanied by subjective measures, such as confidence ratings and feeling-of-knowing. Neurophysiological measures of physical changes in brain states (Morgan-Short et al. 2012) as well as behavioral methods such as eye-tracking (Godfroid and Winke 2015) will also be used increasingly to complement the introspective methods for studying the relationship of attention and awareness to learning. Finally, content issues that are likely to be addressed with increasing frequency include *what* aspects of a language can be learned with less versus more attention to and awareness of form, not simply with regard to syntax, phonology, lexis, and morphology but also with respect to semantics, pragmatics, and advanced levels of L2 discourse ability.

Cross-References

▶ Cognitive Linguistics and Its Applications to Second Language Teaching
▶ Implicit and Explicit Knowledge About Language

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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Language Awareness, the Curriculum, the Classroom, and the Teacher

Third Language Acquisition in Multilingual Contexts

Maria Pilar Safont Jordà

Abstract

The acquisition of a third language in bilingual communities is now the norm rather than the exception. Yet, different perspectives have been adopted in its implementation. This chapter will deal with early developments in the study of third language acquisition in multilingual communities from an educational perspective. We shall thus point to results from research that lead to the peculiarities of third language learners. After that, major contributions within this area of research will be dealt with. More specifically, we shall refer to early multilingualism, multilingual education, and multilingual paradigms adopted in the analysis of TLA in multilingual contexts. Work in progress as well as those problems and difficulties raised by scholars interested in the acquisition of additional languages in multilingual settings will be described. Finally, we will point to future directions by referring to the potential solutions to the previously indicated problems and difficulties as raised by TLA scholars in an attempt to better analyze and identify the processes of TLA in multilingual contexts.

Keywords

TLA • L3 pragmatics

Contents

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Early Developments

The acquisition of an additional language in multilingual communities has received a
great deal of attention in the last two decades (Aronin and Hufeisen 2009). The
impact of the volume *English in Europe* (Cenoz et al. 2000) illustrates the increasing
interest in the acquisition of the English language in communities where two other
languages were already spoken as it is the case in some European regions. Although
research on TLA was still at its infancy at the time of its publication, interesting
conclusions were presented that have been later on confirmed by empirical data
analyses. According to Cenoz (2009), third language acquisition should be distin-
guished from second language acquisition in a number of ways. We now have
studies showing the inherent complexity of third language acquisition processes
(Safont-Jordà and Portolés 2015). Nevertheless, the differences between second and
third language acquisition have been traditionally neglected in SLA research. In fact,
SLA studies ignore the knowledge of languages other than one mother tongue
although they are frequently conducted in multilingual communities and deal with
multilingual subjects.

Existing research on TLA in multilingual communities has provided us with
information about those peculiarities that third language learners have. Main areas
of interest have been grammar, vocabulary, and pragmatics. A number of studies
have also been conducted with a focus on the advantages that bilingualism presents
to third language learners (see Cenoz 2013 for an overview). Regarding grammar,
authors like Klein (1995) deal with the acquisition of specific syntactic structures and
forms. Flynn et al. (2004) present the cumulative enhancement model in an attempt
to describe grammar development in three languages. According to these authors,
this model explains how previously acquired grammar knowledge in L1 or L2 may
facilitate L3 grammar acquisition without redundant structures, that is, without
traditional syntactic transfer taking place. Hence, grammar like other language
systems is more complex in third than in second language learning. Another example
is vocabulary which has been widely examined from a cross-linguistic perspective in
the volume *The Multilingual Lexicon*. In addition to that, more recent studies
(De Angelis and Dewaele 2011) confirm the constant interaction and
interdependence among the third language learners' lexical systems which may
not be restricted to simple semantic or lexical transfer processes. Finally, research
on pragmatic competence of multilingual learners shows not only their advantage
over monolingual ones but also a different path of development. Safont-Jordà (2005)
presents evidence on the advantage of Spanish-Catalan bilinguals over Spanish
monolinguals in the use of request acts in English as a third language. In her

study, third language learners of English overcame their monolingual counterparts in the appropriate use of request forms and in the awareness of such appropriate use.

Despite the above-quoted results, the adoption of English as a third language in the educational system of many multilingual communities in Europe has followed traditional SLA and EFL tenets. In the last two decades learning foreign languages, and particularly English, has been a priority in education. On the one hand, this fact has led to multilingualism as the norm, in bilingual communities, and it has also been regarded as a threat to other languages present in the community as acknowledged by certain scholars (Mühlhäusler 1996). On the other hand, applied linguists like Alcón (2007) and House (2009), among others, support the use of English as a world language, an international language or lingua franca. That is a language that is to be added to the rich linguistic repertoire of most European communities. In this line, the European Commission has presented different measures that encourage European citizens to have practical skills in three languages: their mother tongue plus two more. The result has been that in continental Europe multilingualism is the norm and English is frequently the second or third language in the curriculum, either as a subject or as medium of instruction. Due to this fact, research on third language acquisition in multilingual settings has mainly focused on the acquisition of English as a third language as shown by the major studies presented below.

Major Contributions

Main contributions to research on the acquisition of a third language in multilingual contexts refer to the introduction of (i) new paradigms from psycholinguistic and educational viewpoints as well as to the presentation of (ii) pedagogical proposals deriving from these paradigms and (iii) research studies that also take into account these theoretical tenets.

New Theoretical Paradigms

From a psycholinguistic perspective, Herdina and Jessner (2002) presented the dynamic model of multilingualism which is an adaptation of the dynamic systems theory to the phenomenon of multilingualism. The dynamic model of multilingualism (henceforth DMM) enables researchers to adopt new perspectives in the analysis of multilingual data away from traditional SLA paradigms (see Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends, this volume). Components of the DMM include all the language systems that a multilingual person knows, cross-linguistic interaction among those languages, cross-linguistic awareness, and the multilingualism factor which arises as a result of the constant interaction between the speakers' languages. This factor might be responsible for the advantages and enhanced skills that multilinguals show, namely those of metalinguistic awareness, pragmatic production, pragmatic awareness, and creativity among many others. Nevertheless, further research needs to be conducted to confirm such claims. Resorting to the

DMM in the analysis of multilingual speakers implies the adoption of a holistic approach in which the researcher considers all of the participants' languages.

Such a holistic perspective has also been considered in educational paradigms. Here, three contributions should be mentioned, (i) models for analyzing schools in multilingual communities (Hornberger 2003; Cenoz 2009), (ii) multilingual approaches to teaching (Cenoz and Gorter 2013; García and Flores 2012; Hufeisen and Neuner 2004), and (iii) multiliteracy development (Canagarajah 2013; García 2009). The *Continua for Multilingual Education* is a revised and enhanced version of Hornberger's *Continua of Biliteracy* (2003). While Hornberger focuses on the development of bilingual literacy, Cenoz further extends the model to account for the global educational context in which multilingual education may take place. The *Continua for Multilingual Education* is thus conceived as an instrument to evaluate the degree of multilingualism in schools or in other institutions aiming at it. According to Cenoz (2009, p. 32) "multilingual education implies teaching more than two languages provided the schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy." On the one hand, this definition of multilingual education allows us to consider the time and resources devoted to the introduction of a third language in multilingual contexts. On the other hand, the author claims that at least four variables need to be considered in the continua of multilingual education: subject, language of instruction, teacher, and school context. Using these variables to analyze the introduction of a third language in education from a multilingual perspective, we can claim that this third language is nowadays a compulsory school subject. In some European regions, English is the third language chosen although differences may be found in the integration of English with the national, regional, and other foreign languages. The approach that has developed most in Europe is that of CLIL or content and language integrated learning. Despite the fact that some authors link multilingual teaching practices with CLIL bilingual education programs (García 2009) and highlight their dynamic nature, we see that pedagogical results from CLIL practices do not always differ much from those involved in EFL programs (Ruiz de Zarobe and Jimenez Catalan 2009). In these last cases, a completely monolingual approach is followed that exclusively focuses on the third language. Hence, we may argue that while CLIL could provide learners with the appropriate conditions for dynamic multilingual teaching and learning, the pedagogical approach followed so far seems to ignore the learners' first and second languages. In fact, as argued by Cenoz (2013), CLIL isolates the teaching of English from the teaching of other languages.

Pedagogical Proposals

Nevertheless, as argued by García and Kleifgen (2010), new types of educational programs have recently emerged, namely those of dynamic plurilingual programs. An example of these approaches could be Hufeisen and Neuner's (2004) proposal. These authors advocate for *Tertiary Didactics* as an approach to teach third language learners which is different to that of second language learners. As argued by the

authors, the main idea being that learners' multilingualism would be the basis for teaching programs. Hence, there would never be a zero level in any language but an extension of the learners' language knowledge as provided by any new language. Similarly, García and Flores (2012) also argue for dynamic multilingual pedagogies. According to these authors, dynamic multilingual pedagogies should involve more than one language as means of instruction and allow for fluid language practices. Furthermore, emergent multilingual children may be allowed to use their languages in a "noncontrolled" way so that they are responsible for their linguistic interactions in line with their third language development. In a multilingual setting, this would imply that bilingual students could make use of their first and second language (which in most cases coincides with the community minority and majority languages) while being instructed in the third one (English in most situations). The three languages would then serve different functions depending on the instructional needs of teachers and communicational needs of students. This instructional strategy is known as *preview-view-review* (García and Flores 2012, p. 241), and it is only one example of the pedagogical implications involved in adopting flexible and dynamic multilingual approaches.

Cenoz and Gorter (2013) also advocate for a *Focus on Multilingualism* approach to language teaching in multilingual communities. Their proposal is in line with García's (2009) arguments for translanguaging in the classroom. The view that the language classroom is not monolingual and that this is not a negative but a positive aspect has been claimed by authors like Levine (2011) who argues against the monolingual approach that has been traditionally adopted in third language classrooms and he also explains the myth or fallacy underlying the monolingual norm in foreign language teaching. Cenoz and Gorter (2013) argue for softening the boundaries among those languages known to third language learners instead of separating them or banning the presence of languages other than English in the ESOL classroom. In line with Cenoz's (2013) views stated above, these scholars suggest a pedagogical perspective that goes beyond the monolingual-biased Common European Framework of Reference (henceforth CEFR). This framework is now adopted by most European academic institutions with an interest in promoting third language acquisition, and thus multilingualism, in communities where at least two other languages are already present. The CEFR is also used as a tool to assess learners' knowledge of the target language involving adults, teenagers, and children.

Third language learners in multilingual settings also aim at literacy in all their languages, and the approach suggested by scholars is in line with the above holistic views on multilingual education. This approach has received different names: pluriliteracy practices, multilingual literacies (Blackledge and Creese 2010), or translingual practices (Canagarajah 2013). Common to all of them is the idea that fluid code meshing and translanguaging are optimal tools towards literacy in multiple languages. Language is regarded as a dynamic process of structuration. Reading and writing include learners' agency in their control and management of their language systems. Writing in translingual practices, as argued by Min-Zhan and Horner (2013), should not be viewed as a deviation to the standard norm but as a

version of basic writing, Lingua Franca writing, or world Englishes. In understanding written discourse, the frame to be adopted should be spatial-temporal, where emergent third language writers use English (i.e., the third language) as a link between the cultures and the people represented by their other languages also present in multilingual settings. Yet, according to Blackledge and Creese (2010), the teaching of literacies is intertwined with the teaching of culture, thus there should be a place for folk narratives in children's heritage languages. These authors focus their proposal on non-officially multilingual communities, that is, a major focus is given to communities with high levels of immigrants whose children already possess knowledge of two or more languages when faced with a third one in school. This third language coincides with the majority language of the speech community they are living in. That is the case of most English-speaking countries. However, we should not forget that English is also the third language in those officially bilingual settings of Europe like the Basque Country, Catalonia, or the Valencian Community among many others. While similar principles apply, reality, degree of exposure to languages, agency, and identity vary. On that account, not only pedagogical proposals but also research studies are needed that enable us to account for early multilingual acquisition and teaching across the globe.

Studies on Pragmatic Competence

In her analysis of the pragmatic competence of English language learners, Alcón (2012) has found a role for these students' multilingual background. Results from her study show that the degree of communicative sensitivity of Catalan-Spanish productive bilinguals was higher than that found in the case of Spanish speakers. These findings are in line with previous studies on third language learners' communicative sensitivity and pragmatic awareness. They also present evidence for Cenoz's claims (2009, 2013) stated before on the peculiarities of third language acquisition.

In line with the above theoretical underpinings advocating for a thorough multilingual approach in examining multilinguals, some studies have recently been conducted with a focus on third language pragmatics in multilingual settings. Taking the dynamic model of multilingualism as theoretical basis to explain pragmatic development, Safont-Jordà (2013) presents evidence of the cross-linguistic interaction and the M-factor effects in the analysis of a consecutive early multilingual. This longitudinal study deals with requestive behavior in three languages (i.e., Catalan, Spanish, and English) and focuses on the period involved from 2.6 to 5.6 years. The introduction of a third language (i.e., English) in the subject's linguistic repertoire promoted the use of conventionally indirect forms in the three languages. Therefore, both a quantitative and a qualitative change took place in the child's requestive behavior which makes it different from that of other monolingual and bilingual children. The interaction among the three languages in ages 2.6–3.6 facilitated Pau's pragmatic development later on (i.e., ages 3.6–5.6). The inherent complexity of multilingualism is exemplified here by the way in which the three languages develop

and the use of specific request forms that both coincide but also differ from those of other preliterate children. These three languages developed in line with their politeness orientation, that is, positive in Catalan and Spanish and negative in English. In addition to that, the emergent trilingual child already made regular use of mitigation items and elaborated pragmalinguistic routines before the expected age according to the milestones for monolingual pragmatic development. As argued by the author, these findings illustrate the so-called qualitative difference between monolinguals and multilinguals.

In the same line and focusing on the same region, Portolés (2015) examines pragmatic comprehension of preschool (aged 4–5) and primary education (aged 8–9) children by focusing on their three languages, namely those of Catalan, Spanish, and English. Results show that participants displayed a high degree of pragmatic awareness, even though their pragmatic systems were not fully developed, especially in English coinciding with previous studies on early multilinguals (Safont-Jordà 2013). Furthermore, the participants' level of pragmatic awareness was not determined by their proficiency level but by their multilingual proficiency unlike predicted by former research grounded on monolingual tenets (Tomasello 2008). According to Portolés (2015), the multilingual background of the participants and their language learning experience in Spanish and Catalan may have provided learners with a high level of awareness towards their L3.

Work in Progress

As mentioned above, some studies are now being conducted that apply holistic models to the analysis of third language acquisition. From a cognitive perspective, recent research (García-Mayo and González 2015) provides further evidence on the complexity underlying multilingual phenomena like those of attrition, cross-linguistic influence, lexical development, or age of onset among others. From a psycholinguistic and discourse-pragmatic orientation, findings obtained so far also confirm the inherent complexity and underlying dynamism of multilingual language acquisition. Those studies have examined pragmatic competence and development in young adults, preschool, and primary education children. Nevertheless, more research is needed to consider other pragmatic aspects, other linguistic areas, and other age groups as well as other sociolinguistic contexts. Furthermore, while the adoption of a third language in the school curriculum of multilingual communities is done at early stages, little research focuses on young third language learners in these settings. The exceptional cases have done so from a monolingual perspective (Mihaljevic-Djigunovic and Lopriore 2011). Hence, findings obtained present an interesting but still partial account of third language acquisition phenomena in multilingual settings.

From a multilingual viewpoint, very recent attempts are now being made to analyze emergent multilinguals' attitudes towards languages in an attempt to find a connection between the attitudes and the degree of pragmatic competence as argued by Portolés (2015) and shown by preliminary findings. Another related aspect that is

now the focus of attention is that of parents' attitudes and school's choice in multilingual settings. As expected, results obtained so far point to the effect of the linguistic model adopted by the school on parents' attitudes towards multilingualism. Interestingly, Portolés (2015) has also found a connection between the linguistic policy of schools and the attitudes displayed by their young students. Hence, a further analysis of linguistic practices in schools seems to be most suitable and convenient.

Current findings also show that translanguaging does take place in the TLA classroom and that more information on children's and teacher's pragmatic production is obtained if a holistic focus is adopted in the analysis of classroom discourse (Safont-Jordà and Portolés 2015). However, these analyses are being conducted in settings that seem to promote monolingualism in the classroom. As argued by Cenoz (2013), while the school may aim at providing students with multilingual competence, languages in multilingual settings are treated separately in different lessons, mainly by different teachers and with no cross-reference on contents or learning goals. Therefore, while third language acquisition takes place mainly in multilingual settings, the teaching approach followed is still monolingual. However, the analysis of language use in these classrooms reveals real multilingual practices. There is translanguaging and code meshing, that is to say, learners use all their languages in different ways and for different purposes in the classroom. Similarly, the teacher very often also makes use of the students' languages other than the target one, which in most cases is English, as already mentioned before.

We now need more studies that analyze classroom discourse and teaching practices incorporating a focus on multilingualism as suggested by different scholars in the field (Cenoz and Gorter 2013; Canagarajah 2013).

Problems and Difficulties

In order to achieve the research goals mentioned in the previous subsection, we are faced with certain problems as reported here. More specifically, there is a need for (a) other research methods, for (b) making results generalizable, for (c) linking various subdisciplines, and for appropriately facing (d) the political debate implied in the adoption of particular policies for the teaching of third languages in multilingual contexts.

Research methodologies should also incorporate further longitudinal and qualitative studies that complete the already existing quantitative and cross-sectional ones. Nevertheless, obtaining longitudinal data is not only time consuming but also very difficult and complex. Commitment on the part of all participants is needed as well as the possibility that researchers may wait for 3–4 years before they may thoroughly analyze their data. This issue becomes more complex if we are dealing with early emergent multilinguals as variables related to growth, or learning pace may not be as *stable* as in the case of adults and, thus, posit further problems for longitudinal research. Furthermore, qualitative descriptions require extensive knowledge and detailed accounts of the subjects and setting where studies are conducted.

This information is not always available. Yet, we do need this perspective and incorporate also more case studies in order to provide the general public and the scientific community with a complete picture of third language development in multilingual settings. Case studies have been widely criticized for their individual account of learning and acquisition processes, and they are often linked to restrictions for generalizing results. However, there are specific details in longitudinal perspectives that may only be properly addressed if done at an individual level. Multilingualism is so complex that we may need to isolate variables and get to know the subject to discard what is or not affecting particular results. For this reason, a wider amount of case studies are also required that may include this longitudinal, qualitative, and quantitative perspective and then enable us to generalize results. The ideal would be to compare case studies with studies involving a wider amount of subjects. In so doing, we may really confirm whether a given theoretical tenet accounts for multilingual acquisition or development or whether a given teaching practice is really achieving its objectives.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of multilingualism, more interaction is needed among researchers from various subdisciplines like those of psycholinguistics, educational linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, and pragmatics among others. In fact, as argued by scholars in this area, contributions to the study of multilingualism in the last two decades derive from different fields and disciplines, yet there does not seem to be a direct link or collaboration among them. Deciphering multilingual processing may best be achieved by also including social factors often ignored in psycholinguistics research. This is a huge difficulty as such a comprehensive account implies collaboration across departments and faculties which is not always possible. Research considering third language acquisition from different angles may provide comprehensive accounts of these processes. Issues like the study of identity should go beyond studies dealing with multilingualism and migration to include bilingual locals acquiring a highly prestigious third language as another example.

Last but not least, the way in which this third language has been incorporated in the curricula of multilingual communities across Europe, as mentioned above, also presents some problems. The incorporation of CLIL methodologies for the teaching of third languages should now turn into multilingual views and interaction among languages, and, as argued by García, would be an optimal scenario for that.

Future Directions

Three main issues need to be addressed in TLA research as argued by several researchers in the field. First, a thorough multilingual perspective should be definitely adopted in all studies accounting for third language acquisition processes (Cenoz and Gorter 2013; Cenoz 2013). Second, proposals for accounting for all learners' languages in the third language classroom should be widely put into practice and later on examined to see their effects. Thirdly, collaboration across

disciplines would help us understand and further examine third language acquisition processes.

The *focus on multilingualism* perspective proposed by Cenoz and Gorter (2013) seems to be in line with García's translanguaging views as the authors argue for softening boundaries between languages (see previous subsections). This focus should not only be done through teaching but also in research where all participants' languages and all their speech communities are taken into account. In implementing this focus on multilingualism approach, one key question, as suggested by Hélot (2012), is that of teacher training. We need practitioners that are familiar with multilingual education and with multilingual approaches to education. These are the main agents who may make it possible. Hence, education for teachers needs to be modified to include ways in which they can soften the boundaries between languages while promoting and fostering third language learners' multilingual development.

One interesting area for teachers implementing a focus on multilingualism approach is that of literacy in three or more languages or translingual literacy (Canagarajah 2013). Most proposals for multilingual literacy consider bilingual or multilingual children living in officially monolingual areas (i.e., English speaking). There is a specific need to focus on literacy as far as third language acquisition in multilingual settings is concerned. I hereby refer to bilingual children or emergent multilinguals (in García's terms, 2009) in officially bilingual areas, hence, sharing the community languages and learning an additional one. Given the fact that the third language is now introduced at very early stages, this proposal seems most suitable. Furthermore, tackling multiliteracy development may also be the focus of research studies on early third language learners.

The degree of exposure to the three languages and their presence in their speech community may be further analyzed from psycho and sociolinguistic views. In this way, collaboration across subfields would be possible and most welcome. TLA studies may benefit from language socialization studies instead of adapting and adopting SLA frameworks to include three or more languages in the equation. Language socialization studies will help us tackle issues like that of language identity, receptive multilingualism, or linguistic ideology in a more comprehensive way. This may complete results obtained from a more psycholinguistic perspective in which third language learners are analyzed by pointing to the interaction between their emotions and other individual variables. In this line, Aronin and Singleton (2009) refer to the study of the dominant language constellation (henceforth DLC) as a convenient approach to multilinguals' linguistic competence. The DLC enables us to study the languages present in society as they relate to the individuals' preferred or required use of them. As argued by the authors, it is not only a descriptive term like that of the verbal or linguistic repertoire, but it is more dynamic in the sense that it represents real knowledge at one point in time, which may of course vary in line with specific social or individual circumstances. The analysis of third language learners' DLC in multilingual settings may provide us with information about the extent to which minority languages are revitalized and part of children's identity. It would also enable us to have a global picture of the prestige and use of majority and foreign languages of other community members (i.e., parents, teachers, among others) and

thus acknowledge potential effects on children's multilingual development. In addition, we would meet the need to gain further insights into third language acquisition in multilingual contexts.

Cross-References

▶ Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula
▶ Language Awareness and CLIL
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

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Language Awareness and CLIL

Yolanda Ruiz de Zarobe

Abstract

This review is devoted to Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), an educational approach where content is taught through the medium of a second or an additional language. The review starts with the early developments of the approach, where policy-driven initiatives on the part of the European Union are coupled with grassroots actions undertaken in different contextual and educational settings.

Given the diversity of research and studies, a summary of some of the major contributions will be discussed. These include contributions focusing on both the content and the learning outcomes of the approach. Classroom-based research is also analyzed, among other factors. Work in progress related to the diverse array of programs is later presented, together with new notions on multilingualism and CLIL.

The review ends with some problems and difficulties encountered when implementing CLIL and future directions which include the necessity for more large-scale studies and the need for integration in CLIL.

Keywords

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) • Multilingualism • Learning outcomes • Content knowledge

Contents

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149

Introduction

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) refers to an educational approach where curricular content is taught through the medium of a second or additional language. It is a term that was coined in the 1990s in Europe for programs that use a foreign language in the teaching of nonlinguistic subjects, which implies integrating both content and language in the curriculum.

This educational approach has been a growing trend in the last 20 years, although teaching subject matter through a foreign language is nothing new: some bilingual communities and European educational institutions have had a long tradition of teaching content through an additional language in their curricula. However, although bilingual education dates back even centuries ago, there has been an upsurge in recent decades, linked to the importance of multilingualism and globalization. The model has been steadily gaining ground in most European countries and beyond, although with contextual variables related to topics such as policy framework, age of implementation, and teacher education programs, among others.

CLIL has also become an "umbrella" term for all bilingual, content-based education and has often been considered a multidimensional approach covering a wide spectrum of fields. Thus, CLIL presents different fields of reflection and development, which often intertwine and which will be analyzed in the following sections.

Early Developments

The early developments of CLIL in the 1990s have frequently been associated with the support provided by the European Union (EU) Commission for several reasons. Firstly, there has been a commitment of the European Union to a multilingual Europe. In fact, already in 1995, the EU Commission (*White Paper on Education and Training*, 1995) proposed that EU citizens should be proficient in three European languages – their first language (L1), a language of international communication, and a "personal adoptive language" (i.e., *mother tongue + 2* objective) – to ensure multilingualism in Europe. This is related to the general consensus within the EU to bridge the gap that has sometimes existed between foreign language education and language competence and performance. Furthermore, the EU has been committed to promoting language learning to provide an opportunity for more important economic advances in Europe.

At the same time, the migration flows and the effects of globalization have forced the EU to readjust their linguistic policies to face the challenge of creating a more integrated and inclusive society. It was thought that CLIL as an educational approach could serve to promote foreign language education thereby enhancing social inclusion by making citizens more linguistically prepared. Multilingualism is viewed as an essential tool in fostering integration and social inclusion and as a cornerstone to create an integrated society. In 2003 the European Commission launched an action plan for language learning and linguistic diversity, where CLIL was encouraged as one of the many innovative methods to improve the quality of language learning and teaching. The different European Commission reports (Eurydice 2006, Eurydice Network 2012, among others) have attested that the model is being employed in most European countries, with differences in implementation policies and research and outcome parameters.

Thus, CLIL as an educational approach has rapidly been adopted as a key instrument in enhancing language learning, with the subsequent EU Commission declarations (2003, 2008), specifying the goals that CLIL can accomplish in its different forms. These include such advantages as the possibility to raise culture and language awareness, provide opportunities to study content through different perspectives, increase motivation and positive attitudes toward the language, improve L1 literacy, build cognitive advantages, and so on. As regards language awareness (LA), it can be defined as "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (Association for Language Awareness 2012). That is, it involves a conscious understanding of how languages work and how people learn and use languages. This understanding of languages can help us become better language learners and teachers, which will be one of the dimensions addressed by CLIL, together with cultural and intercultural awareness (Coyle et al. 2010).

Although we have only addressed Europe in these early developments, a similar and growing interest in CLIL can also be observed in other geographical contexts and continents such as Latin America (there is also a *Latin American Journal of Content and Language Integrated Learning*, first published in 2008), Southeast Asian countries (see, for instance, Yi Lo and Lin's (2015) special issue in the context of Hong Kong), or Australia but with differences related, for instance, to implementation issues or the acknowledged preponderance of English in Asian contexts (Yi Lo and Lin 2015).

In the case of Europe, some of the early contributions about the approach have been supported by the European Commission and the Council of Europe. In 2002, the report *CLIL/EMILE- The European Dimension: Actions*, *Trends and Foresight Potential* presented analysis, observations, and recommendations on CLIL actions and developments in the different stages of education. With contributions by experts from different European countries, such as Belgium, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain, Finland, and Germany, it provides recommendations on the societal, strategic, and practical level.

As part of the CLIL Compendium Partnership (www.clilcompendium.com) and with support from the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the

European Commission (SOCRATES-Lingua), the core reasons for implementing a CLIL approach were addressed by Marsh et al. (2001), drawing on existing expertise (for instance, Baetens-Beardsmore's 1993 publication *European Models of Bilingual Education*). They also identified five dimensions for the inclusion of CLIL in Europe, which included culture, environment, language, content, and learning (Marsh et al. 2001, p. 16). Part of the research that has since followed has focused on one or more of these dimensions.

These early developments also saw the first attempts to conceptualize CLIL theoretically. Coyle (1999 and subsequent works) introduced a theoretical framework that consists of four dimensions (The 4C's Model): content (subject matter), cognition (thinking processes), communication (language), and culture (intercultural awareness), with the benefits they may bring in the classroom. By connecting these four dimensions, Coyle describes the relationship between language and content, while placing intercultural understanding at the core of the learning process. After this, there have been other attempts to conceptualize the approach, a task that is still an ongoing enterprise nowadays.

Nevertheless, the early developments of the approach have not only been related to policy-driven initiatives on the part of European institutions. Crucially, the approach has been endorsed by individual initiatives promoted by school communities and stakeholders aiming to improve language learning in education. This has attracted a significant number of CLIL projects and experimental initiatives, looking for ways to improve second language (L2) competence, among other goals, which has given rise to a large number of contributions, some of which will be presented in the next section.

Major Contributions

In recent years, CLIL has gained considerable recognition on the international scene in different educational and contextual settings, which has generated a significant body of research. CLIL has often been described as a "dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle et al. 2010, p. 1). Due to this duality and to the fact that one of its main purposes has been L2 learning and enrichment, a great deal of research has been undertaken by linguists and language educators (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe et al. 2011) who have focused on the evaluation of learning outcomes.

Research investigating the use of the different skills and competencies has presented contrasting results depending on the skill being studied. In general terms, positive outcomes in favor of CLIL have been reported with respect to reading, some components of writing, oral fluency, and vocabulary, among others. However, the results with respect to morphosyntax and pronunciation, to mention just a few, are less clear (see, for instance, Dalton-Puffer (2011) and Ruiz de Zarobe (2014), for a revision of some of these results).

A note of caution needs to be sounded here as this is only a representative sample of some of the applied linguistic research that has been conducted in the last few years, for this is a field of research that has, and is still enjoying, massive uptake. It also needs to be stated that in some of this research, the cohorts that were compared consisted of CLIL learners versus non-CLIL learners, that is, those who only have regular foreign language classes. The fact that CLIL learners usually continue with their regular foreign language classes in addition to the CLIL classes implies that they have more hours of exposure to the foreign language and, therefore, a time advantage over the non-CLIL groups. Some research has tried to solve this discrepancy, but it is still true that this disparity is sometimes an inevitable consequence of the circumstances under which CLIL is implemented.

Another important aspect that we need to take into consideration when we talk about the learning outcomes of the approach is that in the vast majority of the cases studied the foreign language is English. Consequently, some researchers (Dalton-Puffer 2011) have claimed that we could relabel the approach in much of the research as Content and English Integrated Learning (CEIL). The preponderance of English as lingua franca has been acknowledged extensively as well as its role as the language of communication. It is true that English as a lingua franca can be more neutral or culture dependent, but it remains to be seen what this means for the other languages present in the community, second languages, heritage, or community languages.

We now turn to one of the most debated issues that arise in CLIL research: whether students following a CLIL program will have the same content knowledge as those taught in their L1. The number of studies in this field is not as extensive as those which study the language outcomes, partly because, as mentioned above, CLIL research has often been conducted by linguists rather than subject specialists and partly because it is sometimes difficult to carry out research comparing content learning taught in the additional language with content outcomes in the L1. Taking into account these limitations, research has in most cases offered contradictory results. Some studies have presented positive results, in the sense that CLIL students obtained equal or similar results in content knowledge despite being taught in the foreign language. For instance, Jäppinen (2006) in the Finnish context found that learning in CLIL environments proved to be initially more demanding for the CLIL group, but over time CLIL learners seemed to attain the necessary abilities to learn in a foreign language. Positive results have also been obtained in other contexts such as Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, or Belgium. In some of this research, students at times counteract some limitations present when learning in the foreign language with some compensatory strategies (Airey 2009), are strong in strategic competence (Dalton-Puffer 2011), reach higher levels of communicative competence and flexibility (Maillat 2010), or become more self-confident and motivated, even in cases where learners seem to be hard to motivate (Denman et al. 2013). The reason given for this last trait is that "English in CLIL is more clearly seen as a communicative tool rather than an expertise in itself.... CLIL does not replace MFL (Modern Foreign Languages), but rather complements it." (Hüttner and Smit 2014, p. 166).

In contrast, other research in CLIL has presented concerns when learning content in the foreign language, compared to learning it in the L1. Seikkula-Leino (2007) in Finland compared students who were taught mathematics through their mother tongue, Finnish, or in the L2, English. She found that learning in the L1 provided more opportunities to achieve better results in mathematics although the CLIL students were also shown to be more highly motivated. Several studies carried out in Norway (Hellekjaer 2010) and Sweden (Airey 2009) have also presented some problems related to the teaching of content through the foreign language, in this case in tertiary education. The studies demonstrated that the difference between English and L1 scores was sometimes not substantial, but a considerable number of students had problems understanding the English-medium lectures or problems in the description of curricular concepts in the foreign language. Other studies in Asian contexts have shown detrimental effects on content learning, compared to children taught in Chinese, in spite of the supremacy of English. However, some negative effects of implementation policies may explain some of these results (Yi Lo and Lin 2015). We expect that more large-scale, quantitative studies will be able to shed some more light on content knowledge and learning in CLIL.

A third focus of research is related to pedagogical aspects of CLIL. Several books have dealt with pedagogical issues (Coyle et al. 2010) and with language and discourse in CLIL and content-based classrooms (Lyster 2007; Llinares et al. 2012), while a number of journal articles have also addressed the different aspects of the approach as regards classroom practice (Dalton-Puffer 2011; Nikula et al. 2013; Ruiz de Zarobe 2014). Some of the classroom proposals aiming to integrate language and content in the curriculum involve scaffolding and sheltered instruction, that is, "supported" learning. "This involves the teacher in maintaining a balance between cognitive challenge for learners and appropriate and decreasing support as learners progress" (Coyle et al. 2010, p. 29) to increase language awareness and to provide meaningful instruction in the content subjects. Apart from classroom practices, other contributions argue that several theoretical and methodological backgrounds can help define CLIL, while advocating "for the need to combine, at the very least, linguistic models (such as Systemic Functional Linguistics or discourse analysis), sociocultural models in education, and SLA approaches to classroom discourse and interaction" (Nikula et al. 2013, p. 91), which reveal the multifaceted nature of the approach.

Finally, it needs to be remembered that as CLIL serves a myriad of political and educational purposes, its implementation and research has also been quite heterogeneous, with differences not only in each country but also within communities of the same country, which makes it difficult to reach general conclusions about the approach in its different facets. This dynamic diversity can be appreciated in the research conducted in different geographical contexts and also in specific educational scenarios. As an example, in recent years, a distinctive area of study has emerged in CLIL education on the tertiary level because "university-level education constitutes a distinct research and educational field owing to its specific characteristics as regards language and education policy, institutional interests as well as learners and instructors involved" (Smit and Dafouz 2012, p. 2).

Work in Progress

CLIL has been described as a descendant of French immersion education in Canada and of North American bilingual language teaching programs, although each approach presents their own historical background. Many of the studies carried out in Canada and in the USA have indicated that students enrolled in immersion programs achieve high levels of proficiency in the L2, without detrimental effects on the L1 or on subject content (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary 2013). In the previous section, we have presented a number of CLIL outcomes, some of which share commonalities with immersion programs in Canada.

Against this backdrop, one line of research that is in progress aims to delimit the characteristics that define CLIL, compared to other approaches such as content-based instruction (CBI), a term used more frequently in North American contexts, and immersion education. Some studies have attempted to distinguish clearly CLIL from immersion using several parameters which include the language of instruction, starting age, language objectives, or research (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2010). However, others (Lyster and Ballinger 2011; Cenoz et al. 2014) analyze the different programs from a more integrative perspective, where CLIL or CBI can be conceptualized as "umbrella" terms for approaches where content is taught through the medium of an additional language. Cenoz (2015) further argues that there are no differences between CBI and CLIL regarding their essential properties, i.e., their use as languages of instruction, the language, societal and educational aims, and the typical type of children taking part in these programs. The implementation of CLIL, as of any other approach, will depend on contextual and educational variables that refer to a whole array of programs where content and language are integrated. She further maintains that an integrated view of CBI and CLIL, with the inclusion of different programs, can bring many advantages both to teaching and research. The delimitation of the characteristics that encompass each program is also related to the terminology itself and the preference for one term or the other to describe the approach, with its many typologies, i.e., the term CLIL, CBI, CBI/CLIL (Cenoz 2015), or "additive bilingual programs" (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2014, p. 217).

Another ongoing topic of research is the role of all the languages present in the curriculum, notably the importance "that the L1 may play in bilinguals' cognitive functioning and sociocultural identity development" (Yi Lo and Lin 2015, p. 263). In fact Lin (2015) goes as far as to conceptualize the role of the L1 in CLIL and immersion programs (which she considers to be approaches within the umbrella of CBI) and to analyze the potential of multilingual and multimodal practices in CLIL, in contrast to more parallel monolingual approaches to bilingualism. This need for a paradigm shift in multilingualism is further reinforced by other researchers, with the fundamental notion of "translanguaging" (Cenoz 2015; Cenoz and Gorter 2015), where the separation of languages as distinct entities will be diminished for the sake of multilingualism. These new approaches call for a new conceptualization of CLIL and multilingualism, where CLIL can become more comprehensive especially in diverse educational and cultural contexts of implementation.

Problems and Difficulties

CLIL is multifaceted and as such presents different fields of analysis. This is precisely why it has such potential as an educational approach today. However, the fact that CLIL is context specific can be a challenge for research: the educational and sociolinguistic distinctions make it hard to draw general conclusions, although, as presented in the previous sections, attempts are being made both at the theoretical as well as methodological levels.

One of the most problematic assumptions made about CLIL is that it is very often selective – selective either because learners who follow that strand are from a higher socioeconomic status or because students are somehow more motivated (Bruton 2013). Paran (2013, p. 325) further argues that students are sometimes selected either on the basis of their English knowledge, their content knowledge, or through a process of self-selection, which once again brings some motivational differences. Other studies (Hüttner and Smit 2014) present some counterarguments for the discriminatory argument where in fact, some CLIL contexts show the potential of CLIL as a positive experience for disadvantaged lower achieving groups of learners. In sum, they state that the advantage of CLIL "lies in the complementary nature of CLIL and in its diversity" (Hüttner and Smit 2014, p. 166).

Another difficulty present in CLIL research is that, as mentioned in the section devoted to major contributions, much of it has been conducted by linguists rather than education specialists, although it is also true that there is research carried out by content teachers, quite often published in languages such as German, Swedish, or Finnish (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2014). That is related to the fact that some of the research into CLIL has been published in languages other than English or is "not easily accessible, appearing in evaluation reports for local universities, Ministries of Education, local education authorities and schools, many of which are not in the public domain" (Paran 2013, p. 323). However, the body of CLIL research is continuously growing and is becoming more accessible too, which will help the research community to gain insights into CLIL.

Future Directions

In this chapter, we have identified CLIL as a dynamic process of a contextualized nature. The bulk of research that has been conducted in recent years has provided the opportunity to discuss the main outcomes of the approach despite this diversity while making suggestions for future directions.

Some of these suggestions involve language policy issues, as CLIL serves a number of political purposes. Some consensus at supranational level is expected, outlining the major changes in education while acknowledging actual initiatives undertaken by stakeholders, to observe the goals that need to be fulfilled in CLIL depending on the reality of each context.

These changes in language policy issues must be accompanied by changes in CLIL practice in the classroom. A focus on classroom pedagogy should be addressed, defining the processes that need to be considered which include practice-based evidence of successful learning in CLIL in the classroom to study the implications of the approach. That will offer stakeholders and the research community a basis for analysis on CLIL. A more external focus is also required, with the inclusion of teacher training programs and teacher cooperation (language educators and subject specialists).

CLIL as an educational approach focuses mainly on the classroom, and it is the research undertaken in this setting that can help us share experiences. Methodological and experimental studies should be undertaken in different geographical contexts to gain insights into the approach itself, stimulating comparisons while sharing the expertise gathered in different educational contexts. One of the strengths of CLIL is the opportunity it provides to learn the foreign language and content in an integrated way; the research in both domains should also be encouraged. More large-scale quantitative studies, both cross sectional and longitudinal, are welcomed to analyze the long-term effects of the implementation of the approach.

In sum, this review has provided an examination of some of the empirical and conceptual issues relevant in CLIL, highlighting the idea that CLIL can be regarded as a rich, flexible, and complex approach, with a range of research perspectives to be undertaken that call for further research in the area.

Cross-References

► "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
► Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula
► Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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Fredricka L. Stoller: Content-Based Instruction. In Volume: Second and Foreign Language Education

Tarja Nikula: CLIL: A European Approach to Bilingual Education. In Volume: Second and Foreign Language Education

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"Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy

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Abstract

"Awakening to languages" (AtL) is a linear heir of the "language awareness" approach that emerged in the UK during the 1980s, thanks mainly to the theoretical and practical work of Eric Hawkins (*Awareness of language. An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). It has been defined as follows in the European Evlang program (see Candelier, M. *Janua Linguarum – The gateway to languages – The introduction of language awareness into the curriculum: Awakening to languages*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003, pp. 18–19):

An awakening to languages is when part of the activities concerns languages that the school does not intend to teach (which may or may not be the mother tongues of some pupils). This does not mean that only that part of the work that focuses on these languages deserves to be called an awakening to languages. Such a differentiation would not make sense as normally it has to be a global enterprise, usually comparative in nature, that concerns both those languages, the language or languages of the school and any foreign (or other) language learnt.

The aim of the present contribution is to outline theoretical and practical research about educational and social benefits from using this approach for educational language policy. The AtL approach is particularly relevant in today's societies: openness to others and plurilingual competences as well as policies aiming at reducing inequality have become an urgent need. The contribution will also refer to the integration of AtL into a set of language learning and teaching approaches – called "pluralistic approaches" – which contributes to its dissemination.

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Contents

Early Developments

Educators and researchers promoting the awakening to languages (AtL) approach
believe in its capacity to contribute to the acquisition of attitudes, aptitudes, and
knowledge required for individual development and life in common within the
multilingual and multicultural context resulting from migratory phenomena and
increasing globalization of economy, information, exchanges, and culture.

This relates to favorable perceptions of and attitudes toward not just the languages
and their diversity but also the speakers of the languages and their cultures. Natu-
rally, this applies also to the languages and cultures of allophone pupils (pupils
having another language at home, immigrant or native), whose abilities and identi-
ties could thus be recognized by school.

Developing curiosity, interest, and openness for and toward what is different
should also contribute to diversifying the languages pupils choose to learn.

While improving better aptitudes for listening to, observing, and analyzing
languages AtL enhances the ability to learn them. It is also a matter of developing
a "language culture," a knowledge specific to languages, particularly of a sociolin-
guistic nature. This knowledge represents a set of references that help to understand
the world in which pupils live today and will live in the future.

Although in a slightly different context – also characterized by a massive pres-
ence of migrants but still at a lower stage of globalization – the "language aware-
ness" approach developed in the UK during the 1980s already featured most of the
goals listed earlier for A, whether cognitive or affective, including the aim of
encouraging better relations between ethnic groups (Donmall 1985, pp. 7–8).
Among the many motivations stated, the predominant one originally was the deter-
mination to fight failure in languages at school (in both English and foreign
languages) (James 1995, p. 27).

The decision taken by the promoters of the Evlang project (see below) not to keep
the expression "awareness of language" for their own "awakening to languages"
work has thus nothing to do with discontinuity in aims but with the wish to delimit a

specific area within the broader domain of language awareness research, as the later have also been generating research that is more psycho-linguistic than pedagogical and which does not necessarily involve confronting the learner with a number of languages.

The Language Awareness movement was not subsequently recognized by any institutions in the UK (see Hawkins 2005).

A large number of studies influenced by the British forerunner movement were carried out in the 1990s in several European countries, like Austria (Sprach- und Kulturerziehung), France (see Dabène 1995), Germany (Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung, Soest and Pädagogische Hochschule, Freiburg), Italy (Educazione linguistica), and Switzerland (EOLE – Éveil au langage et ouverture aux langues) (for more details see Candelier 2007).

Major Contributions

At that stage, it was felt necessary to set up a more substantial project capable of verifying whether the expectations raised by the approach were justified or not.

This was the task ascribed to the Evlang program (1997–2001) backed by the European Union (see Candelier 2003a). It combined the efforts of some 30 researchers from five countries (Austria, France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland). The aim was to show that the approach could be applied on a broader scale, that it was realistic with regard to the means to be implemented, and that it would lead to the anticipated results – at least those that were perceptible within the framework of a project lasting 3 years.

Some 30 teaching materials for a course of 1 year to 18 months at the end of primary school were produced (Candelier 2003a, Chap. 2) and experimented in their usual classes by generally nonspecialist and not "preselected" teachers. A specific tuition had been provided to them as part of in-service teacher training sessions lasting generally not more than 2–3 days. A quantitative evaluation was carried out on some 2,000 pupils (compared with about half that number of pupils for the control group), based on prior and final tests and a very stringent scientific protocol. The qualitative evaluation focused essentially on some 20 classes, with interviews (of teachers and pupils) and a detailed observation of the approach (video recordings and specific observation grids). These were complemented by various questionnaires addressed to a larger number of teachers and parents (Candelier 2003a, Chap. 4).

As for the effect on attitudes, the tests looked firstly at the pupils' interest in diversity and secondly at their receptiveness to the unfamiliar. For the development of language-related aptitudes, the study looked at the ability to discriminate and memorize by listening and at syntax skills.

In both cases – attitudes and aptitudes – the impact of the AtL on the first of the two components mentioned (interest and listening skills) has been confirmed in a large majority of samples. The effect was also shown for the second component (receptiveness and syntax skills) although in only a few cases. These

differences can be explained: receptiveness obviously demands more than simple interest, and the deconstruction–reconstruction exercises concerning syntax were carried out much less frequently than the listening exercises in the teaching materials. The only relative disappointment concerns the effects on skills in the language(s) of the school, which have not been stated, although teachers tended to consider that they do exist when expressing their experience in the interviews and questionnaires.

These results apply to a course that generally lasted 35 h. Yet the study of the links between the number of teaching hours (which varied from 7 to 95 h) and the intensity of the effects clearly shows that a longer course has every chance of leading to more generalized effects with a broader scope.

Evlang's contribution to the development of attitudes essentially concerned the weakest pupils at school, and thus may be seen as compensatory. Furthermore, AtL significantly promoted the desire to learn languages. In several cases, it boosted interest in learning minority languages, including the languages of immigrants.

The practice of this approach usually led teachers to be more "sensitive" to the presence of allophone pupils in their class and to call upon their resources. Intellectual approval of the AtL approach predominated. A majority of pupils found Evlang useful or even very useful, even if the reasons for its usefulness were not always perceived or clearly expressed. They generally appreciated the way they were asked to work (socioconstructivist activities, Candelier 2003a, Chap. 8). As a whole, the Evlang research has produced the awaited evidence.

Many researchers involved in it collaborated again from 2000 till 2004 in the next program, called Janua Linguarum (The gateway to languages, supported by both the Council of Europe and the European Union). Activities were developed in 16 - European countries: Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Switzerland (Candelier 2003b).

This time the focus was laid on dissemination work, which was felt as inseparable from studying the conditions of the incorporation of the approach into the curricula of various education systems. At the same time, it was decided to target also preprimary and lower secondary children.

Janua Linguarum was able to show the capacity of AtL to adapt to fairly different sociolinguistic contexts and teaching traditions and that there were no subsequent "counter indications" to the use of this approach. The difficulties felt by many national coordinators to implement the program were more material in nature than representational. One of the recurrent questions is that of the approach's place in the school timetables. The solution already formulated within the Evlang program remains the best: as an interdisciplinary approach, AtL has to be incorporated simultaneously into several subjects.

Janua Linguarum confirmed – as already perceived during the Evlang program – that teachers are more convinced of the potential effects of the approach on the attitudes of pupils toward the diversity of languages and cultures than of its effects on their metalinguistic aptitudes. This is also the aspect that parents commented on most.

Considering on one side the broad convergence of AtL principles with the concept of "education for plurilingualism" promoted by the Council of Europe and on the other side the growing influence of this institution on language teaching orientations in Europe, it was felt that establishing explicit links between both was an appropriate way to better anchor AtL into language didactics and to stress its potential role for plurilingual language learning.

In that perspective, it was helpful to establish AtL as one "pluralistic approach" to languages and cultures, among others also resulting from – at that time – recent developments of language teaching methodology (see Candelier et al. 2012): the "Integrated didactic approach," directed towards helping learners to establish links between a limited number of languages, which are taught within the school curriculum (e.g., Hufeisen and Neuner 2004); the "Intercomprehension between related languages" (for an overview see Doyé 2005), and, of course, the "intercultural approach(es)" (e.g., Byram 2003).

While "singular" approaches address one particular language or culture area taken in isolation, pluralistic approaches are teaching approaches in which the learners work on several languages or culture areas simultaneously.

According to the Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe, published in 2003, "education for plurilingualism [. . .] involves enhancing and developing speakers' individual linguistic repertoires from the earliest schooldays and throughout life" (Council of Europe 2003, p. 16). For the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, published 3 years earlier, the "plurilingual and pluricultural competence" should not be seen as "a collection of distinct and separate competences to communicate depending on the languages [the individual] knows, but rather a plurilingual competence encompassing the full range of the languages available to him [. . .]" (Council of Europe 2000, p. 168).

Sensibly, the guide set that "managing the repertoire means that the varieties of which it is composed are not dealt with in isolation; instead, although distinct from each other, they are treated as a single competence [. . .]" (Council of Europe 2003, p. 71).

Obviously, only "pluralistic approaches" in the sense developed before can account for this, as they include activities putting at stake different linguistic and cultural varieties at the same time.

"Education for plurilingualism" is just one of two aims proposed by the Council of Europe as constituents of what it called "plurilingual education," the other one being "education for plurilingual awareness," the purpose of which is "to educate for linguistic tolerance, raise awareness of linguistic diversity and educate for democratic citizenship" (Council of Europe 2003, p. 16). That AtL also works at this second aim has been shown earlier.

Despite of the grounding role it has played in developing and disseminating the key notion of "plurilingual and pluricultural competence," the Common European Framework of Reference does not include any detailed and systematic review of abilities that are linked with this holistic view of competence. To fill this gap, some researchers having been involved in the previous AtL innovative work decided to start a common project with colleagues working in the field of the other pluralistic

approaches, aiming at establishing a specific framework of reference. This FREPA – Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures – has been developed since 2004 at the European Center for Modern Languages (ECML, Graz, Council of Europe). It proposes lists of descriptors that make explicit the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that pluralistic approaches allow learners to develop (Candelier et al. 2012; Darai-Hansen and Schröder-Sura 2012). These lists, as well as other instruments offered by the FREPA website, aim at facilitating the implementation of all pluralistic approaches, including AtL (http://www.ecml.at/).

Work in Progress

Work in progress for AtL is dominated by action research approaches, so that it is quite difficult to distinguish innovation and investigation when reporting about it. Like in other domains of human and social sciences, research methodology is overwhelmingly characterized by ethnographic and participative orientations. As in the Janua Linguarum project, ways of implementation and contextualization constitute the main concern. The issue of effects – including how students interact and develop their capacities – is also addressed but is globally given less attention. We will deal with this aspect of research under "Problems and Difficulties" below. (About field research in Belgium, Canada, and France before 2007, see Candelier 2007, pp. 227–228.)

Innovation and research have been extending to other fields than primary and preprimary education and concern now secondary school (see the contributions by Dahm in Bigot et al. 2013, Costa, Moreira and Pinho in Andrade et al. 2014, Lambert and Oomen-Welke in Troncy et al. 2014), teaching the language of the host country to adult migrants (Bretegnier in Andrade et al. 2014) and extracurricular activities for children at primary school age (Vorozhtsova, in Balsiger et al. 2012; Audras in Troncy et al. 2014 - for the work done by associations in this context, see the DULALA website). Much research work has been specifically devoted to migrant children (as by Vasco Coreira in Bigot et al. 2013 or Auger in Troncy et al. 2014), including recent studies about possible effects of AtL activities on young migrant children with communication disorders (Billiez and Moro 2011; Simon and Maire-Sandoz in Bigot et al. 2013; Leclaire in Andrade et al. 2014).

Teacher education – initial and in-service – is seen as playing an important role in the implementation process and has grown to become a primary focus of interest. It had already instigated an ECML project called "Language Educator Awareness – LEA" (2004–2007, see website) and constitutes the main theme of the conference held in Lausanne in 2010 by the international association EDiLiC (Education et Diversité Linguistique et Culturelle) launched in 2001 in the wake of the Evlang project (see Balsiger et al. 2012). This topic gave rise to several doctoral theses (see Moumtzidou 2011; Goletto 2013) and numerous contributions from a variety of contexts. Collaborative work is central to the approaches adopted in both theses mentioned but also in many other papers (such as Lourenço, Andrade and Sá in Andrade et al. 2014). Most authors report about resorting to reflexivity, guidance of

professional practice, and evolution of representations. Some try to describe how interacting with various training tools (Elcheroth in Bigot et al. 2013) or reflecting about one's own language biography (Simon and Thamin in Balsiger et al. 2012) leads to change. Individual dispositions facilitating teachers' involvement in innovation are also explored (Audras and Leclaire in Bigot et al. 2013). Some contributions extend the scope to training for pluralistic approaches in general (see de Pietro and Facciol in Balsiger et al. 2012; Lörincz and Schröder-Sura as well as Oyama, Candelier and Nishiyama in Andrade et al. 2014).

Some research work has also started about parent's perceptions of AtL activities (see for instance Candelier in Bigot et al. 2013), and a project has been run at the ECML (IPEPI, 2012–2015) aiming at informing parents about the benefits of plurilingual and pluricultural approaches and proposing ways of involving them in their implementation (http://parents.ecml.at/).

Implementing AtL in schools presupposes an in-depth reflection about its integration in already existing curricula, which means establishing bridges with other subjects, including of course languages. Empirical and reflexive research work by Kervran has contributed to move the issue ahead (see Kervran 2008, 2014 and in Balsiger et al. 2012; see also Marques and Martins in Andrade et al. 2014). Teaching materials combining an AtL approach with the teaching of other subjects have been developed by another ECML project: ConBaT+ (http://conbat.ecml.at/).

The importance of contextualization had been emphasised by the initiators of AtL through the Janua Linguarum project and is still recognized by innovators and researchers in the field. One meaningful example is the doctoral thesis by Zas Varela referring to the Galician context (Zas Varela 2011). Many other studies elaborate considerations about the specificities of potential or already partly achieved implementation in various (mostly national) contexts. For instance Colombel and Filiol (New Caledonia), Lolo Monney (Ivory Coast), and Prax-Dubois (Réunion Island) in Balsiger et al. 2012 or Andrade (Portugal), Armand (Quebec), and Koishi (Japan) in Troncy et al. 2014.

An intensive dissemination work has been undertaken in various forms (about dissemination initiatives in Europe and Japan before 2007, see Candelier 2007, p. 227). One important step is the setting of the DELANOBA network ("Developing the Language Awareness/Eveil aux langues Approach in the Nordic and Baltic countries," 2013–2016) supported by the Nordic Council of Ministers and coordinated by Petra Daryai-Hansen (for missing references in the present part, see website references below). Many new teaching materials have been developed, such as Kervran (ed.) (2013) for preprimary school, many of them on line, like the Flemish material for teenagers with mild intellectual disability by Jonckheere and Civetta (Buitengewoon Talig), recent EOLE productions in Switzerland, and ELODIL materials in Canada. Since 2012, pluralistic approaches in general and the FREPA (see above) benefit from intensive "mediation" programs throughout Europe targeting all kinds of language education professionals as well as decision makers. This has become one of the most effective ways of disseminating AtL. FREPA workshops have also been held outside Europe, in Japan, Taiwan, Morocco, etc. (see http://carap.ecml.at/). The international association EDiLiC (Education et Diversité

Linguistique et Culturelle) also contributes to disseminate AtL through its website, Congresses held every 2 years (Le Mans 2006, Barcelona 2008, Lausanne 2010, Aveiro 2012, Rennes 2014), and by establishing an international network of representatives in more than 20 countries (http://www.edilic.org/).

Indeed, notable progress is being made as for official recognition and integration of AtL in national or regional curricula, mostly alongside with other pluralistic approaches.

In Catalonia AtL has been introduced in the curriculum as soon as 2007 (Daryai-Hansen et al. 2015). In Switzerland, pluralistic approaches have found their place in the PER (Plan d'études roman, French speaking part of the country) since 2010 as a thematic axis. In the German speaking part, two curricula have been developed which incorporate pluralistic approaches, with an emphasis on integrated language teaching: Passepartout, which has already been acknowledged by six cantons, and Lehrplan 21, which is being gradually adopted by the others. In Ticino, a similar curriculum is being prepared (for Switzerland, see Daryai-Hansen et al. 2015 and Hutterli 2012). AtL has been introduced in the curriculum of Luxembourg in 2011 and quite recently of France for preprimary. The same evolution is under preparation for pluralistic approaches in general in Austria, (Daryai-Hansen et al. 2015) in Finland, and in Andorra.

Problems and Difficulties

Although many aspects of what is currently done in schools are nothing but the result of nonreflected tradition, the effects of which have never been subject to any stringent scientific investigation, innovations generally have to face demands of decision makers concerning their evaluation. In view of the complexity of educational processes, already illustrated by the Evlang research (see above), this question remains – and will remain in the future – an open problem for AtL, as it is the case for most innovative approaches.

An exhaustive meta-analysis concerning the evaluation of AtL has been conducted in 2011, requested by the Flemish Council of Education in Belgium (Frijns et al. 2011). It takes into consideration not fewer than 18 studies dealing with AtL and providing some information about effects on learners, many of them, using however unsatisfactory evaluation procedures and/or concerning too small samples. Relying on the most robust research work, the authors offer a synthesis of existing knowledge that complements the findings of the Evlang research in some aspects (p. 66). It confirms that current research is not able to show that AtL activities result in better achievements in the school language and foreign languages. Regarding the development of metalinguistic and metacognitive skills, more research is needed to understand the existence of mixed results. This question has been investigated, in particular, by Balsiger, Betrix-Köhler, and Panchout-Dubois in 11 primary classes in Switzerland (see in Balsiger et al. 2012). They show that the effect of observing various languages on the development of metalinguistic abilities varies

according to the aspects of language involved (for instance, stronger effect for text form identification than for syntax).

According to the Flemish study, the clearest effects are to be found in the domain of attitudes and knowledge of languages and language varieties. More recent research has shown that some effects can be reached through a smaller amount of AtL activities than stated in the Evlang evaluation (35–40 h). In its conclusions, the report recommends the introduction of AtL in Flemish schools of Belgium and advises the educational authorities about measures to be taken (pp. 136–139).

In the former version of this contribution (Candelier 2007, p. 228), we mentioned that one of the main obstacles to the dissemination of AtL was the very strong demand of a great majority of parents for English in non-English-speaking countries. Although there is no contradiction between this demand and the introduction of an approach aiming at the development of the ability to learn languages, material constraints due to the school time available tend to let both options appear as competing. This obstacle still exists, but research work conducted about the attitudes of parents (see above) has also shown very positive attitudes toward an approach opening minds to diversity, which could be linked to socio-cultural belonging, depending on the benefits individuals can take from globalization (Candelier in Bigot et al. 2013).

Future Directions

Some views about the importance of the various research topics already investigated have been expressed above. The need for more knowledge is particularly strong in educational domains that are more or less new for AtL, like secondary and adult education. Many other key questions will remain on the agenda, like teacher education, parents and evaluation, in whatever form.

The significance of curricular issues for the place AtL can have in schools has also been stressed. Researchers interested in AtL should further participate in discussions leading to global proposals for multilingual curricula like Coste (2013) and Reich and Krumm (2013) (for curricular innovation work, see also the ECML PlurCur project).

Pluralistic approaches share basic assumptions and principles with the approach called "Translanguaging in education," which is rapidly developing in the Anglophone literature. These are a holistic view of plurilingual competence and the claim for taking all language resources of learners into account in the education process. Nevertheless, and despite the efforts made to increase the dissemination of pluralistic approaches in English, these approaches seem to be overlooked by most educators interested in translanguaging in education, although they might contribute significantly to their goals. This applies to domains that are referred to by Garcia and Wei (2014, p. 122) as "Language inquiry tasks, for example cross-linguistic comparisons" or as the extension of "metalinguistic awareness." But also to building "translanguaging capacities."

Concerning "language inquiry tasks" and "metalinguistic awareness," a major contribution could come from AtL, while integrated language learning in bilingual education, as proposed by Gajo (2014), seems to offer the best convergence with building "translanguaging capacities."

Possibly, the major difference between "Translanguaging in Education" and "Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures" is one of focus: educators engaged in translanguaging in education have mainly bilingual education in mind and assume that similar approaches apply also for general language education, whereas those advocating pluralistic approaches have mainly general language education in mind and claim that the same principles should be applied in bilingual education.

Obviously, one important task in the future will be to deepen the understanding of what links translanguaging in education and pluralistic approaches and what distinguishes them from one another. This would enable researchers and practitioners to make the most of their convergence and complementarity.

Cross-References

▶ Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education
▶ Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Taehee Choi: Identity, Transnationalism and Bilingual Education. In Volume: Bilingual and Multilingual Education

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Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy

Terry Lamb

Abstract

The chapter traces the development of the construct of autonomy in language learning, including its relationship with aspects of knowledge about language, since the 1970s. It distinguishes between two broad theoretical orientations: one which focuses on learning systems in which learners take decisions about the content and processes of their learning and one which focuses on the cognitive and metacognitive capacities which enable learners to take responsibility for their learning. It also identifies key theoretical and thematic shifts and their implications for research and practice. Recognition that learner autonomy rarely involves learners learning in isolation led to its exploration via sociocultural frameworks, as a dynamic, situated construct, which is operationalized in multifarious ways. Although early developments in the field began in self-access learning, this quickly shifted to include research and practice in classroom contexts, introducing a new focus on the teacher and the construct of teacher autonomy. Development of pedagogy for autonomy included critical perspectives on learner and teacher autonomy, related to notions of external and internal constraints (including learner and teacher beliefs), power relationships, and (languages) education as empowerment and transformation. The chapter also shows how autonomy has been explored in relation to other constructs, such as motivation and identity, and in the context of rapid technological development, while acknowledging the various challenges to its

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operationalization. Finally, it argues that future developments in the field must engage with the increasing complexity of the twenty-first century globalized world, by building on new interdisciplinary, ecological, and spatial approaches to research and practice.

Keywords

Learner autonomy • Teacher autonomy • Motivation • Identity • Space and place • Multilingualism

Contents

Introduction

The development of the construct of autonomy from its original political meaning (the emergence of the self-governing city state) to a personal one (an independent, free-thinking individual) has been attributed to Plato (Marshall 1996). It has since moved through the rationalist interpretation of Kant (an individual able to govern him/herself according to reason and independently of any emotions or preferences) to postmodern or critical versions, which deny the possibility of divorcing the individual from the dynamic sociopolitical context and the power it exerts over him/her (Zembylas and Lamb 2008). Such philosophical shifts have inevitably influenced the ways in which understandings of the nature of education construe the individual learner, encompassing the Kantian rationalist interpretations that involve acquisition of knowledge and informed choice (e.g., Hirst), the romantic, freedom-oriented approaches of Rousseau, and the critical pedagogies of, for example, Freire and Giroux.

Learner autonomy as a construct is consequently challenging to define, as it manifests itself in different ways largely dependent on the context (spatial, cultural, temporal, etc) in which it is being exercised. Since the late 1970s, there has been a particular surge in research across the world in the field of learner autonomy in language learning, reflecting the ideological, political, social, and pedagogical shifts that have characterized recent decades (see Benson (2011) for a comprehensive overview of the field). This chapter will trace the development of this research, capturing its diversity and identifying the trends of the past and present as well as possible future directions.

Early Developments

The phenomenon of learner autonomy has to be located in the wider frameworks of general learning theory as well as theories of first and second language acquisition and language learning and teaching. These relate to the ways in which learning is understood to occur generally and also in relation to the specificities of language learning and to carry implications for the roles of the learner and the teacher as well as the nature of knowledge about language. For example, behaviorist approaches tend to involve more external direction and less learner choice, e.g., the audio-visual approach, whereas constructivist approaches imply a more active role for the learner, who engages in knowledge construction within a sociocultural context, e.g., task-based learning. In relation to knowledge about language, there appears to be consensus that instruction needs to focus on the development of both implicit and explicit knowledge, though to differing degrees. Implicit knowledge, as procedural knowledge, is readily available for communication and is developed through communicative activities. There is general agreement that such activities are crucial for language learning, but the extent to which explicit knowledge should be developed, "that is, declarative knowledge of the phonological, lexical, grammatical, pragmatic and socio-cultural features of language" (Ellis 2004, p. 244), as well as how it should be developed, is more contentious, as it is less easily activated. Related to this are discussions about the balance between a focus on meaning and a focus on form. For Schmidt (1994), learning requires conscious attention to form, which, for him, means noticing linguistic features rather than awareness of grammar rules. Early research into the characteristics of a "good language learner" suggested that attention to both form and meaning, but also to language learning strategies, is characteristic of language learning success (e.g., Naiman et al. 1978). It is worth mentioning the development of the language awareness movement in Europe, which was concerned with the development of "sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life" (Donmall 1985, p. 7), engaging learners in learning not only about linguistic patterns and approaches to language learning but also sociolinguistic issues intended to encourage the appreciation of linguistic diversity and interlingualism. Despite the lack of consensus over definitions of learner autonomy, both awareness and reflection are features, which have appeared throughout the literature on learner autonomy since the 1970s.

According to Jiménez Raya and Lamb (2008, p. 64), close reading of the literature on learner autonomy suggests two main orientations:

- Manifestations that focus on external factors that facilitate the learner taking responsibility for different aspects of the learning process such as planning, implementation, and evaluation of learning and learning decisions (flexible learning, project work, etc.) and
- Those that center on internal factors that predispose learners toward accepting responsibility and controlling one's thoughts and actions as a learner (learning to learn, self-regulated learning, strategy training)

The first orientation, which Jiménez Raya and Lamb refer to as "independent learning," focuses on self-management and is exemplified in the earliest definition of autonomy by Holec (1981, p. 3), then Director of the Centre de Recherches et d'Applications en Langues (CRAPEL) at the University of Nancy, France:

> To take charge of one's own learning is to have, and to hold, the responsibility for all the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning, i.e.,
> • Determining the objectives
> • Defining the contents and progressions
> • Selecting methods and techniques to be used
> • Monitoring the procedure of acquisition properly speaking (rhythm, time, place, etc.)
> • Evaluating what has been acquired
>
> The autonomous learner himself or herself is capable of making all these decisions concerning the learning with which he or she is or wishes to be involved.

This defines a system, in which learners are able to make decisions throughout the language learning process and which emerged from CRAPEL's context of self-access learning. The second orientation, which Jiménez Raya and Lamb call "autonomous learning," emerges from general work in cognitive psychology and reflects a form of learner self-awareness and self-regulation, which engages with developments in the fields of motivation (e.g., Ushioda 1996), learning strategies, both cognitive and metacognitive (e.g., Macaro 2001) as well as metacognitive knowledge and beliefs (e.g., Wenden 1999). These cognitive and psychological elements enable learners to take responsibility for and control over their learning. They are suggested in Little's (1991) definition:

> Essentially, autonomy is a *capacity* – for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making, and independent action. It presupposes, but also entails, that the learner will develop a particular kind of psychological relation to the process and content of his learning. The capacity for autonomy will be displayed both in the way the learner learns and in the way he or she transfers what has been learned to wider contexts. (Little 1991, p. 4)

Although both of these manifestations of learner autonomy reflect rationalist traditions, they offer two different, but complementary, understandings of the construct of learner autonomy.

Major Contributions

The chapter will now consider the ways in which the field of learner autonomy has developed since its early days, paying attention to key theoretical and thematic shifts. On a theoretical level, Benson (1997) suggested that there are three versions of learner autonomy: *technical autonomy*, which refers to the learner's technical ability to learn by him/herself in terms of strategies, techniques, and skills; *psychological autonomy*, which suggests that it is "a capacity – a construct of attitudes and abilities – which allows learners to take more responsibility for their

own learning" (ibid: 19), and which therefore includes engagement on an affective level; and *political autonomy*, whereby learners have "control over the processes and content of learning," meaning that they have the opportunity to define their own goals and to have a "voice," thereby reinforcing the links between autonomy and agency.

The Council of Europe has made a major contribution to development in the field of learner autonomy in language learning, having introduced the construct through their Modern Languages Project, which began in 1971 and which led to the establishment of CRAPEL. The council's understanding of the significance of learner autonomy was later reflected in the development of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001), intended to develop a common understanding of L2 proficiency. The teaching methods proposed by the CEFR are explicitly intended to promote learner autonomy, stating the importance of "raising the learner's awareness of his or her present state of knowledge; self-setting of feasible and worthwhile objectives; selection of materials; self-assessment" (¶ 1.5), accompanied by the "ability to learn" as an explicit competence to be developed. Learners' awareness of and reflection on their language learning is supported by means of the European Language Portfolio (ELP), which consists of three parts: a language passport, which summarizes experiences of learning and using other languages and a record of CEFR levels; a language biography, which offers a space to reflect on language learning and intercultural experiences as well as to plan and record learning through a series of "I can" statements; and a dossier, used to collect evidence of language learning and intercultural experiences. Use of the CEFR and ELP has been promoted through projects funded by the Council of Europe's European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz, Austria.

From an early stage, it was acknowledged that learner autonomy does not imply that learners are learning in isolation, but that it takes place within a sociocultural framework, involving interdependence. Oxford (2003), critiquing Benson's (1997) framework, added the sociocultural perspective to his three versions, arguing that we need to "systematically show how the important constructs of context, agency and motivation relate to different versions of autonomy" (p. 76). This has been significant in debates relating to the cultural appropriateness of autonomy in, for example, East Asian and Arab contexts (e.g., Palfreyman and Smith 2003) or to the role of the learning advisor/counselor in self-access learning (e.g., Mozzon-McPherson 2001) and of the tutor in distance learning (White 2003). The social nature of autonomy was in fact defined in the Bergen definition (Dam et al. 1990, pp. 102–103), which emerged from the Third Nordic Workshop on Developing Autonomous Learning in the FL Classroom, a forum that continues to play an important role in relation to our understanding of learner autonomy:

> Learner autonomy is characterized by a readiness to take charge of one's own learning in the service of one's needs and purposes. This entails a capacity and willingness to act independently and in cooperation with others, as a socially responsible person.

This focus on autonomy as a social-constructivist construct was reinforced by the development of research into its significance within classroom contexts. A significant contribution to our understanding of the nature and dynamics of learner autonomy in classrooms has been made by Leni Dam in Denmark. In her 1995 publication (Dam 1995), she describes the principles, which underpin her work with secondary-aged English classes. These include involvement of learners in decision-making regarding the content of the lessons, using English (the target language) from the very beginning, and evaluating their learning by means of a reflective journal.

The work of Dam and others in developing autonomous learning in classrooms naturally led to a consideration of the teacher's role in developing autonomous learners. Dam was clear that learners needed support and guidance in developing both language competence and autonomy and that teachers therefore had a major role to play, including challenging learners' decisions where necessary, while stimulating learners' naturalistic use of the target language. In the 2002 Singapore symposium of the AILA Scientific Commission on Learner Autonomy in Language Learning, the focus was on teachers, including their role and its implications for teacher development and *teacher autonomy* as well as the relationships between learner and teacher autonomy.

This development necessitated a consideration of what teacher autonomy might mean. Little (1995) had been one of the first to draw parallels with learner autonomy:

> Genuinely successful teachers have always been autonomous in the sense of having a strong sense of personal responsibility for their teaching, exercising via continuous reflection and analysis the highest degree of affective and cognitive control of the teaching process, and exploring the freedom that this confers. (Little 1995, p. 179)

Little (1995, p. 180) also suggested that "language teachers are more likely to succeed in promoting learner autonomy if their own education has encouraged them to be autonomous," introducing a focus on their autonomous learning experiences either as language learners or in their professional learning. An early collection of papers bringing together aspects of learner and teacher autonomy (Sinclair et al. 2000) contained a number of significant definitions of teacher autonomy, including self-directed professional development, freedom from control by others, and Smith's (2000) notion of teacher-learner autonomy. In this volume, Lamb (2000) expounded on a critical version of teacher (as well as learner) autonomy, which required teachers to reflect critically on issues of power and to engage themselves and their learners in action and self-empowerment:

> As with pupils, teachers need to understand the constraints on their practice but, rather than feeling disempowered, they need to empower themselves by finding the spaces and opportunities for manoeuvre. (…) Critique (resistance) needs to be linked to transformation rather than resignation. (Lamb 2000, p. 127)

In the publication which emerged from the AILA symposium in Singapore (Lamb and Reinders 2008; Smith and Erdoğan 2008) went on to expand on Smith's (2000) notion of teacher and teacher-learner autonomy by identifying six dimensions, three

relating to professional action (self-directed professional action itself as well as teachers' capacity for and their freedom from control over professional action) and three to professional development (self-directed professional development itself as well as teachers' capacity for and their freedom from control over professional development) (Smith and Erdoğan 2008). Lamb and Reinders' (2008) publication, however, also explored the dynamic interrelationships between teacher and learner autonomy, which inevitably implied a negotiation of power relationships. This critical direction led to the development of a framework for a "pedagogy for autonomy" as part of a European project (EuroPAL), which introduced a common definition for both teacher autonomy and learner autonomy as aspects of a critical vision of education:

> The competence to develop as a self-determined, socially responsible and critically aware participant in (and beyond) educational environments, within a vision of education as (inter) personal empowerment and social transformation. (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007)

The development of a "pedagogy," which connected to practical aspects of learning and teaching within and outside the classroom, necessarily rejected liberal understandings of autonomy as "freedom," but instead engaged actively with notions of power and constraints. In so doing, it built on the already well-established work on pedagogy for autonomy in Portugal, the *Grupo de Trabalho-Pedagogia para a Autonomia* (Working Group – Pedagogy for Autonomy), which Flávia Vieira had established in 1997 at the University of Minho as a network of school teachers, teacher educators and academics, and which she described as *"a collective commitment to a collective struggle"* (Vieira 2009, p. 10).

The AILA symposium in 2002 also called for consideration of innovative, interpretivist methodological approaches to research, in order to be able to comprehend the phenomenon of learner and teacher autonomy in all its complexity. Though there had not been an exclusive focus on quantitative methodologies, research in the field had till that time largely adopted the positivist approaches of cognitive psychology in its studies of motivation, strategies, and learner beliefs. In 2005, the symposium of the AILA Research Network (formerly Scientific Commission) on Learner Autonomy in Madison, Wisconsin, reflected this epistemological shift in its focus on learners' and teachers' voices. Employing a range of methodological approaches, including narratives, life histories, and learner diaries, the papers in that symposium, many of which were later published in the journal *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, directly addressed methodological questions about how to access and listen to voices as well as how these voices might influence the pedagogical approaches adopted.

The new methodological approaches to exploring experiences of language learning (and teaching) found themselves reconnecting with new developments in motivation research that were beginning to explore issues of identity (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009), and in 2008, the AILA Research Network symposium in Essen, Germany, focused on the links between identity, motivation, and autonomy (Murray et al. 2011). The three constructs were described as organic, interrelated in complex

ways, and consisting of "three noteworthy traits: they change over time, they depend on context and they are socially mediated" (Murray 2011, p. 248). As such, there was resonance with themes addressed since the 1980s but in a qualitatively different way and with recognition of their complexities. The themes were built on in the 2011 AILA Research Network symposium in Beijing, which addressed the social dimensions of autonomy (Murray 2014). The central questions being considered here were how social and contextual processes mediate language learner and teacher autonomy in particular settings, taking account of the increasingly interconnected world brought about by technological developments, including Web 2.0. With education policies across the globe and at all levels increasingly promoting learner autonomy, there was a need to explore the affordances for language learning within complex webs of entangled relationships and ever-shifting social identities.

Work in Progress

The 2014 AILA Research Network symposium in Brisbane brought together five themes, which were considered to extend the traditions of research in learner autonomy as situated, social and critical. The first theme is taking a new look at sociocultural understandings of how autonomy is manifested in collaborative approaches to language teaching and learning and how autonomy contributes to social learning. The second theme is attempting to synthesize and theorize research into learner autonomy in the Web 2.0 Era. Technology has always been a significant focus in the field, mainly in formal learning contexts such as self-access and distance learning programs. The rapid growth and globalization of digital media is now offering expanding and constantly changing opportunities for informal language learning and use, including digital tools such as mobile technologies and gaming.

Recent research into learner autonomy in different cultural contexts has begun to examine what the construct means in difficult circumstances and how it can support effective learning (Kuchah and Smith 2011). Two of the themes in the 2014 symposium are building on this work: the first is focusing on the developing world, where learner autonomy may have special relevance for learners, but where teaching and learning may be under-resourced; the second focuses on language teacher autonomy and social censure, exploring contexts, in which teachers are constrained by bureaucracy, surveillance, and marketization.

The final theme is exploring the spatial dimension of autonomy, acknowledging that the spaces in which learners learn offer significant affordances for or constraints on learning. Spaces are interpreted broadly, as physical, virtual, or even metaphorical, and can be formal or informal, private or public, personal or shared. Research in learner (and teacher) autonomy has been focusing on different contexts since its early days (self-access, classrooms, online and distance learning, for example), and more recently there has been recognition that, in some contexts, much learning (including teacher learning) occurs outside formal learning environments (e.g., Lamb 2012). Current research is reconceptualizing this research, drawing on ecological approaches to consider not only the impact of space on learning but also

ways in which spaces themselves are socially constructed, appropriated, and transformed by learners into "places," therefore offering insights into the dynamic interrelationships between learners, learning, and spaces.

Problems and Difficulties

As a complex and dynamic construct, intertwined with other complex ideological, political, social, epistemological, and pedagogical constructs such as beliefs, dependence/independence/interdependence, identity, knowledge, motivation, policy, situatedness, and SLA theory, there is no single approach to operationalizing learner autonomy in language learning. Nevertheless, there is a strong argument that learner autonomy as a construct is meaningless unless it can be related to practice. The IATEFL Learner Autonomy (previously Learner Independence) Special Interest Group has been organizing regular international and regional events since 1986, many of which have focused on the relationship between theory, research, and practice (e.g., Menegale 2013). It has played a major role not only in advancing scholarship but also in supporting practicing teachers, as evidenced through the titles of its e-publications and annual preconference events, such as "Learner autonomy in action – across borders" in 2012 and "Language learner autonomy: Getting started" in 2015. One on-going practical challenge involves a decision as to whether autonomy is a means or an end, which Kuchah and Smith (2011) have described as "pedagogy as autonomy" or "pedagogy for autonomy"; this will depend on the learning context. There is then the need to consider what is specific to learner autonomy in *language* learning; Little (2007) reminds us that the overall purpose of language learning is to develop proficiency in using the language and that autonomy must then necessarily extend to autonomous use of the language. The classroom must therefore not neglect use of the language as a means of communication.

A further consideration is whether autonomy is acquired or innate. For Holec, the "ability to take charge of one's own learning [. . .] is not inborn but must be acquired either by "natural" means or (as most often happens) by formal learning, i.e., in a systematic, deliberate way" (Holec 1981, p. 3). On the other hand, Little (1991) draws on constructivism, perceiving autonomy as a capacity which already exists in the learner but which can be developed further. This brings into question how to "train" or "develop" learners for increased autonomy, ranging from strategy training to reflection on deeper learning goals and motivations.

In order to afford opportunities for learner and teacher autonomy, there is a need to take stock of realities as well as ideals. According to Trebbi (2008), autonomy is not the same as freedom, if freedom is construed as absence of constraints. She argues that "human beings are never free from constraints simply by the fact that we are social beings," and goes on to claim that "[t]he question is not whether we are free or not, but rather whether we are victims of constraints or not" (p. 35). The point she is making is that consciousness and intentional awareness of constraints offer a starting point for critically examining such constraints and imagining a "concept,

which is both informed by practice and which can help us understand practice" (p. 45). Defining constraints as external ("imposed from the outside") and internal (our "mental heritage [which] embraces phenomena such as attitudes, beliefs, insights") (p. 35), Trebbi argues that it is possible to turn constraints into opportunities through reflection on personal experiences.

The challenge then is for both learners and teachers to find the "spaces for manoeuvre," which will enable them to extend autonomy as far as is possible and appropriate within a particular context (Lamb 2000). The EuroPAL framework (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007) offered a tool to enable educators to understand the constraints and affordances within their setting and to reflect critically on them. The setting is described as a landscape consisting of "a complex set of conditions in which teachers and learners operate," consisting of: a range of dominant ideological, political, economic, educational values, language teaching traditions, frameworks and guidelines, family and community expectations, institutional and curricular demands, and teacher education discourses and practices; teachers' own past experiences as learners and teachers, personal theories, linguistic backgrounds, and professional values; and learners' past learning experiences, personal theories, backgrounds, and commitments to education. Over this landscape sweep (sometimes contradictory) *forces*, propelling or restricting the development of a pedagogy for autonomy; these forces can be theoretical, professional, practical, political, economic, or technological and may be local, national, or global. The intention is to generate opportunities for transformation as follows:

> By locating themselves in this landscape and understanding the conditions which obtain and the forces which sweep across it, teachers can consider critically their position within it and find ways of navigating through it, either removing the constraints or working round them, in any case *exploiting their professional context in ways which will move them forward rather than hold them back.* (pp. 19–20)

Future Directions

One of the forces sweeping across the globe is the dominance of the discourse of assessment, primarily in a summative form, as an instrument of control. This has led to an increase in demand for measurement and testing of autonomy itself within those educational institutions where it is included as a learning outcome. Current research is engaging with the relationships between autonomy and assessment, though the most obvious connections are with formative assessment (e.g., Tassinari 2012). Strong criticism of attempts to assess autonomy summatively has been made, arguing that it is multidimensional, not observable, and developmental (Benson 2010). Of course, problems with measuring autonomy also affect the ways in which it can be researched, and research funding usually comes with expectations of impact measurement. It is not yet clear how these paradoxes can be addressed, but research needs to continue to engage with them and to make clear and trustworthy arguments to act as a counterbalance to such external demands.

It is clear that development in the field of autonomy in language learning has expanded beyond the discrete spaces, which it occupied in its infancy in the 1970s. It has become a mainstream phenomenon, reaching all sectors of education and across the globe. It has moved beyond the self-access center and even the classroom, to occupy a global space, which includes the digital and metaphorical (including curriculum space). The trajectory described above suggests that it is also entangled with ideological, political, and moral webs on local, national, and international levels. The current nascent work theorizing space, place, and autonomy will offer a valuable way of understanding the place of autonomy in the world, including the overlapping spaces of specific language-related research with broader educational, professional, technological, sociological, and political scholarship. Research will need to continue to explore autonomy in different learning contexts and increasingly in different cultural contexts as countries around the world shake off their traditional pedagogical approaches and embrace new political, even ideological, orientations. Understanding these dynamic and interacting developments will require new conceptualizations, moving beyond the sociocultural to include the ecological and spatial.

It has long been argued that the vision of a pedagogy for autonomy is not specific to languages, but needs to comprehend the "transdisciplinary value of autonomy as an educational goal," to become "a whole-school project for learner and teacher development" (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007, pp. 6–7). However, autonomy as a construct is not limited to education. Research in other disciplines, even outside the social sciences and humanities, is increasingly moving beyond its boundaries into new interdisciplinary spaces, and the construct of space itself has also moved beyond its origins in human geography to political, philosophical, educational, and technological arenas. The expansion of research in the field of autonomy in language learning would benefit from doing the same. While it is important not to lose sight of the aim of exploring autonomy in *language learning* (Little 2007), there is much to be gained from insights in other fields. Just as research into language learning technology needs to embrace and critically explore the nature of learning and teaching not only in language laboratories and self-access centers but also more broadly distance learning, virtual learning environments, gaming sites, virtual reality spaces, and massive open online courses (MOOCS), so research into autonomy in language learning can learn from exploring what "autonomy" means in other disciplines and other professions (architecture, design, management, social work, etc).

The Council of Europe was instrumental in launching the new wave of research, policy, and practice in autonomy in language learning, and it continues its work in this area. Similarly, it has a long-standing commitment to social justice, including valuing multilingualism and plurilingualism and promoting intercultural understanding. With the increase in global migration, ways need to be found to reassess which languages are learnt, where they are learnt and used, and how they are valorized. In various contexts, critically autonomous learners and teachers are finding the "spaces for manoeuvre" in order to develop and protect inclusive linguistic spaces at formal educational levels. Exploring spatial dimensions can illuminate the physical,

structural, social, curricular, virtual, and affective spaces, which afford inclusive practices, enhancing opportunities for a wide range of languages to be learnt and used, for plurilingual identities to be nurtured, and for intercultural understanding to be fostered.

Beyond formal education, the construct of critical autonomy (Lamb 2000) also enables us to identify ways in which plurilingual communities themselves produce spaces, in which they can ensure that their languages continue to be learnt and used, both in the home and beyond, such as in community-based informal schools, cultural gatherings, and other everyday social spaces. Research into the interrelationships between personal and sociocultural spaces for autonomy move us from the micro to the meso and beyond to the macro, perhaps returning us to a new, community-based conceptualization of Plato's political autonomy.

The relationships between theory, research, and practice are fundamental to developing work in the field of autonomy in language learning. Future developments will continue to acknowledge this and, in so doing, they will enable us to continue to enhance not only formal and informal language learning but also intercultural understanding and dialogue and to sustain plurilingualism and multilingualism in the twenty-first century.

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Cognitive Linguistics and Its Applications to Second Language Teaching
▶ Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom
▶ Teacher Language Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Alastair Pennycook: Critical Applied Linguistics and Education. In Volume: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education
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Classroom Discourse: Theoretical Orientations and Research Approaches

Amy B. M. Tsui

Abstract

This chapter reviews developments in classroom discourse research, starting with earliest studies which focused on observable dimensions, that is, the linguistic and paralinguistic features, and moving on to subsequent studies which focused on unobservable dimensions, that is, the sociocultural factors that shape classroom discourse. It discusses important contributions to classroom discourse research under two major theoretical orientations, namely, information processing theory and sociocultural theory, and three major research approaches, namely, ethnography, conversational analysis and critical discourse analysis. It then reviews studies in progress and points out that they are typified by drawing on conceptual frameworks from neighboring disciplines to illuminate classroom discourse processes, including activity theory, ecological theory, social theory of learning, language socialization and phenomenography. This is followed by outlining the challenges faced by the field. The chapter ends with a discussion of the future directions and areas that need further research.

Contents

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The term "classroom discourse," as used in this review, encompasses language used
by the teacher and the learners, teacher-learner and learner-learner interactions, as
well as paralinguistic gestures, prosody, and silence. These linguistic and
nonlinguistic elements are the observable dimensions of classroom discourse, and
they constitute the bulk of earlier studies. Studies of classroom discourse have also
explored sociocultural factors which play a critical role in shaping classroom
discourse, including the participants' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds as
well as their psychological and mental states. They constitute the unobservable
dimensions of classroom discourse. Because of the limit of space, this review
focuses on SL (second language) or FL (foreign language) classrooms and makes
reference to L1 classroom discourse research only when it impacts SL/FL classroom
research.

Early Developments

Research on classroom interaction and classroom events originated in the field of
general education in the 1950s for teacher education purposes. It was motivated by
the search for "objective" assessments of student-teachers' performance in the
classroom and the identification of "effective teaching." The first major attempt
was Flanders' systematic analysis of classroom interaction (Flanders 1960).
Influenced by Flander's work, a plethora of SL/FL classroom interaction studies
began in the 1960s, and a number of classroom discourse instruments based on
Flanders' system were drawn up for language teacher training purposes (see
Allwright 1988). Early studies of SL/FL classroom interaction were also driven by
the need to evaluate the effectiveness of the various FL teaching methodologies in
the hope that the "best" method would be identified. The inconclusive findings,
however, pointed to the problematic nature of the basic tenets of these studies. It was
generally recognized that classroom processes were extremely complex and little
understood. The aim of classroom-centered research, it was argued, should be

descriptive rather than prescriptive. There was also a consensus that research should focus on both teachers' and learners' language and behavior.

Parallel to the development of research on SL/FL classroom discourse was the research on L1 (first language) classrooms. The impetus for research in this area came from the "language across the curriculum" movement in Britain in the late 1960s which drew attention to the important role of language in education. Inspired by the work of Vygotsky which emphasized role of spoken dialogue for children's cognitive development (Vygotsky 1962), a number of studies has been conducted on L1 content classrooms (see for example, Barnes 1969), some focusing on specific aspects of the language used by teachers and learners, for example, the types of teacher questions and the learner responses elicited, the types of learner talk ("exploratory" versus "final draft"), and the mental processes reflected (Barnes 1969). Motivated by linguistic rather than educational concerns, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have proposed a grammar of spoken discourse, using the discourse of an entire lesson as their data set. Their descriptive framework, particularly their analysis of the hierarchical structure of discourse units, has been highly influential. Their proposed structure of the "exchange" as consisting of "initiating," "responding," and "follow-up" moves (IRF) has been widely adopted in both L1 and L2 classroom discourse studies.

Similarly, in the USA, the impact of teacher-student talk on student learning began to be widely recognized in the 1970s. Motivated by the conception of language as social action, classroom discourse and interaction were understood as the public enactments of social order co-constructed by discourse participants. The work of Mehan (1979) and his observation of the IRE (Initiation, Response, Evaluation) structure resonate with Sinclair and Coulthard's IRF structure, though their points of departure are quite different.

Major Contributions

In reviewing the major contributions to classroom discourse studies, I shall group them under two headings: theoretical orientations and research approaches. This organization shows more clearly the paradigm shifts in both realms. Readers will find studies mentioned under one grouping often also appear under the other grouping, for obvious reasons.

Theoretical Orientations

Information Processing Theory

Until the mid-1990s, research on classroom discourse had been dominated by an information processing theory of learning based on an input–output model. Learning was understood as a process that took place inside the head of the individual, with little regard to its sociocultural contexts. The majority of studies focused on the

analysis of language input, interactional processes, and language output, all of which were the observables in a classroom. Much of the research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s was "etic" (nonparticipant's perspective) rather than "emic" (participant's perspective) (for a review of research during this period, see Chaudron 1988). Typically, these studies were quantitative in orientation.

One strand of research on language input is teachers' speech and how it affects learners' language output. Early studies focused on the linguistic features of teachers' modified speech to facilitate comprehension. Subsequent studies, however, have pointed out that interactional modifications resulting from the negotiation of comprehensible input are more important in facilitating language learning. Consequently, the research focus shifted to interactional structure and modification devices used by teachers to provide comprehensible input (Long 1983). The lack of evidence that comprehensible input produces higher quality learner output has led to the "Output Hypothesis" (see Swain 2005) which states that pushing learners to produce comprehensible as well as grammatically accurate output is important for language acquisition because it forces learners to process language at a deeper level and to notice the "holes" in their interlanguage. Subsequent research has further argued that an interactional process during which meaning is negotiated is particularly effective for language acquisition (Gass and Mackey 2006). The findings of studies on the relationship between negotiation of meaning and language acquisition have been somewhat inconclusive, however.

Another strand of research on language input is teachers' questions and their corrective feedback. Adopting Barnes' (1969) classification of teacher questions in L1 classrooms, mainly "open" versus "closed" and "pseudo" versus "genuine" questions, similar distinctions have been made between "display questions" (i.e., pseudo-questions) and "referential" questions (i.e., genuine questions). Referential questions have been found to elicit linguistically more complex responses from learners than display questions (Long and Sato 1983). The function of teachers' feedback has been conceived as providing information for learners to confirm or disconfirm their hypotheses about the target language, and the notion of "error" has been reconceptualized from a developmental perspective (Allwright and Bailey 1991). More recent research has emphasized the importance of form-focused corrective feedback and "recasts," or reformulations, though research findings have been inconclusive.

Earlier studies of learner output include learners' turn-taking behavior and oral participation in different classroom settings. Learners who take more turns and hence generate more input, referred to as "high-input generators" (HIGs), were considered more effective learners than those who take fewer turns, referred to as "low-input generators" (LIGs) (Seliger 1983). This claim has been criticized for ignoring important factors such as the cultural backgrounds of the learners which could affect learners' interactional behavior. Investigations of learners' oral participation have examined the effects of learning arrangements and task types on learner participation. Pair and group interactions were found to generate more negotiation of meaning and a larger variety of speech acts than teacher-fronted settings. Tasks which required obligatory information exchange yielded more modified interactions and

learner output in pair and group work than those where the information exchange was optional (Doughty and Pica 1986).

Sociocultural Theory

The shift in research paradigm in general education from information processing theory to sociocultural theory of learning, influenced by the work of the Soviet sociohistorical school (Vygotsky 1962), began in the late 1960s. However, it was not until the 1990s that this research paradigm began to make an impact on ESL research. This shift has led to a reconceptualization of language, context, and learning in profound ways. Sociocultural theory (SCT) of learning conceptualizes the relationship between the learner and the social world as dialectical rather than dichotomous and as mediated by cultural artifacts of which language is primary. Learners are not just passive recipients of language input and teachers are not just providers of input. Rather, the learners, the teacher, and the sociocultural context in which the discourse takes place are constitutive of what is being learned. Classroom discourse studies based on the input–output model have been criticized for presenting an impoverished and reductionist view of SL/FL learning.

A number of more recent classroom-centered studies have adopted key concepts in SCT as an interpretive framework for analyzing classroom discourse, including the Vygotskian concepts of zone of proximal development (ZDP), mediated learning and scaffolding. Classroom discourse has been reconceptualized as a major semiotic resource that mediates learning in the classroom (Lantolf and Thorne 2006; see also Thoms 2012 for a review of literature on socioculturally oriented studies on classroom discourse).

Teachers' questions are no longer analyzed from the perspective of the type of response they elicit but from the perspective of how they mediate the co-construction of knowledge between teacher and learners. Responses to teachers' questions are no longer just elicitations by the teacher but co-constructed by both the teacher and the learners. Learners are seen as participants in the co-construction of questions in IRF sequences. The interactions between the teacher and the learners are analyzed from the point of view of how both parties shape the way classroom tasks are defined and conducted. Adopting the notion of mediated learning, Swain (2005) extended the notion of "output" as external speech. She argued that external speech in collaborative dialogues is a powerful mediational tool for language learning because it encourages learners to reflect on "what is said" in language-related episodes while still being oriented to making meaning. Studies adopting the notion of scaffolded instruction in the learners' ZDP noted that scaffolding can be mutual rather than unidirectional (i.e., from expert to novice) and can be provided by peers, even among very young FL learners (Lantolf and Thorne 2006).

The recognition of the importance of context in shaping the meanings of discourse for participants has also led to a shift from quantitative to qualitative analyses of classroom talk in content subjects. The understanding of classroom learning as "a journey through time for those involved" (Mercer and Dawes 2014, p. 436) has

stimulated new research approaches such as "event history analysis" in which teachers' and students' questions are analyzed according to what comes before and after speakers' "moves" and their impact on the unfolding discourse. Since then, there has been a growing interest in "dialogic teaching" (Alexander 2008), in which teachers encourage students to actively engage in exploring, extending, and deepening their own thinking and understanding. A number of studies have drawn on this notion to examine whether and how it opens up classroom talk and maximizes educational outcomes.

Research Approaches

Ethnographic Approach

The early classroom discourse research reviewed in the previous section mostly adopted a linguistic approach to data analysis with predetermined structural and functional categories. Typically, a priori analytic tool was chosen and applied to data analysis. Although in most cases, amendments would be made to the chosen tool in response to the data, the researcher already had preconceptions about the nature of the data and what categories would be relevant for analysis. The researcher, as an observer, had supremacy over the interpretations of data which consisted largely of the observable in the classroom. The voices of discourse participants were seldom heard. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, it became clear that studies of the observable in the classroom needed to be illuminated by the unobservable in the classroom. Researchers suggested that learners' participation in the classroom could be affected by their learning styles, psychological states, cultural backgrounds, and beliefs about classroom behavior (Allwright and Bailey 1991). Studies of Asian learners' participation in the classroom have noted that they are less willing to volunteer answers and take fewer turns than their non-Asian counterparts and that their observable behaviors are partly shaped by their cultural values and identities (Tsui 1996). Similarly, the way teachers pose questions and provide feedback and the kind of interaction they engage with learners are shaped by their conceptions of teaching and learning and their lived experiences of classroom events.

Subsequently, classroom research has adopted an ethnographic approach and has analyzed classroom discourse data in its sociocultural contexts from an emic perspective. This approach is typified by the researcher "spend(ing) an extended period of time in the community under investigation, participating either overtly or covertly in people's lives, observing, listening, and asking questions in the data collection process to gain insights into the issues being studied." (Tsui 2012, p. 383). The emic perspective in ethnographic approach is achieved through interviewing the participants in order to gain access to their mental and psychological states (See Tsui 2012 for a review of ethnographic approaches to classroom discourse studies.)

An ethnographic approach to classroom discourse analysis is motivated by an interest in the co-construction of educational processes by both the teacher and the students, how discourse processes open up or close down opportunities for learning,

and what is being learnt. Studies have been conducted on the socialization of ESL learners into different learning environments and the difficulties and opportunities that they have encountered. The unraveling of the co-construction of knowledge and opportunities for learning by both the teacher and students has led to a shift from a static and deterministic view of the classroom as being shaped by context to an understanding of classroom and context as dialectically related. As such, the agency of the teacher and the students in co-creating opportunities for learning in the classroom is very important.

Ethnographic studies of classroom discourse typically focus on specific slices of classroom life and examine in detail locally managed interaction. As such, it has been referred to as "micro-ethnography" (see Garcez 2008 for a summary of such studies) and has close affinity with ethnomethodology or conversational analysis (see next section). More recent studies of classroom ethnography have a combination of micro- and macro-ethnography in which the wider educational and sociopolitical contexts have been taken into consideration to illuminate the classroom data (Duff 2009; see the subsequent section on critical classroom discourse analysis).

Conversational Analysis Approach

In recent years, a growing number of socioculturally oriented studies have adopted a conversational analysis (CA) approach, on the ground that a linguistic approach is not adequate in uncovering the complexities and the multilayered contingent interpretive acts of the emergent discourse in the classroom. Conversational analysis, originating from the work of ethnomethodologists (Schegloff and Sacks 1973), studies the social organization of talk-in-interaction in natural settings from the perspective of how talk is oriented to and accomplished by the participants in a specific context. In this sense, CA is emic in orientation: The analysis is done not from the perspective of the researcher but from the perspective of how participants understand and manage each other's talk as displayed in their own talk. Fine grained analysis is conducted on the verbal and nonverbal interactions in conversations, not as individual acts but as social actions which are oriented to and managed by the participants. Aspects of context such as gender, race, and power will be included only if they are demonstrated to be relevant to the participants. Studies adopting a CA approach have focused on specific aspects of classroom discourse and have revealed "subtle interactional practices which transform our perceptions of L2 learners and teachers" (Seedhouse 2012, p. 1). For example, Hellermann (2007), adopting a conversational analysis approach, conducted a longitudinal study of the dyadic interactions of six successful learners in opening teacher-assigned tasks in ESL classrooms and examined how over time the same student dyads had incorporated the teacher's and their peers' language to manage the openings. Hellerman argued that the detailed conversational analytic approach to the longitudinal data has enabled us to understand language development as a change in the use of resources to accomplish a particular social action and has uncovered "how learners manage and adapt to the affordance (van Lier 2000) of this conversational practice as a site

for second language development." (p. 91) (see Seedhouse 2012 for a review of classroom discourse adopting CA approach).

Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

Critical classroom discourse analysis, coined by Kumaravadivelu (1999), was proposed in response to the limited and limiting insights provided by a (socio) linguistic approach to classroom discourse which sees discourse as merely contextualized language use in the self-contained mini-society of the classroom, with little attention paid to its broader sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociohistorical dimensions. Drawing on insights from poststructural and postcolonial theories, Kumaravadivelu proposed adopting a critical perspective in which classroom discourse analysis should take into consideration power relationships among the discourse participants as well as their competing beliefs, values, identities, and voices. A critical perspective of classroom discourse, according to Kumaravadivelu, is transformative in that it enables classroom practitioners to reflect on and to respond to sociocultural and sociopolitical structures that impact directly or indirectly on classroom discourse.

Many of the more recently published classroom discourse studies have adopted a critical analytic approach to uncover the forces shaping classroom discourse through investigating issues relating to ideology, power, knowledge, class, race, gender, social positioning, and identities (see Coates 2012 and Blackledge 2012 for reviews of literature).

Critical classroom discourse analysis is especially prevalent in studies of multilingual classrooms where issues of power, identity, culture, and values are particularly palpable. The multilingual classroom is therefore an immensely rich site for the investigation of the processes of social and cultural (re)production and the relationship between micro classroom and macro institutional processes. In the 1980s, studies on multilingual classroom discourse provided insights on how multiple language resources were drawn upon by teachers and learners as they negotiated the daily classroom routines in complex communicative processes. Since the 1990s, an increasing number of studies have adopted a critical ethnographic approach and have tried to relate the micro-analysis of classroom discourse to the sociopolitical and ideological processes at language policy levels by drawing on social theory, poststructural, and postcolonial theories. For example, a number of researchers have studied code-switching in multilingual classrooms as a resistance to or as a way of managing the challenge of medium-of-instruction policies which construct the supremacy of English as the only legitimate language that can be used in the classroom (see Martin-Jones 2015 for a review of work in this area).

In addition to gathering classroom discourse data, studies in this strand typically gather data from policy documents and in social spaces beyond the classroom, for example, staff rooms, meetings, playgrounds, and also other institutional settings where language policy and curriculum issues are discussed. Martin-Jones (2015) pointed out that critical ethnographic research on language policy and critical

classroom discourse research have become increasingly intertwined and theoretical insights have been drawn from both strands.

Work in Progress: Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries

Recent research on classroom discourse has tried to advance the field by adopting conceptual frameworks in a variety of disciplines, most of which are sociocultural in orientation.

Activity Theory

Classroom discourse studies have begun to draw on insights from activity theory (Engeström 1991) which conceptualizes goal-oriented human action as part of a larger activity that is driven by motive and also shaped by the broader sociocultural system in which the activity is situated in the classroom. The individual's participation in these socially meaningful activities is mediated by the cultural tools which he or she appropriates. Classroom discourse is one of the cultural tools alongside material objects, audio and visual artifacts, which mediate the achievement of the goals of classroom activities. In the course of the interaction, the cultural tools, the nature of the activity, and the modes of participation are transformed; the same activity may be realized by different actions mediated by different tools. Conversely, the same action may be driven by different motives, hence realizing different activities. According to this perspective of learning, the same task may be operationalized as different activities with different goal-oriented actions by different learners and by the same learner in different contexts. The dialogic interaction that emerges in task completion plays an important part in shaping the way learners orient themselves to the task and to each other. It is the orientation of learners as agency, their values and beliefs, personal and collective experiences, and the way they connect to the current experience, not the task per se, that determines the way the task will be performed and the learning that will take place (Coughlan and Duff 1994). Hence, tasks should be understood as emergent interactions and not as the packaging of language input. Though there are still not many studies adopting activity theory as their theoretical framework, the framework is particularly powerful in relating micro classroom processes to the macro institutional or societal processes and the dialectical relationship between the two.

Ecological Theory

Also working within the sociocultural paradigm, some studies have adopted an ecological theory of language learning. For example, van Lier (2000) emphasized the totality of the relationships between the learner and all other elements or participants of the context with which he or she interacts. He proposed "affordance"

as an alternative conception of "input" and pointed out that the environment makes available opportunities for learners to engage in meaning-making activities with others (a "semiotic budget"), and what is perceived as relevant and acted on by the learner becomes an "affordance" (p. 252). In other words, "input" has been reconceptualized as the linguistic affordances perceived and used by the learner for linguistic action. Input is therefore not something external to the learner waiting to be acquired but rather the interaction between the learner and the environment.

Social Theory of Learning: Learning as Social Participation

Classroom discourse research has also begun to draw on the conceptual framework of learning as social participation (Wenger 1998), which is sociocultural in orientation. For example, Donato (2004) distinguished "interaction" in the second language acquisition literature from the notion of "collaboration" in a social theory of learning which entails mutual engagement in a joint enterprise that is socially meaningful to members of a community of practice. He noted that the relational dimension of collaboration has been largely ignored in SL/FL classroom research. He argued that the analysis of discourse generated by isolated task completion in short time frames by group members who are new to group work does not capture the reality of how learning is co-constructed in collaborative work because it takes time to establish relationships. Drawing on the notions of "community of practice" and "legitimate peripheral participation," Donato further maintained that the value of collaboration is not to enable learners to acquire more language knowledge but rather to move from peripheral to full participation as competent members in their communities of practice. Classroom discourse studies have also drawn on the concept of learning as changing participation in the community of practice to which the learners belong to elucidate the language learning process.

Language Socialization

Language socialization is concerned with how novices are socialized to use language and how they become culturally competent members in the target culture through language use in social activities. For example, Duff (1995), drawing on language socialization theory, studied the discourse in an English-immersion history classroom in Hungary and investigated the socialization of students from a transmissive mode to an open enquiry mode of learning and the learning opportunities that were opened up consequently. More recent research has conceptualized the classroom as a place where the expert and the novice negotiate not only knowledge and skills but also values, identities, positionality, epistemic, and affective stance. For example, Morita (2000) studied the socialization into academic discourse of the nonnative and native-speaker of English graduate students through their engagement in oral presentations. The findings suggest that the socialization process is not a unidirectional process of the enculturation of the novice into the community of experts but rather a

complex process of negotiation of their identities and knowledge not only as novices in oral academic presentation but also as ESL professionals with expert knowledge. The dynamic and fluid process of negotiation is a recurring theme in classroom discourse socialization research. For example, He (2015) examined the discourse in Chinese heritage language classrooms and showed how in the process of explaining the semantic and structural components of the Chinese characters, Chinese culture, moral, and values were inculcated by the teacher and how in the socialization process, the learners articulated their identities and their own understanding of the culture values and meanings. He further showed that all participants in multilingual classrooms could be agents in the co-construction of identities and speech communities. Finally, recent research has also drawn attention to discourses outside the classroom that are relevant to classroom learning as they serve to socialize learners into discourse practices in the classroom as well.

Phenomenography and Variation Theory

Phenomenography is an empirical educational research approach which investigates how various aspects of, and the phenomena in, the world are experienced in qualitatively different ways by people. Marton and Booth (1997) argued that learning involves a change in the way a phenomenon (or an object of learning) is experienced, conceptualized, perceived, and understood. According to them, *"learning proceeds, as a rule, from an undifferentiated and poorly integrated understanding of the whole to an increased differentiation and integration of the whole and its parts."* (p. viii). Hence, research on learning is focused on "the *variation* in ways of experiencing phenomena" (Marton and Booth 1997, p. 111), and on the "architecture of this variation in terms of the different aspects of that define the phenomena" (p. 117).

Phenomenographic work adopts mainly qualitative (and sometimes a mix of quantitative and qualitative) methodology. Much of this work analyzed data from learners' account of their experiences and conceptions. However, more recent work analyzed discourse data in both L1 and L2 classrooms from the perspective of how variation in the learning experience is brought about by the discourse and the artifacts used by the teacher in the classroom. For example, Marton and Tsui (2004), through analyzing data from ESL, mathematics, history, economics, and Chinese language classrooms, showed how critical aspects of the object of learning can be varied and how learners' awareness of the critical aspects of object of learning can be brought to the fore by the questions used by the teacher, the sequencing of questions and discourse moves, and the co-construction of exchanges between the teacher and the students, and among the students.

The number of studies adopting a phenomenographic framework is still small. However, the conceptualization of learning as seeing and experiencing things in a different way, and the theory of variation that underpins how learning is brought about, would provide the theoretical framework for examining proposals such as "focus on form" and "noticing" in second language acquisition as effective pedagogical strategies for acquiring grammatical accuracy.

Problems and Difficulties

From the above review of major contributions to the field, including work in progress, it is apparent that classroom discourse research has made significant progress in addressing issues germane to understanding the complex interplay between factors which impinge on what appear to be simple classroom interchanges. Research on classroom discourse in the last two decades has begun to move away from being "data-heavy but theory-light" (Donato 2004, p. 299). As we have seen in this review, the appropriation of research methods and theoretical frameworks in other disciplines has enriched our understanding of classroom discourse. However, the field is faced with a number of challenges of which only a few obvious ones will be outlined here. One challenge is whether there is a propensity to adopt methodologies without understanding their origins and theory-method relationships and to use the same terminology with different theoretical assumptions in the discussions. For example, the terms "social" and "context" have been widely used with assumptions which are not shared. Similarly, the term "community" has been used by different researchers in different ways, and the term "community of practice" has been adopted without regard to the way it has been defined in Wenger's theoretical framework. There is also a potential danger of appropriating uncritically some of the key notions in other disciplines. For example, the notion of scaffolding might be taken uncritically as assistance which necessarily leads to more effective learning. Another example is the notion of "collaboration" which seems to have been taken as implicated by "interaction." As Donato (2004) pointed out in his review of current studies of collaborative work, not all forms of classroom interaction are collaborative and conducive to the development of discourse competence.

Another challenge is that the analysis of classroom discourse as situated in its sociohistorical context typically involves an eclectic approach in research methodology and a triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data collected from different sources over a period of time. A rigorous analysis of data requires an iterative process of data interpretation and theory generation which is extremely time consuming. It is sometimes difficult to present a full account of the research processes within the word limit of a journal article (see for example the exemplars of research methodologies presented in *Applied Linguistics*, Volume 23(3), 2002). This is probably one of the reasons why, as Donato (2004) pointed out, research studies from a sociocultural perspective are rich in theoretical concepts but thin on data.

Yet another challenge is the substantiation of claims made about the relationship between language learning and the classroom discourse data analyzed. For example, claims have been made about the effect of input on learners' output and the effect of pushed output on language acquisition. However, in many cases, there is a lack of substantial evidence to support such claims. In some cases, the evidence is confined to the learners' language output in the adjacent discourse units. There is little evidence of the long-term effect of input on language learning. Similarly, claims made about collaborative learning or co-construction of knowledge have been based on the analysis of the co-construction of discourse between the teacher and learners and among learners. While one can argue that the discourse is evidence for

co-construction of knowledge, it is not always clear that such co-construction facilitates SL/FL learning. Though some studies have tried to provide evidence of effectiveness on learning outcomes, there appears to be a dearth of large-scale studies to support their educational implications, as Mercer and Dawes (2014) noted. In a review of four decades of research on classroom talk in L1 content classrooms, Howe and Abedin (2013) observed that "much more is known about how classroom dialogue is organized than about whether certain modes of organization are more beneficial than others" (p. 325). The same remark can be made about second and foreign language classrooms. The challenge of establishing the efficacy of certain teacher-student interactions in large scale studies is to ascertain the impact of contextual variables on learning outcomes as the former is not easily controllable in naturalistic settings.

Long (2015) tried to address this issue by proposing conducting research in laboratory settings. He discussed the comparability between laboratory settings and classroom settings and the generalizability of the findings in each. He argued that though results varied with some studies showing greater effect size in one location than the other and vice versa, there was ground for making cautious generalizations about laboratory-based findings to classrooms. He suggested a two-pronged approach to address this issue: If a causal relationship between the areas of under investigation and the learning outcomes is evident in one or more studies in laboratory settings, then classroom studies are warranted. He pointed out that unless there is rigorous empirical evidence to substantiate the claims made about the efficacy of pedagogical strategies, ESL teaching will not be able to establish itself as a profession. This applies not only to the ESL teaching profession but to the entire teaching profession.

Future Directions

Since the 2000s, research on classroom discourse has advanced the field in three aspects. First, there has been a revival of the emphasis on context since the 1990s, an aspect which was minimized in the 1970s and 1980s. This trend has continued in the past two decades. As we have seen in the review in the preceding sections, instead of focusing on specific aspects of classroom interaction, an increasing number of studies have taken a more holistic view of classroom discourse, attending to the multiple dimensions of context and the multiple levels of discourse in the classroom, relating micro classroom processes to macro institutional and society processes, and engaging in issues such as power, identity, culture, and gender. Studies on the dynamic and dialectical relationship between the processes at these two levels and the agency of the participants in the discourse processes will continue to yield rich insights for what may appear to be mundane routine classroom processes.

Second, the conceptual frameworks drawn on from neighboring disciplines to illuminate the complexity of classroom data have widened considerably and will continue to do so. Van Lier (2000) proposed that the input–output model should be

replaced by an ecological perspective. This has been echoed by Kramsch (2002) who considered an ecological approach to language learning as a powerful way of capturing the symbiotic relationship between the language user and the environment. In the collection of chapters in Kramsch (2002), concepts in the sociology of language such as Goffman's frame analysis and participatory structures have been adopted to analyze the multiple discourse units and levels that are recursively embedded in classroom discourse and the variety of speaker and addressee roles. Papers in the volume point out the need to unravel the cultural, institutional, and interactional dimensions of the contexts in which classroom discourse are embedded. We have seen in this review that increasingly studies of classroom discourse have crossed disciplinary boundaries and have provided a much richer and deeper understanding of classroom discourse. This will continue to be a distinctive feature of research in this field (see also Markee 2015).

Third, a growing number of studies have adopted an eclectic approach to research methodologies in which both qualitative and quantitative data are collected from a variety of sources for triangulation and have provided both etic and emic perspectives in their data analysis. Within the qualitative paradigm, different research methodologies have been drawn on to elucidate the data, as evidenced by the increasing number of studies adopting a conversational analysis approach to the analysis of classroom data.

While classroom discourse research is likely to continue along the trends outlined above, there appears to be five areas which need further work. First, as mentioned before, as the field draws on theoretical concepts and research methodologies from a variety of disciplines, it becomes all the more important that the methodologies and terminologies adopted are explicitly and rigorously defined, with full awareness of their theoretical assumptions, irrespective of whether they have been adopted wholesale, extended, or re-defined.

Second, there has been relatively little in the classroom discourse literature that examines critically the methodological assumptions made in the analysis of data. The special issue in *Applied Linguistics* (Volume 23(3), 2002), which is devoted to methodological issues in the micro-analysis of classroom discourse, is necessary and timely. It presents a collection of papers containing exemplars and critiques of three influential and well-defined methodologies within which classroom discourse analysis have been conducted: ethnography of communication, conversational analysis, and systemic functional linguistics, which have emerged respectively from anthropology, sociology, and functional linguistics. The discussions do not advocate a particular methodological approach but rather raise researchers' awareness of methodological issues. More discussion of this kind is necessary to move the field forward.

Third, although there has been an increase in the number of studies adopting both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, most recent studies are qualitative in orientation. While they have yielded rich insights, it is often not clear whether or not the qualitative findings are peculiar to a specific context. Quantitative data from a larger sample, though not necessarily representative, which can show some general patterns across similar or different contexts would make the qualitative

findings much more powerful. Further, the qualitative findings reported are more often than not snapshots of classroom discourse of short durations. More longitudinal studies which show whether there are any changes in the phenomena under investigation are warranted.

Fourth, as noted in the preceding section, the call to move beyond mere descriptions of classroom discourse to establish the relationship between the classroom discourse patterns and processes and learning outcomes should generate more studies that will attend to both the processes as well as products of classroom discourse (Markee 2015).

Finally, the teachers' and the learners' voices in the analysis of classroom data continue to be a very important aspect of future research. With the increasing number of studies adopting an emic perspective in the past two decades, the inclusion of the teachers' voice in the interpretation of data has almost become the norm. The learners' voice however is still weak. As Cazden (2001) pointed out, classroom discourse should be the object of focal attention for students as well because "all students' public words become part of the curriculum for their peers" (p. 169). How learners' engagement in the discourse contributes to the ESL/EFL curriculum constructed in the classroom and how their awareness can be raised are still under-explored.

Cross-References

▶ Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Teacher Language Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Angel Lin: Code-switching in the Classroom: Research Paradigms and Approaches. In Volume: Research Methods in Language and Education
John Hellermann: Interactional Approaches to the Study of Classroom Discourse and Student Learning. In Volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom

Anne-Brit Fenner

Abstract

This chapter discusses the role of cultural awareness in foreign language teaching and learning. It traces the historical development from culture being regarded as an additional dimension of the language taught to being seen as an integral part of it. After a short historical overview, the chapter presents the shift of cultural focus caused by the introduction and the development of the term communicative competence in foreign language teaching. Major contributions to the field are discussed, including definitions and models which have had a great impact on the teaching of culture. Related aspects such as cultural knowledge, literature teaching and dialogue, content and language integrated learning (CLIL), and human rights teaching are dealt with briefly. Certain more recent views and concepts are then presented, including transnational views on culture. The chapter looks at cultural content in the foreign language classroom as well as learning processes, especially related to working with literature. The problem of assessing cultural awareness is also discussed. Which aspects of the concept can possibly be evaluated? In this context, self-assessment tools developed by the Council of Europe are briefly mentioned. In the final section, the chapter puts forward aspects of cultural awareness and language teaching which are likely to be addressed in the near future, trying to point out important areas for decision makers and teachers alike.

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Contents

Introduction

This chapter discusses the development of the role that culture plays in foreign language teaching and learning, mainly in Europe. Over the past 20–30 years, the emphasis on cultural competence and intercultural awareness has increased. This heightened focus is largely the result of work instigated by the Council of Europe and the influence on foreign language teaching of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001).

Despite the vast influence of the *Framework* on curriculum development and teaching, different traditions related to cultural awareness in European language teaching can still be seen: on the one hand, the originally German concept of *Bildung* as an overall aim of education, on the other hand, a tradition that focuses more on skills and competences. The former reflects a philosophical view of cultural relationships in which the roles of self and other take center stage. The latter is based on a more instrumental and utilitarian view of foreign language learning with an emphasis on skills. In most European countries, national curricula reflect both these traditions, often with the former as a general aim for all subjects. Recently also a third direction can be distinguished: the development of cross-cultural didactics and a transnational perspective on language and culture teaching (Risager 2012).

Culture is a complex concept and different approaches to studying culture have influenced language teaching. Risager (2003, p. 84) distinguishes between three main categories of the concept: the individual, the collective, and the aesthetic, all of them relevant to foreign language teaching. Research on culture has concentrated on anthropological approaches because these are primarily concerned with the collective and because of their focus on the other (p. 89). Foreign language teaching today, however, also emphasizes the individual aspect. According to the phenomenologist Peter Berger, culture "is at base an all-embracing socially constructed world of subjectively and inter-subjectively experienced meanings. Culture must be constructed and reconstructed as a continuous process" (Berger in Wuthnow et al. 1984, p. 25). Here culture is defined as both dynamic and dialectic, in other words, learners are influenced by a culture, but they also influence that culture.

This chapter discusses the transition from regarding cultural awareness in the classroom as an addition to foreign language teaching to seeing it as an integral part

of language learning. It is a matter of learning *through* culture as well as learning *about* it. Only by gaining insight into the other can learners gain an outside view of themselves.

As with any culture teaching and learning, this chapter is influenced by the writer's own background. One's own culture shapes the way one experiences the outside world, it is the glasses through which one sees things. Thus it also shapes the arguments in an article.

Early Developments

Culture has always played an important part in foreign language teaching, especially at higher levels of education. Historically, the focus was mainly on knowledge of the target culture: society, history, geography, institutions, and literature. At lower school levels, cultural knowledge included knowledge of everyday life, focusing on home, school, and spare time. At university level, the subject area is still referred to as *background*, *civilization*, or *Landeskunde*. It provides a backdrop to language learning and is regarded less as an integral part of it. This view of culture and language is largely based on the eighteenth-century German new humanist ideal of *Bildung*: the broadly and well-educated citizen who could read and write foreign languages. The methods for teaching modern foreign languages were similar to the philosophy behind the teaching of Latin and classical Greek. The view of culture in foreign language learning was elitist and regarded culture as a static entity.

During the first half of the twentieth century, new methods of foreign language teaching were introduced, primarily at early stages of language learning. The direct method was prevalent in textbooks for beginners and the view of culture in language learning changed. With the widespread introduction of the audio-lingual method after World War II, foreign language learning became accessible to large numbers of learners and it was no longer just the "culture of the elite" or "big C" culture which was interesting but also the "culture of the people" or "little c" culture (Kramsch 2006, p. 13). Gradually traveling became one reason for learning languages and there was a shift from emphasizing only knowledge of the target culture to also including cultural competence: being able to act in the foreign culture.

In the 1970s, a paradigmatic change in foreign language teaching occurred, from behaviorist, audio-lingual teaching to communicative language teaching. Chomsky's theories of language and meaning and his distinction between linguistic competence and performance were important contributions to this change. Hymes opposed Chomsky's narrow definition of linguistic competence as it "left a major gap in not dealing with the issue of appropriacy" (Spolsky 1989, p. 139) and introduced the term *communicative competence* to allow for sociocultural factors (Hymes 1972, 1985). Although Halliday rejected the term competence, his linking of the meaning of language to the social and situational contexts also strongly influenced

communicative language teaching (Halliday 1979). In his book *Scope* (1986), van Ek defined what he calls *communicative ability* as consisting of the following components:

- Linguistic competence
- Sociolinguistic competence
- Discourse competence
- Strategic competence
- Sociocultural competence
- Social competence

In addition to these, he stated another aim for language learning: *optimal development of personality*, which consists of two components: cognitive and affective development.

Foreign language curricula in Europe changed radically within a fairly short period of time to include van Ek's definition of communicative competence. Knowledge of the target language culture was no longer the sole cultural focus in the foreign language classroom. Through communication-gap exercises, role-plays, and other simulated activities, students were in addition required to develop sociocultural competence.

Up to this period, the main focus in the classroom had been on reading and writing, not on speaking. Gradually the focus on cultural knowledge, including the role of literature, decreased and foreign language classrooms became the playground for oral activities centered around acting out every-day situations and dialogues: visits to shops, restaurants, simulated phone calls, arguments with parents, etc., situations learners could identify with and which they might need when traveling.

Textbooks during the 1980s and early 1990s reflected this view of foreign language learning. At lower school levels, they had previously contained constructed texts written by source culture authors, reflecting specific language problems. With the increased focus on communication, textbooks now contained constructed dialogues as examples of what people might say in specific situations.

Another aspect of the communicative approach, which took longer to appear in textbooks, was the emphasis on authentic texts. Teachers and textbook authors treated these texts mainly with the aim to teach language and not as representations of culture, but gradually the view that authentic texts represent the voice of a culture gained ground in the classroom. As far as literary texts are concerned, however, Kramsch's view that "language teachers seem constrained to teach these texts for their information value only" (1993, p. 8) is still predominant.

The introduction of sociocultural competence as an aspect of communicative ability was the start of regarding culture not only as "information conveyed by the language" but "as a feature of language itself" (Kramsch 1993, p. 8). Changing foreign language classroom practice, however, takes time.

Major Contributions

In an attempt to define and clarify the concept of sociocultural competence in education, Byram presents the following categories of what has been termed intercultural communicative competence:

> *savoirs*: **knowledge** of self and other; of interaction: individual and societal
> *savoir comprendre*: **skills** — interpret and relate
> *savoir être*: **attitudes** — relativising self, valuing other
> *savoir apprendre/faire*: **skills** — discover and/or interact
> *savoir s'engager*: **education** — political education, critical cultural awareness. (Byram 1997a, p. 34)

These five categories show a shift of focus from teaching to learning and from declarative to procedural knowledge. It is no longer just a matter of aims but also how the learner is going to achieve these aims.

The focus on *savoir être* and *savoir s'engager* has greatly increased over the past few decades. Before this relatively late emphasis on individual involvement and awareness, teachers, curricula, and textbooks seem to believe that getting rid of stereotyped views and prejudice is an automatic result of foreign language learning that positive attitudes and tolerance develop alongside knowledge and competence. According to Allport, prejudice is "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (1954, p. 9). Developing intercultural awareness means to fight the human tendency to simplify by overgeneralizing (p. 13). It requires encountering the other, not only at the group level but also as individuals. Stereotyped attitudes and beliefs have to be expressed and consciously worked on in the foreign language classroom; they do not automatically occur as a result of language learning and knowledge about the foreign culture.

Byram's categories have been further developed and form part of the classification used in the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR). Unfortunately, the 2001 edition of the *Framework* presents the *savoirs* under the heading of "general competences" and not as an integral part of language learning, as follows:

> *savoir* — declarative knowledge, which includes: knowledge of the world, socio-cultural knowledge, intercultural awareness
> *savoir faire* — skills and know-how, which includes practical skills and know-how and intercultural skills and know-how
> *savoir être* — 'existential competence'
> *savoir apprendre* — ability to learn. (CEFR 2001, pp. 101 ff)

In the *Framework*, the concept *cultural* has been replaced by *intercultural*, both relating to skills and awareness. Based on a constructivist view of learning and the realization that the foreign language learner encounters the target culture from a stance founded on his or her cultural capital, the term intercultural has gradually

replaced the term cultural in foreign language teaching. The learners encounter the foreign cultures as members of their own cultural community, and the encounter thus implies at least two cultures.

The development from cultural to intercultural shows a development of the view of culture in foreign language learning away from a focus solely on the target culture towards regarding it as an interrelationship between two cultures: one's own and the other. In order for learners to step back and reflect on a culture different from their own, they have to be consciously aware of the culture of which they are an integral part. Awareness of differences as well as of similarities between the native culture and the target culture is essential for the development of intercultural awareness. While learning a foreign language, the learner brings his own culture into the communication process with the foreign culture. Intercultural awareness can consequently "be seen as an interdependent relationship between cultures which constitutes a dynamic enrichment for Self as well as the Other" (Fenner 2000, p. 149). Communication is an open-ended process dependent on the context and the situation in which the communication takes place. Without knowledge and understanding of both native and target cultures, intercultural communication is hardly possible.

Communicating with the other means entering into a dialogue where one has to be willing to adjust one's own attitudes and perspectives to understand the other, even if a complete understanding can never be achieved. Bakhtin defines dialogue as follows: "To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 293). It is this type of dialogue that is required in the classroom if intercultural awareness is to develop.

Intercultural encounters can be seen as negotiating meaning in a process where meaning "is constructed between [the participants] as a kind of ideological bridge, is built in the process of their interaction" (Bakhtin and Medvedev 1985, p. 152). In order for the participants to understand each other, or at least establish what they do not understand, openness towards the other is necessary. Discussing ideological bridges, Kramsch argues that "[w]hat we should seek in cross-cultural education are less bridges than a deep understanding of the boundaries" (1993, p. 228). Building ideological bridges in the Bakhtinian sense, however, does not mean blurring differences but attempting a temporary, contextual understanding of both self and other. Both cultures in the encounter must also be regarded as dynamic and polyphone; any culture is "a living mix of varied and opposing voices" (Bakhtin 1984), and learners have to acknowledge this also when it comes to their own culture.

According to Ricoeur, it is through interaction with others that we experience our own identity, not through introspection. The aim of *savoir être* can only be achieved through a learning process based on reflection on and understanding of the other as well as of self. This requires personal engagement or *savoir s'engager*. It is an on-going process where students develop not only as language learners but as human beings.

Byram and Zarate (1997) introduce the concept "intercultural speaker" or "locuteur culturelle" to describe foreign language learners as "interlocuters involved in intercultural communication and action" (Byram 1997b, p. 4), stating

the importance of developing critical thinking "about one's own and other cultures and their taken-for-granted values and practices" (p. 10). Developing critical thinking is dependent on reflection, a meta-level of language learning, which is often sadly lacking in many classrooms where the focus of teaching is solely on language skills.

Seeing intercultural awareness as an integral part of foreign language learning indicates that one of many aims is the development and enrichment of the student's identity. This is a dynamic process. When learning a foreign language, the learner brings his own culture into the communication process with the foreign culture, whether it is in reading a foreign text or in speaking to a representative of that particular language community. It is not only a matter of negotiating meaning but of interpretation in the hermeneutic sense. Interpreting the meaning of texts or personal encounters also means interpreting oneself: ". . . in the hermeneutical reflection – or in the reflexive hermeneutic – the building of the self and the meaning (*sens*) are simultaneous" (Ricoeur 1992, p. 55). It is a dialectic and dialogic process where the learner is influenced by the foreign culture at the same time as he or she is influencing that culture. This cannot be done passively or by the teacher presenting learners with knowledge about the foreign culture. Foucault states that

> [t]he idea that the other can simply reveal or disclose itself to us, without any work whatsoever on our part, is ultimately unintelligible. There can be no access to the other without our actively organising the other in terms of our categories. (Foucault in Falzon 1998, p. 37)

Reorganization of categories entails change and developing identity in the learning process. Developing intercultural awareness means being confronted with one's own as well as the foreign culture, and, in Kramsch's words, the goal of developing such awareness "is not a balance of opposites, or a moderate pluralism of opinions but a paradoxical, irreducible confrontation that may change one in the process" (Kramsch 1993, p. 231).

Work in Progress

In 2006 Risager introduces the term *languaculture* and discusses it "in three interconnected dimensions: the semantic-pragmatic dimension, the poetic dimension, and the identity dimension" (Risager 2012, p. 151). The first one is linked to linguistic anthropology, the connotations of utterances in use, and to cross-cultural semantics. The poetic dimension relates to the aesthetic uses of language and includes the study of literature. The third, the identity dimension of language, is a research area within sociolinguistics and deals with the relationship between language and identity, how one by the means of utterances chooses to identify oneself. By introducing the concept *languaculture*, Risager emphasizes the individual aspect of language and culture learning as well as the interdependency of the mother tongue and the foreign language to be learnt.

Another fairly recent development related to cultural awareness, which concerns English as a foreign language, is the debate on what is termed international English. There is a strong linguistic and educational movement towards removing the language from its cultural roots and regarding it as a globalized lingua franca. Up until now, research carried out on cultural awareness has been based on the interrelationship between language and culture where culture and language cannot be regarded as separate. Risager sees a much more complex relationship between language and culture: "language *practice* can have a thematic (cultural) content, 'the language', on the other hand, is a discursive construction and can, consequently, have no thematic content" (Risager 2003, p. 422).[1]

Foreign language teaching and learning has been mainly bilateral. English as a foreign language has been linked to the cultures of the countries where the language is spoken, primarily Great Britain and the USA. This narrow view of English-speaking cultures has been extended to also include Australia and some African and Asian cultures. However, English is the most widely spoken lingua franca and is thus transnational. This does not mean that it should be taught as culturally neutral but that its cultural aspects are much wider than only national ones and transnational aspects of language and culture also have a place in teaching English as foreign language.

Related to Byram's concept *political education*, *critical cultural awareness*, in his model of intercultural communicative competence (1997a), another fairly recent development is citizenship education, expressed mainly through content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and human rights teaching. Although human rights have been a part of curricula in many subjects in some countries, there is a need to focus on these areas also in foreign language learning. Such subject matter can only emphasize the importance of content in the process of developing intercultural awareness as well as emphasizing the interdependence of language and culture. The aim of teaching and learning through discussing human rights extends the development of self to include the development of communities. Human rights education almost ironically reflects the opposite of what Foucault calls the oppressor' role (Falzon 1998): "Learning a new language gives access to potential new identities. This challenges any notion of citizenship as associated primarily with monolithic national identities" (Starkey 2005, p. 66).

Over the past decade, research on literature teaching in relation to intercultural competence has been given increased emphasis (Bredella 2006, 2012; Thyberg 2012; Hoff 2016). There has been a clear move from using literature in the classroom with only a focus on linguistic aspects or to provide examples of cultural content to including the reading process itself, with a focus on the learner's interpretation of the text. Bredella (2006) discusses multicultural literary texts in order to improve the students' openness towards other cultures and to promote empathy. In her doctoral thesis, Thyberg (2012) emphasizes dialogue in the classroom and how intersubjective processes may influence the formation of values and democratic thinking.

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[1]My translation from Danish.

Focusing on the learners' involvement and reflection when reading novels can clearly be linked to Byram's *savoir s'engager* and what he terms political education.

Cultural pedagogy can easily be criticized for emphasizing harmony rather than conflict. Both Byram's model and the *European Framework*, which have had a tremendous influence on culture teaching over the past decades, have harmony and agreement between intercultural speakers as their final aims. An understanding of and training in intercultural communication have over the past decade influenced business communities (Feng et al. 2009), where harmony is important in order to yield practical results. However, from learning theories we know that challenge and confrontation can be equally important for learning. In her work, Hoff challenges the harmony aspect of Byram's model and "addressess the need to reformulate a theory of intercultural competence to include conflict, ambiguity and difference as stimulation for learners' critical engagement" (Hoff 2014).

Problems and Difficulties

Interestingly, the *Framework* includes intercultural awareness in the first category, *savoir* or knowledge, and lists *savoir être* or existential competence as a separate concept. One can always hope that this will lead to an increased focus on intercultural awareness, although it is more difficult to implement in teaching programs than the other components, as it is not something that can be taught and as it is difficult to assess. That it now appears in a category with components that can be taught, may, however, cause a problem, because teachers as well as learners might revert to the old misconception that developing intercultural awareness will be an automatic result of gaining cultural knowledge rather than a learning process that requires conscious reflection upon such knowledge, in other words, a meta-level of knowledge. Developing awareness is an aspect of foreign language learning which the learners have to take charge of themselves. But teachers are of vital importance when it comes to organizing learning situations and mediating the individual's learning processes in order for the learner to develop intercultural awareness.

There is, however, another possible reason for intercultural awareness having been placed in the *savoir* category. In recent years, there has been an increasing focus on assessment and testing in foreign language learning; one can almost talk about an assessment and test culture developing with a large number researchers involved. It is, consequently, important to ask what is possible to test in the foreign language classroom. Although it is relatively easy to teach and test knowledge and skills, it is far more difficult, if not impossible, to test awareness. Do we, for instance, want attitudes and values to be tested?

As stated before, developing accepting attitudes towards other cultures is a vital part of language learning. Working in the classroom on stereotyped views, getting learners to express these, to work on them, and to challenge them, is one of the foreign language teacher's tasks. This involves encounters with the other as an individual, not only as a group, for instance, through literature. But teachers have

no guarantee that stereotyped views will disappear. In many classrooms, teachers never offer scope for learning processes that include personal interpretation, reflection, and discussion. If the focus is merely on teaching knowledge and skills and not on the learner' awareness, learning processes that challenge the students' views of their own and the target cultures will not take place.

The difference between learning foreign languages in the classroom and acquiring language outside school lies in the fact that the teacher can mediate the learning processes, including the development of attitudes and values. Outside the classroom attitudes develop accidentally, based on personal experience, whereas inside the classroom attitudes can be challenged through a number of cognitive processes like comparing, contrasting, problem solving, etc. Through an educated choice of texts and tasks, discussions, and reflection, the teacher can mediate dialogues between the source and the target cultures as well as between learners (Fenner 2001, 2005). Through such classroom dialogues the learners' attitudes can develop and change, but it requires the teacher being acquainted with the individual learner's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978) and it requires training in intercultural mediation (Zarate et al. 2004). It also requires time, as attitudes are not changed overnight.

Over the last years, work by the Council of Europe has focused on how to assess intercultural awareness (Lazar et al. 2008) and this assessment has caused debate. Various forms of self-assessment have been discussed and have resulted in two self-assessment portfolios: the *European Language Portfolio* to be used by learners and the *European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages. A reflection tool for language teacher education* (Newby et al. 2007). Both tools can promote an awareness of the individual's cultural competence and perhaps this is as far as one should go.

Placing intercultural awareness as a subcategory of knowledge is no solution, it can only serve the purpose of confusing it with cultural knowledge. Defining *savoir être* as existential competence and not as attitudes might blur the whole concept, especially in learning cultures where views on language learning are mainly instrumental and where the development of self is not explicitly expressed as an overall aim of foreign language learning.

Future Directions

The two educational traditions, on the one hand, a tradition where personal development is an overall aim of learning, especially of language learning, on the other hand, a tradition where skills and testing are more heavily emphasized, will influence the views on cultural or intercultural awareness and its place in foreign language teaching in the coming years. These are matters for policy makers and are, to a certain extent, dependent on educational policies. A shift in political direction will influence the emphasis between utilitarian and instrumental aims of language teaching and long-term general educational aims. Short-term aims for the business community will also

influence the focus in the foreign language classroom. International trade needs competent foreign language speakers who know how to behave in a foreign culture.

Although it is not easy to predict how intercultural awareness will develop in the foreign language classroom, some major trends can be pointed out. The first of these is the role played by literature. This chapter has not discussed the cultural content of foreign language teaching and learning, except by briefly mentioning "high" culture versus "low culture." With the demand of authentic texts, nonfictional texts fairly quickly appeared in textbooks. In recent years, literature seems to have edged its way back into foreign language classrooms not only at higher-school levels, but also at lower levels.

Along with a shift of focus from teaching to learning came a shift in literary theory towards receptionist theory and the learner's text. This has resulted in an altered attitude to teaching literature in the classroom. From methods largely based on New Criticism and structuralism, the focus in many classrooms has shifted to approaches based on hermeneutics and the individual's interpretation of the literary text as a basis for classroom reflection and discussion. With the view that the aim of reading literature is not only to discover the author's intention or the accepted meaning of a literary artifact or even the teacher's interpretation of it, the literary text has again become important in foreign language teaching and learning. Teachers cannot compete with the cultural influences learners are exposed to outside the classroom, like music, television, films, and, most of all, social media. For the development of cultural awareness, it is important that teachers do not feel they have to compete but can use and add something to the outside influence. Many young people do not read extensively outside the classroom, and hence foreign language education can assist the enhancement of the learners' cultural capital by spending more time on reading, reflecting on, and discussing literature as the personal voice of a culture (Fenner 2001) in the foreign language classroom and thus develop the learners' cultural awareness and identity.

A second fairly recent development is citizenship education, expressed through CLIL, as discussed above. Both national and international projects are carried out, some mainly to promote the learning of foreign languages by giving language learning more lessons and some to promote links between culture and language by focusing on a much wider scope of content. In the transition from authoritarian states to democracies, human rights teaching, for instance, play an important role.

Thirdly, there is no doubt that multicultural and transnational aspects of language teaching will be important in the years to come (Risager 2012). Students travel more and they have access to a globalized world through the Internet and social media. Regarding the foreign language also as a lingua franca will be a great challenge to foreign language teachers. It means redefining the relationship between language and culture, and it also means redefining language learning in many countries as a national educational project to see it as part of a globalization process (Risager 2003, pp. 48–49). Teaching and learning language as separate from its cultural roots and not as integral part of cultures of a specific community seems an almost impossible task.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language
  Curricula

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Teacher Language Awareness

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Abstract

The term teacher language awareness (TLA) refers to teachers' cognitions (knowledge and beliefs) about language in general and the language they teach. TLA research considers how these cognitions are developed and their impact on teaching and learning. An underlying assumption is that conscious knowledge about language facilitates language development, whether in the mother tongue or subsequent languages, and hence that language teachers need such knowledge (TLA) in order to facilitate their students' learning. The chapter focuses in particular on language teachers' subject-matter knowledge.

Research has revealed the complexity of TLA. The language teacher is at the same time language user, analyst, and teacher (Edge, ELT Journal 42(1), 9–13, 1988). To carry out those three roles successfully, teachers need well-developed language proficiency plus conscious (declarative) TLA and the ability to draw on that declarative knowledge when enacting the curriculum in the language classroom (Andrews, Teacher language awareness, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007). TLA research explores the interrelationships between these three components and other factors that influence TLA development. Examples include studies on the impact of teachers' knowledge and beliefs about grammar on their teaching (Borg, Teacher cognition and language

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education: research and practice, Continuum, London, 2006) and work on the
development of TLA through consciousness raising in teacher education
(Wright and Bolitho, ELT Journal, 47(4), 292–304, 1993; Svalberg and
Askham, Language Awareness, 23(1/2), 122–136, 2014). One of the challenges
for researchers is the difficulty of establishing empirically the link between TLA
and the facilitation of language learning. Future research is likely to be
influenced by new conceptions of language as complex and dynamic and should
consider in greater depth the importance of affective and identity issues in the
development of TLA.

Contents

Introduction

Teacher language awareness (TLA) is a label applied to research and teacher
development activity that focuses on the interface between what teachers know,
or need to know, about language and their pedagogical practice. In principle, the
concerns of TLA are relevant to teachers of all subjects. Generally, however,
most TLA activity relates to teachers of language (L1 or L2 – in this review L2
refers to any language other than L1), their cognitions (knowledge, beliefs, and
understandings) about the specific language they teach, and the ways in which
those cognitions might potentially impact upon their teaching. The conceptual-
ization of TLA in the literature is constantly evolving: it has moved on from a
rather narrow concentration on knowledge about grammar to incorporate
teachers' cognitions more broadly, both about language in general and about
the specific language they teach, as well as (in the case of L2 teachers) their
awareness of their students' developing interlanguage (see, e.g., Wright 2002).
While acknowledging the wide-ranging relevance of TLA, the present review
focuses on teachers of language, with particular reference to the subject-matter
cognitions of L2 teachers, since these have been the focus of most published
TLA work.

Early Developments

Teachers' knowledge about language and the potential importance of that knowledge in teaching and learning is now an area of attention and concern worldwide, especially in relation to debates about teacher professionalism (see, e.g., Fillmore and Snow 2000, for discussion in the US context). Much of the early systematic attention toward such issues in relation to language teaching emerged in Europe, especially in the UK. While a number of factors may have contributed to this development, two unrelated stimuli seem to have been particularly significant: the growth of interest in language awareness (LA) among teachers of the L1 and/or modern foreign languages, especially from the early 1980s (see the various chapters on LA in this volume for a more detailed discussion), and the development of private-sector preservice TEFL courses incorporating a focus on language analysis.

LA came to prominence in the UK as a "grassroots" movement in the late 1970s/early 1980s, as teacher frustration with learner underachievement in both L1 and L2 led to the creation of local schemes aimed at inspiring learners' curiosity about language as a uniquely fascinating characteristic of human behavior. The term "knowledge about language" (KAL) is used in much of the related literature of that time, especially in the UK (see, e.g., Carter 1990). According to Van Lier (1996), the range of interpretations of both terms makes it difficult to decide whether they are synonymous or whether one is a subset of the other.[1] Whichever the preferred term, however, those involved with LA/KAL share a common assumption that there is a link between knowledge of formal aspects of language and performance when using that language (L1 or L2) and that therefore fostering learners' ability to analyze and describe a language accurately is likely to help them become more effective users of that language. Arising from this is the belief that teachers of a language (L1 and L2) need an understanding of how that language works and an ability to analyze that language in order to function effectively as teachers. As Hawkins noted, one of the principal challenges for the LA movement was to provide adequate preparation for teachers ". . . to guide their pupils in the kind of discovery-based learning that is required" (Hawkins 1994, p. 1938). The nature of the language-related knowledge and preparation required by L1 and L2 teachers continues to be a major preoccupation for those who work in the area of TLA.

The inclusion of LA ("language analysis" or "language awareness") as a core component of the International House (IH), London, preservice training courses for native-speaker (NS) TEFL teachers was an unconnected earlier development (such courses having first been offered in 1962), but it was motivated by a similar belief, and was further stimulated by the realization that the vast majority of target NS trainees had no experience of analyzing language from the perspectives of learning and the learner. The expansion of the EFL industry from the mid-1970s onward

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[1]In the remainder of this chapter, the terms LA and KAL are treated as if they are synonymous. Where one term is used instead of the other, this is a reflection of the terminology used by the authors of the original work(s) being discussed.

created an increasing demand for short, intensive preservice training. The original IH course model evolved into the so-called 4-week course, which in the late 1970s became the blueprint for the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) scheme of initial TEFL training, popularly known as the "Prep Cert" or simply the "RSA", and subsequently updated (as CTEFLA and CELTA) under the administration of what is now known as Cambridge English. LA continues to have a centrally important prescribed role in courses leading to this certificate wherever they are taught.

Much of the early published work relating to the language awareness of teachers seemed to focus primarily on teachers' knowledge about grammar, either on enhancing that knowledge (in the case of teaching materials) or on analyzing and measuring such knowledge. In the TEFL/TESL field, for example, a number of LA materials targeted mainly at teachers have been published in the past 35 years, the first being Bolitho and Tomlinson's (1980) pioneering work *Discover English*. In the main, these materials (see also, e.g., Thornbury 1997) use data-based language analysis tasks to promote a growing understanding of the way language (particularly grammar) is used. However, rather than attempting to transmit KAL, they employ a consciousness-raising approach.

Most of the early research on teachers' KAL or TLA involved primary teachers, L1 teachers, and teachers of modern foreign languages in the UK. These studies generally sought to measure aspects of teachers' KAL, and to find out about their understandings of KAL, rather than to examine the effects of their KAL on pedagogical practice. Research in EFL/ESL from the same period typically has a similar orientation, without necessarily employing the KAL terminology.

Major Contributions

The first major research focusing on KAL (TLA) in the classroom was the Southampton KAL project (1991–1993), which looked at the beliefs and classroom practices of UK L1 and L2 teachers in relation to five dimensions of KAL: language as system, language learning and development, styles and genres of language, social and regional variation, and language change through time (Brumfit et al. 1996). The research suggests that, among the teachers studied, there were distinctive subject-specific approaches to KAL: the L1 teachers focused mainly on whole texts, while the L2 teachers worked on language as system, in the belief that such activity would contribute to the development of learners' target language proficiency.

Brumfit et al. (1996) conclude that a long-term program of research is needed to explore the basis for teachers' beliefs about the merits or otherwise of different kinds of KAL in classroom language development. Alderson (1997) expresses skepticism about the value of giving language teachers ". . . a good dose of current linguistics" (Alderson 1997, p. 11), which he sees as a common assumption of the LA movement. According to Alderson, what we need instead are more studies of the implicit and explicit models of language that already exist among teachers and learners. Much of the TLA-related research in the past 20 years has sought to shed light on the

beliefs and models of language that underlie language teachers' practices (see, e.g., the studies reviewed by Borg (2006), including his own).

An early major contribution to thinking about TLA was made by Edge (1988) in a short paper in which he outlines the three competences that the TEFL trainee needs to develop: language *user*, dependent on the teacher's language proficiency and determining that teacher's adequacy as a model for students; language *analyst*, dependent on the teacher's language systems knowledge base and referring to the ability to understand the workings of the target language; and language *teacher*, dependent on familiarity with a range of TEFL procedures and possession of sufficient theoretical knowledge to make appropriate decisions about using those procedures.

TLA has obvious connections with the second of these competences, but it is much more than just subject knowledge about the language systems. Andrews (2007) emphasizes the importance of distinguishing the two dimensions of TLA (knowledge being the declarative dimension and awareness the procedural), noting that the teacher's possession of a high level of subject-matter knowledge is no guarantee that such knowledge will be used appropriately in the classroom: just as there are teachers who have knowledge but lack awareness (i.e., the sensitivity to use that knowledge appropriately), so there are others who have awareness but whose attempts to engage with content-related issues are undermined by a lack of knowledge.

In teaching, Edge's three competences are interconnected, as Wright and Bolitho point out in a series of papers about LA in English language teacher education (see, e.g., Wright and Bolitho 1993). Wright and Bolitho (1993) outline a methodological framework for LA activities, based on the linkage between Edge's three competences. However, they do not equate LA to the adequacy of any particular model of language: rather than delivering predigested answers, they see the goal of LA work on teacher development courses as being to enhance participants' sensitivity to the richness, complexity, and diversity of language by promoting reflection on their existing understandings. Borg (1994) explores the implications of such an approach for teachers and teacher training, arguing that a reflexive training methodology is an effective way to develop in teachers the kinds of awareness that LA as methodology presumes.

The significance of the interrelationships between Edge's three competences continues to preoccupy researchers and teacher educators involved with TLA. Andrews (2007), for example, explores a number of aspects of TLA in teaching and learning, including the intertwining of language proficiency (knowledge *of* language) and subject-matter knowledge (knowledge *about* language – the declarative dimension of TLA), as well as the relationship between TLA and pedagogical content knowledge, one of the generic teacher knowledge categories proposed by Shulman (1987) as a central part of the professional knowledge base for teaching. Andrews (2007) highlights the potentially crucial impact of TLA on teachers' mediation of input or affordances for learning.

Although they do not refer explicitly to TLA, Johnston and Goettsch (2000) also draw on Shulman's (1987) model in their investigation of the knowledge base of

language teaching as exemplified in the grammar explanations of four experienced ESL teachers in the USA. Their research highlights the importance in ESL teaching (at least for the teachers in their study) of knowledge about grammar, the complex interrelationship in practice of the different elements of teacher knowledge, and the "… situated, process-oriented, contextualized nature of the [ESL teacher's] knowledge base" (Johnston and Goettsch 2000, pp. 464–465).

Tsui, in her groundbreaking study of expertise in language teaching, also emphasizes the situated nature of teacher knowledge and what she describes as the dialectical relationship between teachers' knowledge and their world of practice (2003, p. 64). Tsui does not refer directly to TLA, but her study has considerable implications for those seeking to understand the field, not least in her analysis of the knowledge embedded in her four case study teachers' enactment of the grammar area of their ESL/EFL curriculum.

Tsui emphasizes the overlap between knowledge and beliefs, speaking of the powerful influence of conceptions of teaching and learning (i.e., teachers' metaphors, images, beliefs, assumptions, and values) on pedagogical practice (2003, p. 61). Recognition of this overlap links TLA research with studies of teacher cognition in language teaching more generally. The emergence of research in the area of teacher cognition is, according to Johnson (2006), the most significant factor over the past 40 years in advancing our understanding of L2 teachers' work (see Borg 2006, for a wide-ranging review of studies of language teacher cognition).

The link between TLA and language teacher cognition is particularly apparent in studies of teacher cognition in grammar teaching. Borg (2006) provides a detailed review of research in this latter area relating to both L1 and L2 classrooms. Among the papers discussed are several of Borg's own, based on the study of EFL teachers in Malta. Each of Borg's papers explores aspects of "… the complex, personalized pedagogical systems which teachers draw on in teaching grammar" (Borg 2006, p. 122), offering insights into teachers' instructional practices when talking about language (including their use of grammar terminology) and the factors shaping those practices, as well as the connections between teachers' knowledge about grammar and their approaches to formal instruction.

Although TLA-related research has tended to focus primarily on grammar, there has been work in other areas. McNeill (2005), for example, focuses on vocabulary, examining teachers' sensitivity to students' language difficulties as revealed in their ability to anticipate the problems learners encounter when exposed to particular texts. Meanwhile, Derwing and Munro (2005) have explored issues relating to teachers' phonological/pronunciation awareness.

Work in Progress

Because TLA is a comparatively new research area, many of the major contributions are inevitably relatively recent, and much of the work in progress is linked to or draws inspiration from studies already mentioned. The volumes edited by Trappes-Lomax and Ferguson (2002) and Bartels (2005) illustrate the increasing interest

worldwide in language teacher education, with both books offering a range of examples of teacher-trainers/applied linguists reflecting on and researching their TLA/KAL practices. The variety of contexts featuring in these books underlines the extent and growth of involvement with TLA and the intellectual engagement with TLA-related issues. Trappes-Lomax and Ferguson (2002) contains papers relating, for instance, to the LA of teachers of ESP and of modern foreign languages, as well as EFL teachers in the UK, Europe, and Asia. Meanwhile, Bartels (2005) includes 21 studies from around the world focusing on different aspects of KAL (the term used by Bartels in preference to TLA), in which the authors examine their own theories about language teachers' knowledge and language teachers' learning, and the use of KAL in preservice and in-service teacher training. The breadth of focus in the Bartels volume is indicative of the vitality of this area, with the reported research focusing not only on grammar and lexis but also on phonetics and phonology, discourse analysis, and pragmatics. Although the majority of the studies concern EFL/ESL, there are also papers dealing with the preparation of teachers of L1 English, as well as L2 Spanish and Chinese.

Bartels (2009) discusses what kind of KAL (TLA) teachers need in the classroom. The author reviews the research evidence and suggests that KAL needs to be implicit and "organized around the activities typical of L2 instruction" (p. 127); to help student teachers to translate academic knowledge into practices that help learners, teacher education activities should include elements as similar as possible to the students' future classroom environment.

Meanwhile, Andrews (2007, pp. 200–204) explores the issue of professional standards in TEFL, with specific reference to subject-matter knowledge, arguing that professionalism for teachers of EFL entails the possession of adequate knowledge *of* the language (language proficiency), adequate knowledge *about* the language (content knowledge: the declarative dimension of TLA), and the ability to make effective use of such knowledge in pedagogical practice (procedural TLA).

The measurement of aspects of teachers' language awareness, whether or not linked to standard setting, has formed part of TLA-related research for some time and is an ongoing concern for practitioners. In the TEFL context, for example, centers offering preservice training courses have commonly used LA tests to screen applicants, while subject knowledge is a major part of one module of the "Teaching Knowledge Test" offered by Cambridge English since 2005 as a basic level qualification for EFL/ESL teachers worldwide. One particularly interesting strand of measurement-focused TLA research has investigated the predictive value of LA tests. Morris (2003), for example, examines the correlations between different forms of linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge and the academic performance and progress of two groups of TESL undergraduates. The study provides confirmation of the predictive value of vocabulary profiles, as suggested by earlier phases of the investigation, and finds metalinguistic knowledge (as measured by results on a grammar explanation task) to be an especially good predictor of academic performance.

An area just starting to attract attention from researchers is teachers' grammar explanations, an example of transfer of academic knowledge into the classroom.

Teachers have a number of decisions to make, including whether to explain, when, and how. Sanchez and Borg (2014) found contextual factors to have a profound impact on the grammar explanations of experienced teachers.

A noticeable characteristic of a much current TLA-related research is that it is pushing back the boundaries of what has hitherto been treated as TLA. As a result, it obliges us to reexamine what we mean by TLA and to reflect on the usefulness of TLA as anything more than a rather loose umbrella term, given the complexity of the language teacher's language-related cognitions to which the label refers and of their interaction with other domains of teacher cognition. Walsh (2003), for example, suggests that teachers' enhanced understanding of interactional processes can facilitate learner involvement and increase opportunities for learning, leading him to argue that a crucial component of the TLA of L2 teachers is their interactional awareness. Meanwhile, Song (2005) proposes that the conceptualization of TLA should be broadened to include awareness of medium of instruction (MOI) choices in the language class. Song argues that, in L2 classes where the students and teacher share the same L1, TLA concerning the role of MOI potentially plays a crucial role in pedagogical decision-making.

An important new area of research and practice focuses on TLA in relation to Language Across the Curriculum (LAC) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). According to Lin (2016), in LAC/CLIL contexts, both language teachers and content teachers need heightened metalinguistic awareness of how linguistic patterns are mobilized to achieve academic functions in academic genres. Lin argues that further research is needed into the academic LA of such teachers: both how to raise it and into the impact of its enhancement on students' own academic LA.

Problems and Challenges

The previous section has noted the growth in TLA-related research activity. At the same time, however, TLA is still a comparatively new focal area of research within the larger domain of language teacher cognition. As a result, it faces a number of the challenges that might confront any research area at a similar stage of development:

(a) Although there is a considerable and ever-growing body of research relating to this rather loosely defined area that some refer to as TLA, there is at present no unifying conceptual framework. The relationship between language teachers' subject-matter cognitions and other aspects of their cognition and practice is clearly very complex, as is that between TLA and language proficiency. Further work is needed both to develop a conceptual framework and to explore these relationships.

(b) There is also a lack of a common language in the literature relating to this area. Andrews, for example, uses both teacher metalinguistic awareness (TMA) and TLA to refer to the same aspect of teacher cognition. Meanwhile, Borg does not

use either term, although his 1994 paper refers to teachers' awareness of language and the need for teachers to be linguistically aware.

Within the restricted focal area of language teachers' subject-matter cognitions, there are ongoing challenges for those involved with TLA, either as researchers or as teacher-trainers. One such challenge concerns the interconnection between the declarative and procedural dimensions of TLA. In TLA-related research, this has been explored to some extent, but there is clearly a need for further investigation, particularly of the factors that seem to impact positively and negatively on the language-related pedagogical decisions (i.e., the procedural dimension of LA) of teachers in various contexts and of the congruence (or otherwise) between their language-related beliefs and actions. Meanwhile, in teacher development, this interface between declarative and procedural TLA, the creation of the "... shift from new knowledge to classroom reality" (Wright 2002, p. 128), which represents the vital stage in the LA learning cycle, continues to challenge both trainers and trainees. As Wright (2002) acknowledges, the LA materials published up to now have not always succeeded in making the link required to promote knowledge transfer.

For researchers, exploring the relationship between teachers' language awareness and students' learning outcomes also poses particular challenges. It is an article of faith among those involved in TLA that "the more aware a teacher is of language and how it works, the better" (Wright and Bolitho 1993, p. 292), the implication being that learners are likely to benefit from being taught by a language-aware teacher or conversely suffer at the hands of the teacher who lacks such awareness. There is, however, little or no empirical evidence for such an assumption: for all we currently know, language learning may (or may not) take place regardless of any teacher's language awareness. Borg (2006, p. 134) makes a similar observation when he points to the lack of research into the effect on language learning of teacher cognitions developed in teacher education. Longitudinal research would be required to address this gap. The second half of Borg (2006) provides an interesting overview of methods in teacher cognition research. The methodological challenges for researchers seeking to shed light on the nature of the relationship between TLA and the quality of the learning that takes place as a result of formal instruction are formidable, given the complex interplay of potential influences on learning. They are nevertheless challenges that need to be confronted, particularly in light of a conceptualization of TLA that incorporates an awareness of the learner's developing interlanguage.

Future Directions

According to Freeman (2002), the meeting of teacher and student views of language that takes place in the language classroom sets up the possibility of three potentially conflicting levels of subject-matter representation: the teacher's linguistic knowledge, the students' language background, and the classroom language interactions. Those involved with TLA would probably argue that the language-aware teacher

possesses the understanding and sensitivity to resolve any such conflicts. However, the exploration of those views of language, of the classroom consequences as they potentially come into conflict, and of the qualities teachers need to handle such conflicts is likely to continue to occupy the attention of TLA researchers, while fostering teachers' language-related understandings and sensitivities will continue to be a primary goal for LA-focused professional development work with teachers.

As the present chapter has shown, there is a growing body of TLA-related research. The area is nevertheless still under-researched, and there is scope for a wide variety of research activity focusing on aspects of language teacher cognitions about subject matter, as well as on the interface between Freeman's (2002) three levels of subject-matter representation and the interaction between TLA and other domains of teacher knowledge. Key issues for further research in this area include the role of subject-matter knowledge in L2 teaching, the nature of the knowledge that L2 teachers need about language in general and the target language in particular in order to teach, and the amount and type of subject-matter knowledge needed to teach different types of learner at different stages of their learning.

Future research will need to be informed by the shift in views of teachers' subject-matter knowledge resulting from new conceptions of grammar. A functional perspective is gaining ground of grammar as a complex dynamic system, driven by users' purposeful choices in social contexts (Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2009). Grammar, in this view, is creative and only partly predictable. This has implications for grammar instruction in language teacher education, which is increasingly likely to deal with text level grammar and authentic language use, including its social context, and to take an inquiry-based approach. Johnson (2009) argues that language teacher education needs to develop teachers' awareness of language as social practice. Knowledge emerging from such an approach is not easily measured at a particular point in time, but could lend itself to longitudinal or case study research (for an example, see Svalberg and Askham 2014).

In addition to the research issues mentioned above, and the questions of the relationship between declarative and procedural TLA, of the transfer of knowledge from the declarative to the procedural, and of the impact of TLA on learners and learning, there are a number of other issues that would be valuable foci for future TLA-related research. These include comparisons of the TLA of native-speaker and nonnative-speaker (NNS) L2 teachers (the papers in Llurda 2005, reflect the growing interest in the characteristics and competences of the NNS L2 teacher), influences upon the development of TLA (including professional training), teachers' awareness of aspects of the language systems apart from grammar, factors affecting the impact of TLA on pedagogical practice, and ways in which TLA might best be developed (focusing in particular on the procedural dimension and the issue of knowledge transfer).

Future research into the development of TLA and its subsequent effect on practice is likely to focus on identity and affective issues (as well as subject-matter knowledge). A wide range of qualitative methods are available, many of them demonstrated in Barnard and Burns (2012) by international case studies. Such TLA research could draw on insights from a longitudinal ethnographic study by

Kubanyiova ([2012]) into language teachers' cognitive change. In what she calls "an anatomy of failure," the researcher analyzes in great depth why the teaching of eight Slovak teachers remained largely unaffected by the teacher training course in which they participated (sometimes enthusiastically). Metaphors encapsulate the developmental paths followed by the teachers, such as the "nice-but-not-for-me" route and the fear of failure or "nice-but-too scary" route. By embracing the complex dynamic nature of cognitive change, Kubanyiova achieves in-depth characterizations and understanding. Actual and possible selves, aspirations and reality, are often in tension and create emotional dissonance, an essential but insufficient condition for conceptual change according to the author. Research drawing on Kubanyiova ([2011]) but with a specific focus on TLA would be welcome.

In the continuing search for improved approaches to TLA development, advances in technology are likely to play a significant role in suggesting and supporting future directions, via the use of corpora, increasingly user-friendly concordancing tools, and improved communication networks. Action research linked to innovative approaches to TLA development represents another exciting avenue for future research related to TLA.

Cross-References

▶ Critical Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Jasmine Luk: Classroom Discourse and the Construction of Learner and Teacher Identities. In Volume: Discourse and Education
Klaus Brandl: Task-Based Instruction and Teacher Training. In Volume: Second and Foreign Language Education
Manka M. Varghese and I-Chen Huang: Language Teacher Research Methods. In Volume: Research Methods in Language and Education
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Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Durk Gorter and Jasone Cenoz

Abstract

In this chapter, an overview will be provided of the recently emerged field of linguistic landscape studies. Even if this topic has its origins dating back over 40 years, its major development has taken place during the last 10 years. A number of edited books bring together major contributions to the field. Researchers from all over the world have investigated linguistic landscapes in mainly urban environments. The study of linguistic landscapes is multidisciplinary and researchers come from different backgrounds such as sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, linguistics, communication studies, sociology, economics, social geography, landscape architecture, psychology, education, and other disciplines. Important and recurring themes are the spread of English, language policy, and second language acquisition. The field is characterized by a beginning of theoretical development based on existing theories and methodological issues such as the unit of analysis and the dynamic nature of signage. Technological innovations and other external factors including globalization, immigration, the revitalization of minority languages, and tourism will influence the development of linguistic landscape studies in relation to multilingualism. The studies become most meaningful when they concern conflict and contact between languages or social change. Linguistic landscape research can be conceived of as a subfield of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, or language policy.

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Contents

Introduction

Linguistic landscapes are around us all the time and we can see language signs on the streets, inside shops, on government buildings, banks, schools, etc. The highest density of signs can be found in urban centers, in particular in the main shopping streets and in commercial areas. Sometimes texts have only one language, but often there are two or more languages. One wonders are the passers-by more than vaguely aware of the language they observe on street signs, billboards, graffiti, or posters? One can impossibly read all the signs but at least parts of the texts will be noticed (Fig. 1).

Nowadays, with an increasing predominance of visual information there are more signs than ever before. Taking a look at pictures of shopping streets of 100 years ago it is obvious that the number of linguistic signs has increased enormously. In ancient times in some places the linguistic landscape was already filled with more than one language, but today it is hard to find a pure monolingual linguistic landscape because of the spread of international brand names or slogans and the spread of English in non-English speaking countries.

The study of linguistic landscapes focuses on any display of visible written language, but not exclusively, also multimodal, semiotic, other visual, and even oral elements can be included. This chapter summarizes the main findings in this emerging field, work in progress, and some future directions. The study of the linguistic landscape can, among others, provide important insights and a different perspective on language awareness and multilingualism.

Early Developments

The interest in the study of signs has a long tradition in semiotics but the specific study of the linguistic landscape in its own right is a relatively recent development. This increasing interest is shown in a large number of publications.

Fig. 1 Multitude of signage

The use of different languages on public signs has been regulated in many areas of the world as part of language policies. Some states, provinces, or cities have developed specific regulations and legal measures to govern the use of languages in the linguistic landscape. A famous case is the Charter of the French Language of 1977, better known as "Bill 101" in Québec. The bill required, among others, that advertising be done in the official language French and that all commercial signs are in French. Later these measures have been relaxed and English or other languages are now acceptable in signs as long as French is markedly predominant.

In one of the first studies of the linguistic landscape, Rosenbaum et al. (1977) analyze language signs, transactions, and interviews in Keren Kayemet Street in Jerusalem. They focus on the spread of English and they identify three categories for language signs: no Roman script, some Roman script but Hebrew script dominant, and Roman and Hebrew script with equal prominence. Approximately one third of the signs belong to each of these three categories and the Roman script corresponds in most cases to the English language. Rosenbaum et al. (1977, p. 151) call the prevalence of English its *snob appeal.*

One of the most quoted early publications is by Landry and Bourhis (1997) because they provide a clear and concise definition:

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

This definition captures the objects of linguistic landscape studies well. However, it is a list of six types of signs, whereas technological developments lead to new sign-types such as electronic flat-panel displays, touch screens, and scrolling banners. The

alternative designation *multilingual cityscape* (Gorter 2006) would often be more precise, because it is in urban settings where the use of languages is most often studied. Linguistic landscapes research wants to add another view about multilingualism by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, regulations, indexicality, or literacy.

An important theoretical incentive for linguistic landscape studies comes from Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003). They call their approach *geosemiotics*: "*the study of social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world*" (Scollon and Scollon-Wong 2003, p. 2). They argue that we can only interpret the meaning of public signs by considering their placement in a social and a cultural context. Meaning is taken from how and where signs are placed, based on general principles of layout. For Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003) the languages on a sign can index the community in which they are used (*geopolitical location*) or they can symbolize an aspect of the product that is not related to the place where it is located (*sociocultural associations*). Thus, a sign in English may not index an English-speaking community but can be used to symbolize foreign taste and manners. Their work provides the theoretical foundation for a number of later studies, for example, Taylor-Leech (2012) or Blommaert (2013).

Major Contributions

There is a growing body of publications, and in this section we will give an overview of the edited collections of linguistic landscape studies because these books contributed to the development of the field in important ways.

The first push to develop linguistic landscapes into a proper field of study was given by a special issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* which subsequently was published as an edited book with six chapters in Gorter (2006). The chapters cover cases from Israel, Bangkok, Tokyo, and a comparison of the Basque Country and Friesland. Even if the studies take different perspectives to the linguistic landscape, they also share a predominately quantitative-distributive approach. The case study about Israel (Ben Rafael et al. 2006) proposes to use existing theoretical sociological perspectives for enrichment of the analysis of *the decorum of the public life* where Hebrew, Arabic, and English are used in different amounts in different localities. An important dimension is the contrast between "top-down" and "bottom-up" signs. The study about *environmental print* in Bangkok, Thailand looks into code-mixing of Thai and English and the influence of the spread of English. Huebner (2006) analyzes different neighborhoods and reports on the use of different languages and scripts including Thai, Roman, Chinese, Arabic, and Japanese. Many signs are examples of highly creative displays of language mixing, innovation, or hybridization. Backhaus' (2006) chapter on multilingualism in signage in Tokyo was followed by a comprehensive monograph, the first on linguistic landscapes (Backhaus 2007). His work reveals a multilingual reality of Tokyo which is not as linguistically homogeneous as is often thought because 20% of all signs are bilingual or multilingual. In his theoretical framework he distinguishes between the

origin of a sign, the reader of a sign, and the dynamics of the languages and scripts in contact. Backhaus also demonstrates that the field of linguistic landscape studies is a valuable new development in the analysis of urban multilingualism. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compare the position of the minority language versus the dominant language in two European regions. They conduct a study of the main shopping streets in the cities of Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain) and Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland (The Netherlands). They find that 55% of the signs in Donostia-San Sebastian and 44% of the signs in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden are bilingual or multilingual.

A major contribution to the field comes from the 21 chapters in Shohamy and Gorter (2009). The collection demonstrates the potential of the study of linguistic landscapes from different theoretical perspectives, tackling different methodological issues, and analyzing language policies and the theme of identity and awareness. The book also contains chapters that question the definitions and boundaries of the field and provides pointers toward the way forward and extensions of research. The theoretical chapters show the application of a range of academic disciplines such as history, sociology, economy, literacy, linguistics, and (language) ecology. Methodological chapters deal with the authorship of texts on signage, how geographic maps can be drawn of the distribution of languages on signs, and the issue of proper names. Language policy, an important factor in the way linguistic signs are regulated, is approached from an international comparison between Canada and Japan as well as from a local point of view in South-Tyrol, Italy. Other authors deal with a comparison of the state ideologies in three different postcommunist states in Europe and others with the language ideology in a regional capital of Ethiopia, an African state. The chapters on identity and awareness demonstrate the viability of using a linguistic landscape perspective to look into indexicality of language displays, the construction of national identity, and awareness in an educational context and in the area of tourism. It is obvious that this collection has been inspirational for other studies because all these approaches, perspectives, and topics come back in later studies of the linguistic landscape.

Other more recent edited books add to a steady flow of publications that report on linguistic landscapes studies around the globe. The multifaceted collection edited by Shohamy et al. (2010) focuses on the city. In the introduction it is stated *the common interest of all is the understanding that the LL is the scene where the public space is symbolically constructed* (p xi). Among the 19 chapters some deal with multilingual practices in urban spaces and several authors have in common that they address top-down flows of linguistic landscape items which demonstrate the power of authorities in such diverse locations as Tel-Aviv (Israel), Bloemfontein (South Africa), Chinatown in Washington, DC (USA), Donostia-San Sebastián (Spain), the regional city of Rezekne (Latvia), and Kyiv (Ukraine). There are also issues of economic or social benefits related to the linguistic landscape, for example, the way fancy names are given to high-value residential complexes in Hong Kong, and the commodification through signage.

As the title of their book makes clear, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) prefer the broader concept *semiotic landscape* as an alternative to linguistic landscape. They

want to move the field forward by adding complexity to existing theories and methodologies. Their book builds on other linguistic landscape studies, and the authors of several of the 14 chapters explore the borders of the field and cross-over into other disciplines such as tourism or urban geography.

Another collection focuses on minority languages in the linguistic landscape (Gorter et al. 2012). In 18 chapters predominately European cases are discussed in order to find ways that the study of linguistic landscape can be of benefit to research on minority languages. Each chapter considers a different instance of minority language policies reflected in the linguistic landscape, in a wide range of contexts which includes the Basque country, Belgium, Catalonia, Finland, France, Italy, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Norway, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, Ukraine, and Wales. In each of the cases, the data from the linguistic landscape clarify the complex interaction of language, society, identity, and power. Some of the main questions revolve around the visibility of minority languages, and how the linguistic landscape can illuminate power relationships between majority and minority groups. By relating the fields of linguistic landscapes and minority languages, the authors take the theoretical thinking on both fields further and make the understanding of the dynamics of minority language use in the public space more profound.

The chapters in the book edited by Hélot et al. (2012) again demonstrate several possibilities for linguistic landscape research. The book itself has a multilingual approach because three of the 20 chapters are in French. All studies point to the complexity of the linguistic landscapes. The signs display languages in dynamic ways and demonstrate the interconnectedness of different societal levels. The investigation of the linguistic landscape serves to make better explanations of multilingual processes in local and global contexts, whether it is signage in Brussels, which is the focus of three chapters, or a survey of Italian around the world.

The six edited collections mentioned above provide evidence to the steady progress researchers make in an increasing number of investigations across all continents. Also innumerous individual journal articles are published, which are included in the growing online bibliography (www.zotero.org/groups/linguistic_landscape_bibliography). As of 2015, a dedicated journal *Linguistic Landscape* has started to be published.

A recent innovative and important contribution is a short monograph by Blommaert (2013). Based on the study of his own neighborhood in Antwerp, he argues a strong case for linguistic landscape studies in the format of microscopic and detailed investigations to *bring out its full descriptive and explanatory potential* (Blommaert 2013, p. 16). He takes among others geosemiotics as a central point of departure and as he emphasizes "according to GS [geosemiotics], a better comprehension of the socio-cultural meaning of language material requires ethnographic understanding rather than numbers, and that signs are necessarily addressed as multimodal objects rather than as linguistic ones" (Blommaert 2013, p. 41). He believes that work on linguistic landscapes "can make the whole of sociolinguistics better, more useful, more comprehensive and more persuasive, and to offer some relevant things to other disciplines in addition" (Blommaert 2013, p. 4).

It seems obvious that the study of the linguistic landscape can result in reflections on the core issues of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Yet, the diversity of approaches and disciplinary backgrounds of researchers also has to be seen as an inherent feature and a richness of the field. Its heterogeneousness can lead to innovative ideas about language policy, literacy, pragmatics, minority languages, or multilingualism.

Work in Progress

The study of the linguistic landscape can be approached from different perspectives and is related to different disciplines: linguistics, communication studies, sociology, economics, social geography, landscape architecture, psychology, and education. Most studies have taken an applied linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective on linguistic landscapes but other work uses other approaches as well. Some of the main themes treated in current studies will be presented here.

The spread of English was already a major theme in the early study by Rosenbaum et al. (1977), in many other later studies, and it continues to attract attention. English is often associated with modernity, internationalism, or technological advancement or what Rosenbaum et al. (1977) called *snob appeal*. Along with other languages, English is present in multilingual and multimodal texts which display soft boundaries between languages and between modes (Cenoz and Gorter 2008). Other reasons to use English may be creative-linguistic or related to the possibility to use English as a lingua franca across many countries; in both cases it is related to multilingual phenomena.

The linguistic landscape also has a historical dimension because it is dynamic and changes over time, and it thus can inform us about the use of different languages through history. Pavlenko (2010) presents a remarkable example when she examines long-term changes in the visual landscape of Kyiv, Ukraine. She manages to write a sociolinguistic history from the ninth to the twenty-first century based on a corpus of pictures with traces of past linguistic landscapes on frescoes, coins, manuscripts, and photographs from the nineteenth century onward, including her own pictures of recent changes in signage. Her overview of a thousand-year-old tradition of multilingualism demonstrates the value of a diachronic approach.

Language policy is another recurring theme because authorities often include signage as a target of their policies. Spolsky (2009) incorporates the study of "public verbal signs" into his general theory of language management. For him "the study of verbal signs in public spaces has, over the past 40 years, proved its worth as a tool exploring and characterizing the multiliterate ecology of cities" (Spolsky 2009, p. 75). Linguistic landscape items are mechanisms of language policy that can perpetuate ideologies and the status of certain languages and not others. For example, language activists in many minority regions of Europe often paint over signs with the "wrong" names. It signals to passers-by a struggle over language rights (Aiestaran et al. 2010). The conflict may be not only over which place names to use but also about the prominence and the position of the languages on the signs.

A second language acquisition (SLA) perspective is taken by Gorter and Cenoz (2008). Their basic question is "What is the role of the linguistic landscape as an additional source of language input in SLA?" The languages of the signs influence second language learners' perception of the status of the languages and affect their linguistic behavior. Parts of the linguistic landscape can have an influence on their knowledge about language and language use. These ideas can also be applied in a school context (Dressler 2015).

In the case of education, the signage can be related to issues of second or third language acquisition or language awareness, but as these studies demonstrate, questions about the functions of signs, multilingual literacy, or multilingual competence can also be investigated. The aim of Dagenais et al. (2009) is to document the literacy practices of elementary school children when they examine multilingualism and language diversity in their communities in Vancouver and Montreal. Clemente et al. (2012) follow that example in a project called "learning to read the world, learning to read the linguistic landscape" (p. 268) where they apply a similar didactic strategy in a Portuguese primary school.

The linguistic landscape in an educational context provides thus a promising way to teach about multilingualism, language awareness, and literacy practices. A related promising direction in linguistic landscape studies are investigations of semipublic institutional contexts, such as government buildings, libraries, museums, and hospitals (Fig. 2).

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, linguistic landscapes are approached from many different perspectives and are related to different disciplines. Important work is also done on issues surrounding ownership (of signs, of languages, e.g., Laitinen 2014), on indexing modernity in relationship to power and authority (e.g., Lanza and Woldemariam 2014).
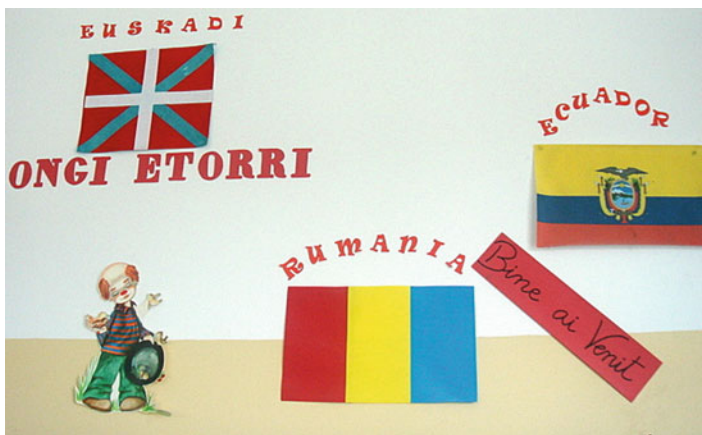
Fig. 2 Awareness raising through multilingual linguistic landscapes

Problems and Difficulties

The study of the linguistic landscape as a recent area of interest faces some problems and difficulties both at the theoretical and methodological levels.

Theoretical development of linguistic landscape studies can take advantage from the application of existing theoretical concepts of different disciplines. Ben Rafael (2009) uses sociological notions put forward by theorists such as Boudon, Bourdieu, and Goffman and applies them to linguistic landscape. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory is the point of departure for Landry and Bourhis (1997) and others, e.g., Kasanga (2012) continue in that tradition. Goffman's frame analysis is applied by Coupland and Garrett (2010) in their analysis of the Welsh in Patagonia and also by others. Stroud and Mpendukana (2010) address theoretical dimensions of multilingual mobility and the multimodal representation of languages in South Africa, and they inspired Blommaert's (2013) ethnographic framework. The field started from varying theoretical premises and has gone in different directions, but there is still a lot of work to be done at the theoretical level.

There are also several methodological issues. Research draws on available methods in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and other disciplines. The typical method of collecting and interpreting digital photographs is its main innovation.

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) discuss how counting of signs is not unproblematic because decisions have to be made about what constitutes a sign and what is the unit of analysis. They decided to count all visible signs, large and small. A shop front is one unit, but an individual street sign or a poster is one unit as well. In contrast, Backhaus (2007) in Tokyo counted only signs that contained more than one language and were texts in a definable frame. Criteria have to be established which improve the representativity of the signs, although some degree of arbitrariness cannot be avoided.

The unit of analysis is a complex issue. Large numbers of language signs side by side can make it difficult to decide what each individual sign is. Are all the linguistic items in a shop window part of "one" sign or should they be considered separately? What about other ads, graffiti, or posters next to the shop window? Can a whole street be considered a unit of analysis? There are indeed advantages and disadvantages with each of these choices. Decisions regarding the unit of analysis are important because it is a crucial methodological issue to allow for comparability between studies.

Another problem is that the dynamic nature of signage. Some signs are fixed for many years but others change over time and in some cases from 1 day to the next or from 1 minute to the next. Moving signs on buses, t-shirts, or thrown away wrappers are also part of the linguistic landscape but are not usually included in studies. Its dynamic nature poses a challenge to the study of the linguistic landscape.

A quantitative-distributive approach is followed by several researchers, but Macalister (2010) criticizes the quantitative approach and at the same time shows its usefulness in his analysis of linguistic landscape of New Zealand. A more qualitative approach was chosen in other studies. For example, Malinowski (2009) interviews Korean shop-owners to interpret the store's signs in order to figure out

issues about authorship and the use of Korean, English, or both. Several scholars purposefully combine research methods. Mitchell (2010) triangulates different methods when he combines discourse analysis of a newspaper clipping, the languages overheard being spoken on the street, and a quantitative investigation of the signage. In one neighborhood of Pittsburg, Mitchell finds a predominantly monolingual linguistic landscape (96.5% English only signs) and a similar "soundscape" (80.7% of the people spoke English). Still, that same landscape has given rise to a newspaper report with metaphors of "invasion" and "flood" to represent a "discourse of fear about Latino immigrants" (Mitchell 2010, p. 169). Often results of such studies are based on a relatively small numbers of nonrandom and selective empirical data. This can heuristically be important but it can also be a weakness because replication and generalization becomes difficult.

Future Directions

Linguistic landscape studies have been conducted for many years, but in recent years there was an important development and a huge increase in the number of publications. The studies we discussed in this chapter prove that research on linguistic landscape does contribute to knowledge about multilingualism in different ways. Among others, they can give us insights on the spread of English and its relationship to multilingualism, the effect of language policy on public space, the development and visibility of minority languages, or language awareness among school children. In the future, researchers will continue to make contributions to our further knowledge of the use of written languages in public spaces. Recent overviews of the field of linguistic landscape studies can be found in Gorter (2013) and Shohamy (2012).

Several innovations in the way language is on display in public spaces will urge researchers to adapt their studies of language signs and this will result in further shifts of theoretical approaches and methods as the field is moving forward. An example of new technology is augmented reality (AR), that is, viewing digital information which is superimposed or augmented onto a live view of your physical surroundings. Augmented reality is common in sports television broadcasts where different sideboard advertisements are displayed for different audiences and also to superimpose digital lines on a playing field. It is also possible to display products in different languages for different costumers, so the overlays of the real world with digital data can change the perception and experience of the linguistic landscape. It is even possible that a multilingual cityscape turns into a monolingual version of the language you prefer to read, which creates at most "parallel multilingualism" and at first be developed most likely mainly for English and a few other "big" languages. These technologies raise a multitude of new questions about societal multilingualism that deserve further study.

Technology thus has an important influence, and inventions like interactive digital advertisements, the Internet, text messaging, augmented reality, and so on are both a challenge and an opportunity for linguistic landscape studies. Linguistic landscapes are to some degree static and thus make it possible to analyze historical

social changes in the signs. Video displays are more dynamic and fluid and are a challenge to analyze how those contribute to the multilingual make up of linguistic landscapes.

Linguistic landscapes can be places where linguistic diversity is on display but also contested. Some language groups have more access to their language being written in public sphere than others; majority languages dominate and some minority languages struggle for visibility (Gorter et al. 2012). The linguistic landscape reflects the power relationships between languages and language groups. The regulation of the linguistic landscape will remain an important issue, not only in terms of which languages are used but also because of moral, ethical, and legal dimensions.

The study of the linguistic landscapes has added an innovative and captivating approach to the mapping of language diversity and multilingualism in urban settings. A future challenge will be to use empirical studies to test theoretical ideas rather than provide descriptive or analytic accounts that more or less illustrate theoretical ideas. More thought should go into what the signs mean, what they do, and how they influence the use of written and spoken languages in people's lives.

The field of linguistic landscape studies is still in an early stage of theoretical and methodological development but it should be the aim of researchers to make studies replicable and to make results verifiable by other researchers. In many cases there seems to be a need for a more rigorous research approach.

Investigations of how languages function in signage are based on diverse theoretical and methodological approaches. Disciplinary diversity characterizes the field of linguistic landscape studies, and its results offer fresh sociolinguistic perspectives on issues such as urban multilingualism, globalization, minority languages, and language policy. Studies on the linguistic landscape conducted around the world suggest a great variety in language use, and the studies contribute to a better understanding of multilingualism.

Cross-References

▶ English as a Lingua Franca and Multilingualism
▶ Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism
▶ Language Awareness and Minority Languages
▶ Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Kasper Juffermans: Literacy and Multilingualism in Africa. In Volume: Literacies and Language Education

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Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education

Christine Hélot

Abstract

In most education systems in the world, the unequal power relationships across languages mean that it is far easier to learn dominant languages and far more difficult to develop one's literacy in a minority language. In the face of such inequality in contemporary multilingual primary classrooms, a new conceptualization of language education is required. Following on Hawkins's proposal to develop a new approach he called language awareness (LA), many researchers in Europe and elsewhere have proposed awareness-raising activities aimed at exploring the functioning of language and languages in everyday life through the acknowledgment of students' plurilingual repertoires as resources for learning. While not teaching one specific language, LA is meant to promote the emergence of a new linguistic culture in schools that can answer some of the challenges posed by multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Research on LA at primary has pointed to the holistic and inclusive dimension of this model of language education and on the way it can transform the schooling experience of minority speaking students whose linguistic, cultural, and identity capital becomes validated through LA activities. Because LA challenges negative discourses on minority languages and their speakers, it also has an effect on teachers' perception of bi-/multilingualism and can be used in teacher education to develop a critical awareness of power issues related to languages. However, new research is needed to elaborate a more theoretically coherent conceptualization of LA and to find out whether, beyond the empowerment of immigrant learners and their family, such a model can give enough long-term support to emergent bilinguals and minority language speakers.

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Contents

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, different ideologies have begun to emerge regarding language education in primary schools, mainly because of a vast body of research in sociolinguistics which have focused on speakers' uses of language(s) and a better understanding of bi-/multilingual practices. Indeed, in a super-diverse world, educators at all levels (including early childhood education) are becoming aware of the gap between policies and practices when confronted with students speaking a multiplicity of languages which, for the most part, are absent (or excluded) from school curricula.

Awareness raising and multilingualism in primary education have been a subject of inquiry for researchers involved in reconceptualizing language education. They are questioning the paradox of language education models that envisage language learning as separate from learners' own experiences of language. One of their main objectives has been to rethink the links between the language of instruction, foreign language teaching (FLT), and students' home languages. Although if foreign/second languages (FL/SL) are now taught at primary level in most European education systems, classrooms have not become multilingual spaces where a multiplicity of languages are used to learn. Literacy teaching is still implemented through the national/official language, FLs are taught separately from one another, and minority languages remain on the margins of most curricula. Hawkins (1984) in Britain was the first researcher to attempt to bridge these gaps in language education and proposed an alternative model he called "language awareness" (LA).

Since then, in Europe, Canada, Japan, and elsewhere, researchers have proposed a large body of awareness-raising activities which aim is to explore the functioning of language and languages in everyday life. In other words, LA objectives are distinct from those of FLT: students are not meant to learn many languages but to learn *about*

the diversity of languages spoken in the world and to understand multilingualism. Activities focus on attitudes rather than aptitude, on changing representations of multilingualism, and on understanding linguistic and cultural diversity as a human resource, a source of linguistic knowledge as well as of (inter)cultural understanding.

Several questions will be addressed regarding the language awareness (LA) model of language education at primary level:

- How has research developed since the work of Hawkins?
- In which way do LA models accommodate the plurilingual repertoires of a growing number of pupils?
- What kind of content knowledge is developed in LA?
- What is the impact of LA activities on learners and teachers?
- How does LA relate to multilingual education?

Multilingualism in the primary classroom can be discussed from two points of view: from the point of view of the languages known by students and from the point of view of the number of languages offered in the curriculum. In other words, if we acknowledge that all schools today are multilingual because they are attended by children who speak other languages than the language of instruction, we need to look at the kind of language policies (LPs) being fostered: do LPs in education support the languages spoken by bi-/multilingual pupils and/or do they focus on dominant languages only?

While these questions relate to other domains within the larger framework of language education (such as mother tongue education, second language support for curriculum learning, bilingual education, and foreign language education), they are also relevant to the pedagogical framework elaborated within LA approaches in multilingual classrooms. Indeed, the main goal of LA is to support multilingualism both at the institutional and at the individual levels, through educating all pupils together (monolinguals and bi-/multilinguals) to understand linguistic and cultural diversity and through acknowledging all the learners' languages in classroom activities. During LA activities, different languages come into contact with the language of instruction which is no longer the only means of communication and learning. Therefore, bilingual and minority language speakers become aware their home languages give them new affordances at school. Such a pedagogical approach represents a major shift in language practices and policies, as well as in language ideologies, since minority languages share the learning space with the dominant language of instruction and thus acquire some legitimacy within the school context.

Early Developments

The term *language awareness* was first used by Hawkins (1984) who felt that traditional language teaching in Britain was incoherent, that there was a lack of cooperation between teachers of English and other language teachers, as well as

excessive eurocentrism in FLT. At the same time, various state reports had also pointed to major problems in mother tongue and FLT and Hawkins challenged the absence of any investigation into the phenomenon of language itself. He then proposed to develop a "bridging subject" which aims were "to stimulate curiosity about language as the defining characteristics of the 'articulate mammal,' too easily taken for granted, to integrate the different kinds of language teaching met at school, and to help children to make an effective start on their foreign language learning" (Hawkins 1999, p. 413). Throughout the 1980s, many secondary schools in Britain included LA courses in their curriculum, but the advent of the National Curriculum in 1989 put a stop to such courses with the introduction of the "literacy hour" (see also chapter "▶ Knowledge About Language in the Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Curricula" by Cots, this volume; chapter "▶ Language Awareness and Multilingualism: A Historical Overview" by Finkbeiner & White, this volume).

However, the pioneering work of Hawkins (who worked mostly with secondary level students) was of much interest to other researchers in Europe. As early as 1980 in Switzerland, Roulet had proposed a theoretical framework to bridge the gap between the pedagogical approaches used for teaching the school language and those used for the FL (German). His assumption was that pupils needed to be exposed to linguistic diversity if they were to understand how language works and that language didactics should be more integrative. Later on at the University of Grenoble, Dabène (1989) developed two major projects on the role of metalinguistic awareness in FLL and on multilingualism and the learning "problems" of pupils from ethnic minority background.

During the 1990s, several pedagogical projects developed throughout Europe under different denominations: *Begegnung mit Sprachen in der Grundschule* (Haenisch and Thürmann 1994) which was not solely about teaching FLs in the primary but made a point of including migrant languages and cultures. Very attractive pedagogical booklets were published with different languages presented in a parallel way in order to illustrate various themes. In Austria, the "Zentrum für Schulentwicklung" developed a project called *Sprach und Kulturerziehung* with teachers' books and classroom materials. In Switzerland, the COROME project (Perregaux et al 2003) produced elaborate teaching materials for learners aged 4–12 called *Éducation et ouverture aux langues à l'école* (EOLE). In France, Kervran (2006) published three volumes entitled *Les langues du monde au quotidien* for learners aged 3–11. In Quebec, the ELODIL (*Eveil au langage et ouverture à la diversité linguistique*: http://www.elodil.com/) project was started in 2002 and later implemented in British Columbia. In 2010 in Luxembourg, the Ministry of Education published a volume of LA activities for teachers under the title of *Ouverture des langues à l'école*: *compétences plurilingues et pluriculturelles*.

From 1997 till 2001, the European Commission funded the *EVLANG (l'éveil aux langues à l'école primaire)* directed by Candelier (2003, see also chapter "▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy"). The project included approximately 2000 students (aged 10 to 12) in five countries (Austria, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland). EVLANG provided the first wide-scale evaluation of the LA model in the primary sector in Europe. It was then

followed by a further European project called "JALING Janua Linguarum – The Gateway to Languages" carried out in 16 countries under the auspices of the ECML in Graz. Its aims were to disseminate the LA model widely throughout Europe and to integrate activities promoting linguistic and cultural education in the regular curriculum.

Major Contributions

In 1994, Dabène and Coste organized a conference on the notion of LA with colleagues from France, Switzerland, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The contributions published by Moore (1995) dealt with the concept of LA from a theoretical point of view as well as with the difficulties in translating the term *language awareness* in French and German. These researchers did much to define the aims of LA and to explain how different they were from FLT.

The pedagogical activities developed in most of the LA projects mentioned above give an idea of the way LA was conceptualized: it was meant to confront learners with a multiplicity of languages which are not usually taught in schools and eventually to make them aware of linguistic variation and to reflect on the language of instruction. In other words, the aims of LA at primary were defined mostly in terms of developing a new approach to linguistic knowledge while not teaching one specific language. The LA approach was envisaged as promoting the emergence of a new linguistic culture in schools that would answer some of the challenges posed by multilingualism and multiculturalism. Researchers working in the field of LA in primary schools wished to promote a plurilingual approach to language education through content knowledge about language, languages, and multilingualism.

Early on, Dabène (1989) insisted on a further dimension of LA which she saw as having a "welcoming" function, through the inclusion in pedagogical activities of the learners' languages. Pupils should not only be introduced to the very diversified world of languages but also to the diversity of their own language(s) and repertoires. This meant that the languages of children from ethnic minority backgrounds could be included in LA activities and could become legitimated in the classroom. This social dimension of LA is central to the approach because as Byram (2000, pp. 57–58) argues: "We have to admit that the fact of teaching foreign languages is not enough to guarantee either the development of a multilingual identity or other values such as tolerance, understanding of others and the desire for justice as is often proclaimed as a declaration of intent."

Most researchers interested in LA at primary level (Candelier 2003; Perregaux et al 2003; Hélot and Young 2006; Hélot 2012; Little et al. 2014) tend to follow Hawkins' conceptualization: LA is not a new school discipline but a "bridging" subject which holds three main dimensions: a cognitive dimension developed through reflecting upon language and comparing different languages (including the school language), an affective dimension addressing attitudes such as opening to diversity and difference (similar to intercultural approaches), and a sociocultural dimension aiming at developing a form of plurilingual socialization.

One of the advantages of LA activities in multilingual classrooms resides in the inclusive nature of the selection of languages used: it becomes possible to include all the languages or varieties of languages spoken by learners in a class. In other words, all languages can be used as example of linguistic phenomena to be studied, and minority languages become part of the language ecology of the classroom. As explained above, the aims of LA activities are to make learners aware that people speak different languages and this diversity is a source of knowledge to understand the world we live in. In this sense LA is meant to transform teachers and learners' representations of individual and societal multilingualism.

Hélot and Young (2006) have insisted on another outcome of LA activities: the opportunity it gives to (emergent) bilingual learners to see their bilingualism valued at school. Because LA activities are based on the learners' repertoire, they showcase children's linguistic competence even when their home languages are minority languages. Thus, relationships of power between dominant and dominated languages can be transformed, and new representations of bilingualism can emerge for learners and teachers. Because LA activities are not focused on native speaker ability (still implicit in FLL) but rather on speakers' experiences with languages, competence is not the main focus of pedagogical activities. More importantly, through discussion and reflection on languages, teachers and their students begin to understand the social role of language and that different languages work as resources for the speakers who know them.

Pedagogically, LA activities are usually task based, centered on comparative information on the functioning of different languages and cultures with exercises meant to develop metalinguistic reflection within a larger framework than just one or two languages. Thus, the approach can be described as translinguistic; it can also be cross-curricular when the linguistic activities relate to other school subjects such as history, geography, music, art, literacy, etc. These activities usually include multilingual materials to help pupils reflect upon the relationship between languages and cultures, history of languages, language borrowing, links between oral and written forms of language, different writing systems, language acquisition, bilingualism and plurilingualism in the world, etc.

Hélot and Young (2006) carried out an ethnographic and longitudinal study of a LA project run from 2000 till 2004 in a primary school in Southern Alsace (Didenheim, France). This project was different from EVLANG or EOLE: it was a bottom-up project developed by the teachers themselves, in order to tackle an increasing number of racist incidents in the school as well as a lack of motivation for the learning of German as a FL. The teachers were unaware of the LA approach and did not have any prior materials at their disposal. They decided on a collaborative approach based on parents' knowledge and experiences of languages and cultures and invited their participation in elaborating pedagogical activities. The teachers' aims were to confront linguistic and cultural differences in a constructive way, to foster more positive attitudes toward ethnic difference, and to develop a better understanding of the role of languages in people's lives.

Each of the 18 different languages presented over 3 years was encountered through the personal testimony of a parent of one of the pupils in the school. The use of the word personal is key here, because by linking language and culture, through the personal, the human, the affective, a greater participation and a better adherence to the objectives of the project were achieved by learners, teachers, and parents. Castellotti and Moore (2002) explain that when children learn a FL at school, they imagine themselves isolated from the FL speakers, and they note that meeting (native) speakers of the language in question helps young learners to understand the function of languages. The heuristic approach allowed the children to ask a lot of questions directly to the parents, not only about language but also about lifestyles and about reasons for migration as well as more controversial questions relating to race and color.

In this project, new learning spaces were opened where young learners were given plenty of opportunities to widen their horizons, to distance themselves from the school language, and to "decenter," i.e., to be able to view one's culture through the eyes of someone who does not belong to the same cultural group. It brings to light the extent to which LA approaches share similar objectives with cross-cultural awareness and intercultural education. Furthermore, LA activities tend to go beyond mere exposure to linguistic diversity to include a social and cultural dimension with a focus on alterity and solidarity beyond difference. For this reason, the danger of tokenism is sometimes invoked in relation to the LA model of language education which, depending on the way difference is understood, could reify the link between language and culture.

Hélot and Young (2006) gave a detailed evaluation of the sociocultural dimension of the LA project in Didenheim. They explained the impact the project had on the learning community as far as changing attitudes toward multilingualism and empowering children and their parents. Concerning learners from ethnolinguistic minorities more specifically, their classroom observations and video films show the effect on children of their family languages being used in class: the children were more engaged in learning activities in general and the teachers noticed the difference, "they started to exist in the class, before they did not really exist" remarked one of the teachers. In other words, the previous silence imposed on bilingual children in relation to their home languages was lifted to give them a new voice and a new identity in class. Teachers also changed their outlook on multilingualism; they became aware of the importance of supporting home languages, whereas before they thought parents should speak French at home. They trusted parents to devise learning resources and were prepared to put themselves in the position of learners alongside their students. In the process they started to bridge the gap between home and school culture: "the walls of the school have come down," commented another teacher.

As exemplified by the Didenheim project, teachers can find themselves confronted to issues of racism and decide to act upon the situation despite the lack of specific training and materials and in the process reinvent a model such as LA. In

the case of teachers who are confronted to isolated bilingual learners in their school, the question of acknowledging their languages will often arise with newcomers who do not speak the school language. In most cases teachers do not speak their students' heritage languages and are left in a pedagogical void, if they haven't been educated to address these complex issues. As stressed by Garcia (2008, p. 385) "the pedagogy of multilingual awareness must be at the core of ALL teacher education programs."

One central question remains however: how is LA conceptualized in the various projects mentioned above? In most of the materials available at present, the pedagogical activities proposed explore linguistic diversity and give visibility to minority languages, but on the whole, they do not open up ways to critically inspect linguistic inequalities and mechanisms of exclusion in education and in society. In the Didenheim project, paradoxically, because the teachers did not have any LA materials and therefore had to rely on the parents' participation, issues of racism and discrimination came to the fore and the children felt they had the freedom to ask critical questions.

Work in Progress

One of the main aims of research on LA has been to develop materials to support teachers to address multilingual issues in their classrooms. In 2006, Hancock et al. published a volume entitled *Building on Language Diversity with Young Children*, which was the outcome of a 2-year Comenius project led by the University of Hannover (Germany). The project targeted teachers in six European countries working with 3–10-year-old pupils and produced pilot courses in each country to support bi-/multilingual learners. The objectives of the course were to raise awareness among student teachers of the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of their schools, to support them to develop a critical awareness of language discrimination and the attitudes underlying it, and to equip them with strategies to maximize the potential of children from ethnic minority backgrounds. The underlying principles of the course were that student teachers should learn to critique the monolingual/monocultural habitus of schools and to model strategies to transform it. The 24-h teacher education module implemented in France at the University of Strasbourg contained many LA activities inspired by the Didenheim project. The evaluation of the project (Mary and Young 2010) showed a major impact on the teachers' representations of multilingualism and on their attitudes toward the necessary support at school of bi-/multilingual learners' home languages.

From 2004 to 2008, the ECML in Graz supported a four-year project called "Across Languages and Cultures" which gave birth to the CARAP, a reference framework for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures, under the direction of Candelier (2012) (see chapter "▸ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy" by Candelier, this volume). In this framework, LA is envisaged as one of the possible approaches leading to plurilingual education and plurilingual awareness. Plurilingual awareness does not actually involve the acquisition of

language skills but focuses on education for linguistic tolerance and motivation for language learning as explained by Beacco (2007: p. 65), "Education for plurilingual awareness, which aims to make people aware of the way the various natural languages function in order to bring about mutual comprehension among the members of a group, may lead to increased motivation and a curiosity about languages that will lead them to develop their own linguistic repertoires."

Concerning the effects of LA on motivation for FLL, the Didenheim evaluation (Hélot and Young 2006) showed that young children did want to learn many languages at secondary school but that most of the languages they mentioned were not part of the curriculum. Therefore the possibilities for developing one's own linguistic repertoire through schooling are constrained by educational LPs which favor a few dominant languages at the expense of the learners' own languages.

A 2012 volume edited by Balsiger et al. regroups over twenty contributions on LA projects implemented with learners and in teacher education in many contexts in the world: Canada, Russia, Switzerland, Portugal, France/La Réunion and New Caledonia, Luxembourg, the Ivory Coast, etc. The diversity of the research contexts shows that many researchers and practitioners are implementing LA approaches to include students' languages in their classroom activities and a wide choice of teaching strategies are described. Particularly interesting are the projects where young students design their own LA activities (e.g., Combes et al. 2012 in Montreal). In another project carried out in Montreal and Vancouver (Dagenais et al. 2009), elementary school children were asked to gather data on the linguistic landscape (LL) around their schools. In this research, the LL provided a pedagogical framework to ground LA activities in the environment of learners and, beyond the documentation of their literacy practices, the objectives were to raise the students' critical awareness of power issues related to language.

In Scotland, Hancock (2012) also used the LL as a heuristic to engage student teachers with issues of linguistic and cultural diversity. The latter were asked to photograph the LL near the schools where they did their teaching practice and to reflect upon the languages used in the community. Interestingly, Hancock's analysis shows that the student teachers interpreted the LL from a variety of perspectives, which he characterized as avoidance, acceptance, and awareness. In other words, some student teachers did not see the languages displayed as a sociolinguistic reality that concerns schools. Whatever the reasons for such attitudes, Hancock's research illustrates the gap in the language education of teachers in relation to societal and individual multilingualism. It argues for LA activities to be conceptualized in relation to understanding the unequal power balance between different languages and the various ways in which children experience it in their everyday life and at school, specifically when they speak minority languages.

The edited volume by Little et al. (2014) should also be mentioned here as it gives many examples in different parts of the world of innovative pedagogies to develop plurilingual awareness among newcomers and indigenous students and to support the transfer of plurilingual competence into linguistic capital.

Problems and Difficulties

This is one of the main difficulties regarding innovative approaches like LA: what kind of knowledge should be developed to understand societal multilingualism? What do we know about the content knowledge acquired by learners who are exposed to LA activities? How does one evaluate such knowledge? So far, the only evaluation report available was carried out by the members of the EVLANG project (Genelot 2001). The 800-page report shows a rather limited impact on metalinguistic aptitudes, no positive effect on L1 competence, and only pupils who were part of the long program (40 h) improved their oral discrimination and memorization of nonfamiliar languages. Concerning motivation to learn FLs, the results were contrasted but on the whole in France and Spain, the desire to learn minority languages grew, while interest in dominant languages diminished. As to attitudes toward linguistic and cultural diversity, not surprisingly, the pupils who had taken part in the EVLANG project were more open and curious than their peers who had not. Furthermore, the pupils who showed the greatest motivation were the ones coming from a plurilingual family background. Perhaps the most interesting result of this evaluation is to be found in the fact that the EVLANG activities had more positive benefits for low-achieving pupils. Finally, the results show a clear link between positive effects and the length of the program: Genelot concludes that a LA curriculum should last a minimum of 40 h if it is to have any impact on the learners. Such a statement begs the practical question of the inclusion of LA in the regular curriculum, alongside other school subjects or through a cross-curricular approach.

Some school disciplines lend themselves particularly well to the LA approach, such as citizenship education, music, arts, geography, and of course literacy. But literacy acquisition can also be envisaged from a multilingual point of view through the use of multilingual children's literature. Getting young learners to read dual-language books, or books in their L1, supports their emergent bilingualism and exposes all learners to languages other than their own. Such books also provide teachers who do not know these languages with multilingual materials, and parents' participation can be called upon to read stories in different languages. Hélot et al. (2014) recent volume on children's literature in multilingual classrooms gives many examples of multilingual multimodal approaches to literacy that support the development of learners' plurilingual repertoires. Some of the strategies described, such as the contrastive analysis of texts written in two different languages, involve metalinguistic processes similar to those proposed in LA activities. The difference, however, is that dual-language books enable children to learn to read in both their languages and thus support biliteracy acquisition.

Integrating LA activities across the curriculum therefore raises the question of how far do the languages included in teaching various school subjects change the nature of these disciplines. Multilingual literacy acquisition is a distinct departure from the traditional monolingual approach to reading and writing. It involves strategies to teach in two different languages as well as strategies to manage the relationship between the two codes. Clearly such didactic issues relate more to the domain of bilingual education than to LA as it has been conceptualized up to now.

In other words, is LA about making multilingualism more visible and legitimate at school, or is it about developing multilingual education? In Europe, LA has not been conceptualized as multilingual education but as meeting some of the goals of plurilingual education, which is not exactly the same thing. Plurilingual education is mostly understood as the development of FLT in schools and for learners to enrich their linguistic repertoires. But one should not forget that in most education systems, the unequal power relationships across languages mean that it is far easier to learn dominant languages and far more difficult to develop one's literacy in a minority language (Hornberger 2003). As a model of language education, LA is clearly not about acquiring knowledge that will give more power to those who already have it, but more about transforming the knowledge of those who have no power into a learning resource (as in the Didenheim project).

Perhaps the strongest effect of LA is in the way it impacts on attitudes toward multilingualism. For example, Hélot and Young (2006), Mary and Young (2010), Alby (2010), and Clerc and Rispail (2012) have shown convincingly how LA transformed teachers' perception of bi-/multilingualism and made them question the power relationships at work in the language curriculum and in the wider environment of their school. Also argued by Cummins (2012), LA transforms the schooling experience of minority speaking students who through the use of their languages can create more collaborative relations of power. The affective and cognitive impact of LA activities is thus more obvious for minority language speakers whose linguistic, cultural, and identity capital becomes validated through such activities. Yet, the socializing dimension of LA also has an impact on all learners because it challenges negative discourses on minority languages and their speakers. This said, beyond the empowerment of immigrant learners and their family, the question remains of whether LA activities give enough long-term support to emergent bilinguals and minority language speakers.

In 2013, a thematic panel on LA was presented at the first International Conference on Urban Multilingualism and Education (held at the University of Ghent, Belgium). Following Svalberg (2007), the Belgian researchers expressed concern at the lack of a theoretically coherent conceptualization of LA. They argued that LA should be about empowering all pupils and helping them to adopt a critical stance toward language use in education and in society. They also expressed the concern that LA should be measured in terms of success on the five dimensions proposed by James and Garret (1992), the performance, cognitive, affective, social, and power dimensions. In a qualitative review, commissioned by the Flemish Education Council, an interuniversity team analyzed a selection of 25 evaluation studies that reported effects of LA on pupils at different educational levels as well as on teachers and parents (Frijns et al. 2011). At the student level, positive effects were found in relation to attitudes toward linguistic and cultural diversity as well as to knowledge about language, languages, and language varieties, but the performance and power domains remained unaffected, contrary to what James and Garrett (1992) had suggested. At the teachers' level, some positive effects were noted on their attitudes toward linguistic diversity at school and in society. Positive effects on parents bore in particular on the growth of more intense social relationships between migrant

parents and schools. A volume in English, gathering the most innovative presentations at the Ghent Conference, will be published in 2015 under the title "Language awareness in multilingual classrooms in Europe: From theory to practice" (Frijns et al. 2015).

Future Directions

Today, most classrooms are linguistically heterogeneous, and language education as it has developed through the twentieth century no longer addresses the needs of many learners who come to school speaking languages other than the language of instruction. The LA approaches developed recently have opened new spaces to discuss languages in the plural, their use and their function, to welcome the plurilingual repertoires of learners and to address the central issue of cultural difference. Some LA projects have managed to transform classrooms into spaces where multilingual practices have become normalized. But the impact on education systems has remained limited because LA is not integrated in the regular curricula, in the same way as FLT is. Perhaps, another reason is the lack of an evidence-based conceptualization of LA as well as theoretical coherence across different contexts. It is not clear either whether pedagogical activities based on the inclusion of minority languages are enough to address the unequal distribution and valuation of language resources in society and the different capacities to make oneself heard.

However, some LA projects have had as a central aim the recognition of plurilingual students' repertoires as a form of accomplishment and resource for the classroom. Such projects are usually the outcome of a reflection on the multilingual classroom and on ways to integrate learner's languages across school disciplines. Thus one way of moving forward, from the point of view of research, would be to reconceptualize LA within the broader theoretical framework of multilingual education (Blackledge and Creese 2014; Cenoz 2009), as well as recent research on bi- and multilingual literacy (Hornberger 2003; Cummins and Early 2011). As stressed by Cummins (2012), LA has the potential to transform the schooling experiences of minority students, and I would add, of majority monolingual students as well. But more research is needed to find out the nature of the impact of LA on both minority and majority students. LA approaches do position students' languages and cultures differently; they transform them into legitimate knowledge, thus creating a process of empowerment. But they cannot remain marginal in relation to the language of instruction and FLT; they must transform language education at its core, by rethinking literacy education. LA approaches should also question the power of hegemonic languages like English and French by allowing learners to make use of all their linguistic resources in all school disciplines. In other words LA can be instrumental in redressing the unequal balance of power between dominant and dominated languages, and between their speakers, only if it allows for a debunking of language ideologies and opens the door to a truly multilingual education for all students.

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Cultural Awareness in the Foreign Language Classroom
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism
▶ Multilingualism in Immigrant Communities

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Christine Hélot: Bilingual Education in Europe: Dominant languages. In Volume: Bilingual and Multilingual Education

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Critical Multilingual Language Awareness and Teacher Education

Ofelia García

Abstract

This chapter shifts the focus from the study of Language Awareness to what we are calling here Critical Multilingual Awareness. We propose ways in which teachers can be made not only to recognize the linguistic diversity of children and communities, but also to question the concept of language itself, as legitimized in schools. In understanding that national named languages and academic language have been socially constructed, teachers become empowered to become social activists so that all students are educated equitably.

Keywords

Bilingual teachers • Bilingualism • Critical multilingual language awareness • Descriptive review • Dynamic Bilingualism • Ethnography • Foreign language teachers • Language awareness • Multilingualism • Second language teachers • Teacher education • Teachers as social activists • Translanguaging

Contents

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Introduction

In the twenty-first century, we have developed a substantial, although incomplete, body of knowledge about what teachers need to know and be able to do, to recognize, build, and/or develop the many language and literacy practices in twenty-first century classrooms and communities. Less understood, however, is how to educate all teachers in ways that ensure not only the acquisition of those understandings, but also the teachers' enactment of those understandings in their teaching and their students' learning. This chapter starts out by describing the different ways in which Language Awareness (LA) programs have been interpreted and developed to include what I call here Critical Multilingual Awareness (CMLA) for all teachers, and also for bilingual/multilingual teachers. The chapter then turns to considering its main goal – how teachers can be educated to gain CMLA, important for **all** teacher education programs.

Early Developments: Language Awareness and Critical Language Awareness

Since the publication of Bolitho and Tomlinson's *Discover English: A Language Awareness Workbook* in 1980, the term "language awareness" has been increasingly used especially in the language education field. Generally, language awareness (LA) or knowledge about language (KAL) in teaching has been used to encompass three understandings about language, its teaching and its learning (Andrews 1999, 2001; Wright and Bolitho 1993, 1997; Wright 2002; building on the roles described by Edge 1988):

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

The Association for Language Awareness (ALA) defines language awareness as "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (ALA home page).

Its journal *Language Awareness*, published since 1992, states its goal as the study of

> the role of explicit knowledge about language in the process of language learning; the role that such explicit knowledge about language plays in language teaching and how such knowledge can best be mediated by teachers; the role of explicit knowledge about language in language use: e.g., sensitivity to bias in language, manipulative aspects of language, literary use of language. . ..

Wright (2002) distinguishes two roles for Language Awareness:

1. As a goal of teacher education, it develops the teachers' sensitivity to language, what Wright calls their "linguistic radar."
2. As a method, a task or activity type, teachers have students work with authentic language data.

In his classic book, *Awareness of Language,* Eric Hawkins (1984) describes "awareness of language" as a way of bridging all aspects of language education (Native language/Foreign language/Second language/Ethnic minority language/Classical language) that presently take place in isolation. Although language focused, Hawkins' interest is not on teaching languages per se, but in promoting questioning about language to develop linguistic understandings and challenge linguistic prejudices. Hawkins proposes a series of topics for such a curriculum, one for all teachers, and not just language teachers: (1) human language and signals, signs, and symbols, (2) spoken and written language, (3) how language works, (4) using language, (5) languages of the UK, Europe, and the world, and (6) how do we learn languages.

Hawkins' Language Awareness project was supported in Great Britain by The Committee for Linguistics in Education (CLIE) in 1984 and the National Congress on Languages in Education (NCLE) in 1985. In 1988, the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of the English Language in England (the Kingman report 1988) developed Knowledge about Language (KAL) as a possible component of the English National Curriculum. The purpose was to have teachers improve their competence in their own language, improve their language learning through comparisons between other languages and their own, and increase their linguistic sensitivity to other languages (Tulasiewicz 1997).

Language awareness curricula have focused on the standardized "target language", that is, the language the teacher is trying to teach in the classroom, with little understandings of the students' varied language practices or their bilingualism, except as these "interfere" with the language being taught. These programs intend to develop the teachers' understandings of the three components mentioned above:

1. Their knowledge of the language she is teaching, how to use it appropriately
2. Their knowledge about the language she is teaching, their forms, and functions
3. Their pedagogical practice

	Lang #1	Lang #2/3	Biling
Knowledge of (proficiency)	+		
Knowledge about (subject-matter)	+		
Pedagogical practice	+		

Fig. 1 Traditional language awareness for second/foreign language/language arts teachers

Figure 1 depicts these traditional understandings of language awareness that have been espoused not only for second language and foreign language teachers, but also for all teachers of Language Arts. The teacher is really not required to have any knowledge of, or knowledge about, the "other" language practices of the students, or of bilingualism, or of understandings of the political economy and social issues surrounding language use. She is simply seen as a language teacher focusing on the schools' construction of what is considered "academic" language.

Almost from the beginning, criticism of traditional Language Awareness projects began to emerge, most vehemently from Clark et al. (1990). They claimed that traditional Language Awareness programs that are offered as separate curricular programs treat language as legitimating a social and sociolinguistic order without regard to how this has been socially created and therefore socially changeable. LA focuses, the critics say, only on standard varieties of language, valued as superior to the language practices at home, which are then devalued. LA does not challenge the illusion of "naturalness, but reproduce it" (Clark et al. 1990, p. 256). Furthermore, there is a monolingual bias in the LA project, the critics claim. By proposing a Critical Language Awareness (CLA) project, Clark et al. (1990, 1991) advanced the idea that social forces shape discourse in a process of domination over speakers with less prestige and that students and teachers need to be able to reconstruct the social process and ideologies that underlie the conventions of language in school and society and act to transform them.

Major Contributions: Toward Critical Multilingual Awareness

This chapter builds on concepts of Language Awareness (LA) and Critical Language Awareness (CLA) (Fairclough 1990) to propose that there is a need for *Critical Multilingual Awareness (CMLA)* in the twenty-first century. Multilingual schools, now prevalent in the world, bring to the foreground a myriad of language practices, some which differ significantly from the ways in which the standard variety of nation-states is used.

As the multilingual turn in scholarship (May 2014) caught up with the multilingual nature of schools all over the world, scholars started to pay attention to raising awareness of the existing multilingualism through education programs. In Europe, the late 1990s and early 2000 brought a flurry of activity that corresponds to what we may call Multilingual Awareness. For example, Perregaux and his associates in Switzerland developed multilingual material that included migrant languages to make children conscious of the linguistic diversity in their communities (Perregaux

1995). The European Commission funded a project in five countries directed by Michel Candelier – the Evlang program (see Candelier 2003). Hélot and Young (2006) launched the Didenheim project, in which young children were engaged with many languages, including those of the community in which they lived. The objective of these Multilingual Awareness projects has been to raise among teachers awareness of language diversity and provide them with the ability and the desire to exploit this linguistic diversity to build a democratic society. These Multilingual Awareness projects correspond to the goals of the Council of Europe of "education for plurilingualism," including educating "for linguistic tolerance, raise awareness of linguistic diversity and educate for democratic citizenship" (Council of Europe 2003, p. 16). And yet, not everything is "rosy." For example, in Spain, Euskara is only studied in the Basque Country, Galician in Galicia, and Catalan in Catalunya, pointing to little interest in internal multilingual awareness among Spanish citizens that might threaten the Spanish state. In fact, some multilingual awareness programs pay more attention to dominant languages than to their communities' own regional and immigrant languages.

Multilingual Awareness projects have not borne fruit in the Americas to the same extent as in Europe. In Canada, despite its official bilingual and multicultural standing, the struggle over French and English has led to much scholarly and programmatic attention to the development of French among Canadians, and particularly its sustainability among Francophones. But beyond immersion bilingual education programs for Anglophones, and the so-called heritage language programs for specific ethnolinguistic communities, little has been done to promote the country's multilingual awareness. The same can be said of the United States, where traditional bilingual education programs have been developed for its language minoritized populations, and especially Latinos who are emergent bilinguals, but where bilingual practices, as well as the languages other than Spanish among Latinos an others, are excluded and not validated. The so-called dual language bilingual programs are more popular among Latinos who see them as their only opportunity to develop their bilingualism, than among those who speak English or languages other than Spanish at home. Despite their scholarly popularity and their growth, "Dual Language" bilingual programs remain scarce. In Latin America, notwithstanding the growth and development of Intercultural Bilingual Education, Spanish-speakers remain ignorant of the many languages of the indigenous communities and of the high language diversity of the region. Thus, multilingual awareness programs have not caught on in the Americas to the same extent than in Europe.

In Africa and Asia, multilingualism is a fact of life in many regions, but multilingual awareness programs in schools are few. Children become multilingual in the street and become aware of the community's multilingualism in daily interactions, but schools ignore these multilingual encounters and insist in teaching monolingually or through transitional bilingual education programs in one language that give way, in most cases, to the former colonial language.

There seems to be a rift between European educational projects with regard to language diversity and those in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Whereas European

projects support *linguistic tolerance and plurilingualism*, with sometimes little interest in exploring the historical and social conditions that produce that plurilingualism, those in other regions are *ways of redressing the historical oppression of certain groups*, with little attention to truly supporting the plurilingualism of its citizenry and linguistic tolerance among all.

Teachers in all European schools are asked to develop students' awareness of plurilingualism and linguistic tolerance, although they are rarely confronted with the histories of oppression and social inequalities that produce the minoritized status of both regional minorities, including autochthonous and indigenous peoples, and especially immigrants. Teachers in schools in the Americas, Asia and Africa that cater to minoritized populations often learn about the histories of colonization and oppression that have produced the subjugated status of the minoritized speakers they teach. Although students develop understandings of the social, political, and economic struggles surrounding the bilingualism/multilingualism of the group, they rarely acquire awareness of the rich multilingualism in their classroom, beyond the languages sanctioned by schools. In the Americas, Asia, and Africa, teachers who teach minoritized groups (many times bilingual themselves) are asked to develop students' understandings of the histories of oppression. But mainstream students are never confronted with the understandings of how this linguistic diversity was created in the first place.

Work in Progress

Teachers in schools in the twenty-first century all over the world must develop both types of awareness – (1) an awareness of plurilingualism and appreciation of linguistic tolerance, and its merits for democratic citizenship and (2) an awareness of the histories of colonial and imperialistic oppression that has produced the plurilingualism in society.

Besides becoming aware of *plurilingualism and developing linguistic tolerance for multilingual citizens*, and understanding *ways of redressing the historical oppression of certain groups*, a true multilingual awareness project for the twenty-first century would also develop in all teachers *a critical understanding of how language use in society has been naturalized.* Schools have reproduced dominant ideologies of monolingualism, and in limited occasions of multilingualism as two or more standard varieties, without regard to the dynamic bilingual/multilingual practices of the students who are being educated. Teachers involved in a Critical Multilingual Awareness project would develop an additional understanding – *the understanding that language is socially created, and thus, socially changeable to give voice and educate all students equitably.* Teachers who can carry out a Critical Multilingual Awareness (CMLA) project would have to engage all students in developing a consciousness of language as social practice and a voicing of their own multilingual

	Speakers of Lang #1	Speakers of Lang #2/3	Dynamic Bilingualism
Knowledge of (proficiency)	+	+	+
Knowledge about (subject-matter)	+	+	+
Pedagogical practice	+	+	+
Awareness of plurilingualism and merits for democratic citizenship	+	+	+
Awareness of histories of colonial and imperialistic oppression	+	+	+
Awareness that language is socially created, and thus socially changeable	+	+	+

Fig. 2 Critical multilingual awareness for all teachers

experiences, thus generating not only a new order of discourse, but also a new praxis, capable of changing the social order of what it means to "language" in school.

In talking about *language awareness* in the context of multilingual schools, Shohamy (2006, p. 182) refers to understanding the ways in which languages are used "in undemocratic ways to exclude and discriminate." She further posits that "language awareness needs to lead to language activism." It is this social and language activism that a Critical Multilingual Awareness program must promote.

CMLA is not a separate educational *program* available only for certain specialized teachers who work with minoritized populations. It is part of the *educational project for all*. And thus, all teachers must develop these understandings. To the understandings of language that Language Awareness (LA) programs have promoted in the past, the Critical Multilingual Awareness (CMLA) project requires other understandings. They are outlined in Fig. 2.

The components of a Critical Multilingual Awareness project differ significantly from those in Fig. 1. First of all, the emphasis is not on language itself, whether one national language or another, but rather on the *speakers* of those languages whose language practices differ significantly from those that schools promote. Secondly, bilingualism is not proposed as additive, with the addition of a whole additional language, but as dynamic (García 2009). The language(s) of school is not understood as given, but as constructed, and *translanguaging*, the fluid language practices of bilinguals, is acknowledged as an important voice-giving mechanism and as a tool for learning, creativity, and criticality (García and Li Wei 2014). Thirdly, teachers are expected to have not only knowledge of the speakers of the languages and their bilingualism (their knowledge of, and about, their languages and practices), but also of three additional factors: (1) the plurilingualism in their midst, (2) the histories of the speakers and their struggles, and (3) the social construction of the language of school in order to keep privilege

in the hands of few. A CMLA project has as its focus the potential of language education to change the linguistic hierarchies that have been socially established and thus change the world and advance social justice.

The fact that teachers focus on the speakers of the language, and not on the language itself, means that teachers understand how multilingual students use their languages to make sense of their multilingual worlds, and not simply as defined by the school. Teachers recognize that students use their entire language repertoire to learn and be, even if the teachers themselves are not bilingual. They are familiar with the students' home language practices and are aware of them, even if they do not actually know "the language" itself well enough to speak, read, or write. Teachers also understand that the language of school is constructed – whether one, two, or three languages – and acknowledge that multilingual language practices are always different. They show support for their students by never assessing them in one language or the other, without regard to how their language practices interact. They always give students the opportunity to show what they know and are able to do using their entire language repertoire, regardless of language features used. Teachers value the students' translanguaging as an important semiotic resource and at the same time support the students in selecting features from their repertoire that are appropriate to the situation at hand.

Although these are understandings that all teachers must have, bilingual teachers who are teaching in bilingual programs need, in addition, knowledge of both languages, not just awareness of the students' dynamic language practices. This is because bilingual teachers also have the task of developing the bilingualism and biliteracy of children. In school this also means learning the standard variety of two languages. What is important for teachers to realize, however, is that this cannot happen without first leveraging the students' language practices, their translanguaging, in an act of critical multilingual awareness. That is, bilingual teachers must understand that developing the students' facility in using two or more societal standardized languages cannot happen without first empowering them by using their own authentic voices. Bilingual students' translanguaging needs to be first acknowledged and leveraged, so that they can be strengthened not only in voicing their own experiences, but also in their bilingual identities.

What is most important for bilingual teachers is to become aware of the students' bilingual practices, of their translanguaging, and to leverage this translanguaging to develop their students' understandings, creativity, and criticality. Developing a translanguaging pedagogy (García et al. 2017; García and Kleyn 2016) is thus essential, both to nurture the translanguaging capacities of students and to develop standardized varieties of one and the other language as used in school. Thus, bilingual teachers' CMLA project must include all the components of CMLA depicted in Fig. 2 and, in addition, understandings of the ways in which each of the societally constructed "languages" are differently used in many societies and communities, and in their students' lives. Figure 3 presents the components of Critical Multilingual Awareness that Bilingual Teachers must develop.

	Speakers of Lang #1	Speakers of Lang #2/3	Dynamic Bilingualism	Lang #1	Lang #2
Knowledge of (proficiency)	+	+	+	+	+
Knowledge about (subject-matter)	+	+	+	+	+
Pedagogical practice	+	+	+	+	+
Awareness of plurilingualism and merits for democratic citizenship	+	+	+	+	+
Awareness of histories of colonial and imperialistic oppression	+	+	+	+	+
Awareness that language is socially created, and thus socially changeable	+	+	+	+	+

Fig. 3 Critical multilingual awareness for bilingual teachers

Now that we have described the Critical Multilingual Awareness project for teachers, the question is how to engage prospective teachers in teacher education programs in the CMLA project. The following and last section discusses this.

Problems and Difficulties: Building Teachers' Critical Multilingual Awareness in Teacher Education Programs

The Why of CMLA for ALL Teachers

Given the complex multilingualism of the school-aged population throughout the world, teacher education programs must do much more than just "adapt" what they have done in the past for the multilingual children in classrooms or in bilingual or trilingual education programs. When school systems throughout the world are increasingly populated with multilingual children, it behooves teacher educators to put language difference and bilingualism *at the center* of the teacher education enterprise. Most teacher education programs pay little attention to multilingual differences, educating their teachers as if all students were "native speakers" of the dominant language of the nation-state or "native speakers" of some other language. Sometimes, teacher education programs include a required course in the teaching of the majority language as a second language or in bilingual/multicultural education. But a single course is not enough to acquire the sophisticated critical multilingual awareness that teachers need today, especially in developed societies with increased immigration and the complexity of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007). And these courses seldom address the fluid ways in which multilingual children use language

and their dynamic bilingualism. Critical multilingual awareness must be a thread that runs throughout the entire teacher education curriculum for all.

The How of CMLA for ALL Teachers

The question for teacher education, however, is how teacher education programs can go about instilling these understandings of, and disposition towards, critical multilingual awareness in their prospective teachers. In addition, teacher education programs need to develop prospective teachers' abilities of how to use this awareness pedagogically to change the world. With Freire (1973), and other transformative educators, I believe in a critical multilingual pedagogy that is situated in practice. I base this transformative pedagogy on the four elements developed by the New London Group (1996) for their multiliteracies pedagogy:

1. *Authentic Situated practice* and immersion of students in such practice;
2. *Overt Instruction* to develop awareness and understanding of practice;
3. *Critique of practices* as socially particular through Critical Framing;
4. *Transformed Practice* through experimentation with innovative practices, including translanguaging, that are a result of reflection and critical framing.

In the following section, I develop the what of this transformative CMLA teacher education curriculum and pedagogy.

The What of CMLA for ALL Teachers

It is clear from the above discussion that a course in multilingual awareness, or a linguistics or language course, can do little to transform the critical multilingual awareness of prospective teachers. Instead, the explicit instruction about language and multilingualism that prospective teachers get must be combined with authentic situated practice, critique of practice, and the resulting transformed practice, in order for learning to take place.

Throughout the years, I have developed ways to immerse prospective teachers in multilingual, multiliteracies, and multimodal practices, to critique such practices as traditionally understood, and to transform practices and pedagogies in order to construct a translanguaging pedagogy. I developed such ways in my years of experience educating bilingual and TESOL teachers at The City College of New York, as Dean of a School of Education in Brooklyn, New York, that had a large bilingual and bidialectal student body, as faculty in bilingual education at Columbia University's Teachers College, and specifically in the development project that colleagues and I launched at The Graduate Center of The City

University of New York, CUNY-NYSIEB (City University of New York – New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals) (see, for more information, García and Menken 2015; García and Sánchez 2015). I share some of the components of how to engage prospective teachers in a Critical Multilingual Awareness project below.

Descriptive Review of a Bilingual Child's Language Use

Elsewhere (García and Traugh 2002) we have described how descriptive inquiry, a disciplined process of research in teaching and learning, can enable a group to cut through generalities and abstractions, make the complexity of the lived reality more visible, and enlarge understandings that can generate ideas for action. One way of enabling teachers to understand bilingualism in its complexity is to engage them in observing children closely and describing them fully, working to withhold judgment or interpretation and being respectful of the child as the maker of words and worlds. Basing ourselves and extending the Descriptive Review of the Child process proposed by Carini (2000), prospective teachers are taught to describe one child fully under six headings – physical presence and gesture, disposition and temperament, connections with others, strong interests and preferences, modes of thinking and learning, and use of languages with different interlocutors and in different contexts (For more on the Descriptive Review of the Child, see also, Himley and Carini 2000).

The purpose of this close observation and careful description is twofold. On the one hand, the child's language use is heard, made visible, and described within the context of many authentic activities, and not in isolation. This is important so as not to reify language, forcing ourselves to see language not as object in itself of simple academic pursuits, but as an instrument used by the child to think and create, and used by the teacher in describing the student. On the other hand, the child's language use is seen and described from the child's own perspective, and not from a socio-political or sociohistorical context – contexts that may shape how the child uses language, but that are important to separate from the child's actual language use.

Another purpose of the Descriptive Review of the Bilingual Child is to bring this detailed description back to the community of practice, sharing it with fellow prospective teachers. Fellow prospective teachers (and the instructor) listen attentively as the reviewer shares observations. Afterwards, they first ask information questions, opening up possibilities for further reflection. The process ends with participants, one at a time, giving recommendations to the reviewer to generate new ideas, new practices, new viewings, and re-viewings of the child's language and literacy use.

The advantage of the Descriptive Review of the Bilingual Child is that it enables the prospective teacher not only to become a better observer of language use, but also a better user of language, as she/he works to be descriptive and withhold judgment of the child's language use. Another advantage is that based on what Carini calls "human capacity widely distributed," it builds a community of practice, a collaborative community, in which prospective teachers start to see how their students actually use language and why, thus spurring teachers to further social action, developing new material, new curricula, new pedagogies, and new educational programs.

Ethnography of Communities of Practice and Critical Sociolinguistic Study of the Linguistic Landscape

Prospective teachers in teacher education programs that develop CMLA are also given the tools to look closely and describe richly the "linguistic landscape" (Gorter 2013) of the school community or those from which the children come from. To do so, they are initially sent out to document – using photography and videos – the languages they see in the public signs, in the newspaper, and in magazine stands, etc. Prospective teachers then listen to conversations and sounds in the street and make recordings of that discourse. They are encouraged to document not simply who speaks what language to whom and when, the classical Fishmanian sociolinguistic question (Fishman 1965). Instead, they are asked to listen carefully for instances of translanguaging and to document how people language, with whom they language, and when. They interview leaders in the community, as well as common folk, about their language practices, and about the sociopolitical and socioeconomic struggles the community faces, especially in relationship to their language practices. They also gather information of the institutions/organizations that support the use of the community ways of speaking, how the institutions take up or reject these practices, and of the struggles those organizations face with the dominant community, as well as within the minoritized one. An important part of this language ethnography is the linguistic practices in the home of the child itself, and in particular, the funds of knowledge of the parents (Moll and González 1997). In the twenty-first century, it is also important that prospective teachers develop a broad understanding of language use and that they include in their descriptions the multimodalities – the images, music, art, graphs, videos – that make up today's ways of using language and that are used simultaneously, especially by youth.

Prospective teachers are then encouraged to compare the language use data and the information they have gathered with the print and information they find in the Internet about the language, as socially constructed by the nation-state, and with texts they read for class. Based on the authentic data that they have gathered, prospective teachers are engaged in a close analysis of language use in the community. The instructor becomes a facilitator in this endeavor, as much as a co-learner (Li Wei 2014). Prospective teachers become familiar with Internet sites, and with translation capabilities of the Internet, tools that will enable them to become lifelong learners about the languages and literacies that they will continue to encounter in their changing communities.

Problem-sets for different language use situations are collaboratively generated in class. For example, banks of examples of translanguaging in media and print, as well as in oral discourse, could be generated. Video clips of different language and literacy uses in the home could also be developed. These problem sets would then be subjected to further analysis and could be the focus of explicit language and literacy instruction by the instructor or by other students. These problem sets also serve as ways of building social, political, and economic consciousness about language use in different contexts and for diverse purposes. Prospective teachers

become conscious of the process of domination that involves the language of school, or what many call "academic language."

Descriptive Review of Language and Literacy Practices in Teaching

Using Descriptive Inquiry in ways that we described above, prospective teachers are also engaged in close observation and description of how language and literacy is used by teachers and students inside classrooms in different contexts and practices – dialogue, lessons, assignments, and assessments – both among students and between students and teacher. Prospective teachers become conscious of when bilingual students actively use translanguaging or resist it, as well as when their own translanguaging facilitates learning or not, and how the classroom community's language use is different from that described in teachers' manuals or in grammars. In sharing the description with other prospective teachers in other classrooms, complex views and understandings of the language of school and their language policies are generated. Collaboratively, the group examines how the particular discourse is used by the teacher and students to include or exclude others and how discourse works within particular social practices.

Occasionally, the prospective teacher tapes herself with the children, again describing closely the language used and sharing it with the collaborative group as a way to build texts of practices that could be subjected to explicit analysis and as a way to encourage transformation of practices. The instructor explicitly points to promising practices and strategies and assists in the microanalyses of some discourses.

In describing language and literacy practices within the classroom, the prospective teachers can also draw from the data they have gathered outside the classroom and in the community. This comparison can serve well to help teachers anchor language use in particular domains and for specific purposes and genres. Critical framing of the different events can generate transformed practices.

Makers and Consumers of Multicultural and Multilingual Texts, as well as Translanguaged Texts

Both in the more theoretically oriented courses, as in the more practice-oriented courses, teacher educators are engaged in producing and consuming multicultural and multilingual texts, as well as translanguaged texts. The teacher education curriculum includes, whenever possible, multilingual texts, sometimes with translations, other times in the original language. Furthermore, bilingual texts are sought, and prospective teachers study children and youth literature produced by authors who not only write in one language or the other, but who write translanguaged texts (for more on this see, for example, Hélot 2014). They reflect on the effect that another language in a text makes on the reader and why bilingual authors might have made that choice.

Prospective teachers are encouraged to also write their own double-entry journals, where they react to the academic texts they are reading from their own personal

perspective, contributing their background knowledge and experiences, as well as their cultural and linguistic practices and understandings to make sense of the text. Students are given the freedom to use all the features of their language repertoire to write these reactions/reflections.

Again, these double-entry journals are shared with their fellow prospective teachers and the instructor, as a way to build multicultural and multilingual understandings of the same text and to generate different understandings from multiple perspectives. These are put alongside academic texts and other multilingual multi-modal texts, encouraging teacher candidates to become comfortable with the diverse language practices in texts and what these might mean, as well as who produces them, distributes, and consumes them, and why.

Curriculum and Pedagogical Meaning-Makers

As prospective teachers are made "wide awake" (see Greene 1995) by the attention paid to detail and description of the varied language use of the child and the communities of practice in which they participate, including school, they start to develop abilities to develop curriculum and pedagogical practices that build on these understandings. The curriculum courses in a teacher education program then engage prospective teachers in using all this authentic material of dynamic language practices to build a curriculum.

Prospective teachers then try out the curriculum in actual classrooms where the classroom teacher, the university instructor, and the students themselves serve as sounding-boards for exploration and transformation of pedagogical practices. This includes the development of a translanguaging pedagogy, important for all teachers in order to listen to the currents of knowledge and passion among students, sometimes not readily audible or visible.

These prospective teachers also understand that children must be given opportunities to show what they know and are able to do with multiple linguistic practices. Thus, they learn to assess students carefully, after much observation, and allow them to use all the linguistic features at their disposal to complete tasks. And when they assess language and literacy, they learn to do so differentiating between what I have called language-specific proficiency and general language proficiency (García et al. 2017). That is, prospective teachers learn to assess students' general linguistic ability – the ability to express complex thoughts effectively, to explain things, to persuade, to argue, to compare and contrast, to give directions, to recount events, to tell jokes, to make inferences, and to identify main ideas in reading, to produce text types for various purposes etc. – regardless of the use of language forms that have been preapproved for school use.

Language and Social Activists

All descriptions, collaborative sharing of understandings, materials, products, and explicit teaching practices developed through the steps described above result in *action* that has the potential not only to transform practice and pedagogy, but also to transform the lives of children and communities. This action is sometimes at the

individual level, i.e., helping a child's family with translation services, but sometimes it is at the level of local and even national policy. For example, one semester a group of prospective teachers in NY learned about the difficulty of immigrants learning English, since there were no free English language classes available. They gained understandings not only of the inequity that this presented, but also of how this affected their children's learning and their own teaching. With the help of a local immigrant rights organization, they organized a letter campaign, went on radio programs, and spoke to politicians. As a result, funding for adult classes in English was increased the following funding year. Another semester, a prospective bilingual English-Spanish teacher decided to develop an end-of year theater production in the school in which she was doing her practicum. In the past, there had been two end-of-year shows: one for English-speaking families and another for Spanish-speaking families. This time the prospective teacher decided to develop a production that used translanguaging and that also incorporated the other languages of the school besides English and Spanish. She worked with the students in writing a script that through translanguaging made the story comprehensible to both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking audiences, and she acknowledged the languages other than English and Spanish by also giving them voice in certain roles in the play. Although on the surface this action of the teacher does not seem like social action, it was in fact transformative. For the first time, the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking communities enjoyed the children's class as a whole. Families who were bilingual saw their home language practices reflected in the play. Those who were monolingual learned about other ways of expressing emotion, ideas, and good wishes. And by giving a role to languages other than English and Spanish, the play reflected the multilingual ecology of the school, and the multilingualism of the Mixteco and Quechua Spanish-speaking families in the classroom. The integration of the different communities of practice was achieved not by harmonizing their differences, but by accentuating them and making them visible. Thus, linguistic hierarchies were erased and ways of speaking of the entire school community were given important roles.

Teacher education programs must engage teachers in changing the sociolinguistic order and the ways in which languages have been constructed and hierarchized. This linguistic action is bound to also create social changes by giving voice to people who have been controlled and dominated through language conventions.

Future Directions

In the twenty-first century, it is critical multilingual awareness that all teachers need. This article has placed critical multilingual awareness within the framework of language awareness, extending it to include other important abilities and dispositions for the twenty-first century. In particular, however, this article describes ways in which teacher education programs can develop these understandings in all prospective teachers.

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

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Chris Davison: Teacher-Based Assessment in Language Education. In Volume: Language Testing and Assessment

James Cummins: Teaching for Transfer in Multilingual School Contexts. In Volume: Bilingual and Multilingual Education

Ofelia Garcia an Li Wei: From Researching Translanguaging to Translanguaging Research. In Volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Part III

Language Awareness, Bilingualism, and Multilingualism

Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Colin Baker

Abstract

A key research issue about bilinguals and multilinguals has been about their implicit and explicit knowledge of the languages they speak including within the different contexts of their communication. This is often termed 'the metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals'. Research suggests that bilinguals have specific advantages over monolinguals in analysing their languages and in controlled attention to their language processing. Other research examines a bilingual's sensitivity to communication, the social uses of code-switching and translanguaging, and bilinguals as language brokers. However, research does not uniformly show all bilinguals having such advantages, with those who have two or more relatively well-developed languages having a higher probability of showing positive effects. Such positive effects appear to last beyond childhood into late adulthood.

Contents

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Introduction

For many decades, one of the key questions about bilinguals and multilinguals has been about their implicit and explicit knowledge, not only of each language they speak but also their understanding of the social, linguistic, and psychological contact between their two languages. This has partly been researched as the "metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals".

This chapter begins by presenting the early research on bilingual's metalinguistic awareness. It then outlines the last two decades of research, particularly from Ellen Bialystok and colleagues, which suggests that bilinguals have specific advantages over monolinguals in analyzing knowledge of language and in controlled attention to their language processing. Importantly, research on a bilingual's knowledge about language goes wider than metalinguistic awareness. Hence, this chapter includes a synopsis of research on bilingual's sensitivity to communication, social uses of code-switching, language interpretation, and brokering. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of research in this area and possible future directions (e.g., cultural and aging aspects of a bilingual's knowledge about language).

Early Developments

Leopold's (1939–1949) case history of the bilingual (German-English) development of his daughter, Hildegard, noted a looseness of connection between word sound and meaning which he attributed to bilingualism. Favorite stories, songs, and rhymes were not repeated with exactly the same wording. Instead, vocabulary substitutions were made, thus showing that the meaning predominated over an exact repetition of words. This suggested to Leopold that Hildegard's bilingualism gave her an advantage: there was implicit knowledge that meanings of words resided separately from the sounds of the words. A possible metalingual advantage (see Berry 2005, for a discussion of "metalingual" terminology) for bilinguals was thus hypothesized.

It is Ianco-Worrall (1972) who is typically credited with the initial experimental evidence for such a metalinguistic awareness advantage in early bilinguals. Researching on 30 Afrikaans-English bilinguals aged four to nine, the bilingual group was matched with monolinguals on IQ, age, gender, school grade, and socioeconomic group. In the first experiment, a typical question was: "I have three

words: CAP, CAN and HAT. Which is more like CAP: CAN or HAT?" A child who chooses HAT would appear to be making a choice based on the meaning of the word, as HAT and CAP refer to similar objects. A child who says that CAN is more like CAP would be classed as making a choice determined by the sound of the word.

Ianco-Worrall (1972) found that there was no difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their choices by age seven. Both groups chose HAT indicating development in concentrating on meaning and not sound. However, she found that with 4– to 6-year-old bilinguals tended to respond to word meaning, whereas monolinguals more to the sound of the word. In a further experiment, Ianco-Worrall asked the following type of question: "Suppose you were making up names for things, could you call a cow 'dog' and a dog 'cow'?" Bilinguals mostly felt that names could be interchangeable. Monolinguals, in comparison, more often said that names for objects such as cow and dog were not exchangeable. Thus bilinguals tend to implicitly know that language is more arbitrary. This appears to be a result of owning two languages, giving the bilingual child awareness of the free, non-fixed relationship between objects and their labels.

Ben-Zeev (1977a, b) suggested that bilinguals and multilinguals subconsciously analyze and implicitly scrutinize their languages. This stems from the need to separate their two or more languages. Using the symbol substitution test with 5–8-year-olds, Ben-Zeev (1977a) asked children to substitute one word for another in a sentence. For example, they had to use the word "macaroni" instead of "I" in a sentence (e.g., "Macaroni am warm" thus avoiding saying "I am warm"). She found bilinguals to be superior in this kind of test, demonstrating a knowledge about language in advance of monolinguals. Bilinguals appeared to be more flexible and analytical in language skills.

Major Contributions

Early Beginnings

The foundations of knowledge about bilingualism start very early (De Houwer 2009). From 22 to 24 weeks, and especially in the late stages of pregnancy, the fetus can discriminate between different voices and speech sounds. Mehler et al. (1988) found that newborns can distinguish their parents' native language sounds from unfamiliar foreign language sounds. Maneva and Genesee (2002) showed that language-specific patterns and some speech differentiation may thus occur before the first birthday. Other research has found that bilingual children (2 years old or earlier) know which language to speak "to whom" and in "what situation" (Deuchar and Quay 2000; Meisel 2004). Such foundations of knowledge about bilingualism are important as they derive from the foetus stage and the first 2 years after birth. However, research on bilinguals and their knowledge about languages tends to wait until they are around 3–5 years old.

Metalinguistic Awareness

Metalinguistic awareness (sometimes called metacognition) is the ability of an individual to reflect on language as an internal process and not just external outcome. It appears to enable a person to appreciate some of the subtleties of communication in its social and cultural setting. The metalinguistic awareness advantages of bilingual children has been studied in some depth (Bialystok 2001, 2011: see also Jessner, chapter "▶ Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends"). In early research comparing bilingual and monolingual children on metalinguistic awareness, Bialystok found that bilingual children were superior on the *cognitive control* of linguistic processes. For example, Bialystok (1987a) conducted three experiments each involving around 120 children aged five to nine. The children were asked to judge or correct sentences for their syntactic acceptability irrespective of meaningfulness. Sentences could be meaningfully grammatical (e.g., why is the dog barking so loudly?); meaningful but not grammatical (e.g., why the dog is barking so loudly?); anomalous and grammatical (e.g., why is the cat barking so loudly?); or anomalous and ungrammatical (e.g., why the cat is barking so loudly?). The experimental protocols required the children to focus on whether a given sentence was grammatically correct or not. It did not matter that the sentence was silly or anomalous. Bialystok (1987a) found that bilingual children in all three studies consistently judged grammaticality more accurately than did monolingual children at all the ages tested. Bialystok (1987b) also found that bilingual children were ahead of monolingual children in counting the number of words in sentences. It can be surprisingly difficult for children under about 7 years old to count how many words there are in a sentence as it depends on knowledge of the word boundaries and the relationship between word meaning and sentence meaning.

A synopsis of research on bilinguals' metalinguistic abilities can be summarized as follows (Bialystok 2001, 2011; see also Jessner, chapter "▶ Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends" for research on multilinguals). While bilinguals do not have all-embracing metalinguistic advantages or universally superior metalinguistic abilities, bilinguals whose both languages are relatively well developed have increased metalinguistic abilities particularly in those tasks that require selective attention to information (e.g., when there is competing or misleading information). Such selective attention relates to two components: bilinguals' enhanced *analyzing* of their knowledge of language and their greater *control* of attention in internal language processing. Bilinguals tend to show superiority in control but not necessarily in analysis, but this is "a formidable advantage in cognitive processing" (Bialystok 2001, p. 179). This may be due to bilinguals needing to differentiate between their two languages. Since both languages remain active during language processing (rather than a switch mechanism occurring), there may be control of languages when in conversation so as to avoid incursions.

Such research findings have important implications for bilingual children beyond the experimental tasks, particularly in literacy and biliteracy development (Hermanto et al. 2012). For example, phonological awareness and the cognitive skills of symbolic representation are needed to read and write. Letters are symbols without

inherent meaning and do not resemble the sounds they represent. Bilinguals appear to understand the symbolic representation of words in print earlier than monolinguals as they see words printed in two separate ways. In turn, this may facilitate earlier acquisition of reading. Metalinguistic awareness is a key aspect in the development of reading in young children (Bialystok 2001). This suggests that bilinguals may be ready slightly earlier than monolinguals to learn to read. However, there are many intervening variables that make universal statements about bilingual's metalinguistic advantages and early literacy dangerous. The child's experience and level of proficiency in each language, the relationship between the two languages, and the type of writing systems employed by each language are examples of intervening variables.

Communicative Sensitivity

In Ben-Zeev's research (1977b) on the comparative performance of bilingual and monolingual children on Piagetian tests, she found that bilinguals were more responsive to hints and clues given in the experimental situation. That is, bilinguals seemed more socially and linguistically sensitive in an experimental situation. This gave rise to a hypothesis that bilinguals have social (and not just cognitive) advantages in "communicative sensitivity".

Bilinguals need to be subconsciously (and occasionally consciously) aware of which language(s) to speak with whom in which situation. They implicitly monitor the appropriate language(s) in which to respond or in which to initiate a conversation (e.g., on the telephone). Not only do bilinguals often attempt to avoid socially unacceptable mixing of their two languages, they also have to pick up clues and cues when to switch languages. The literature suggests that this may give a bilingual increased sensitivity to the social nature and communicative functions of language.

An experiment on sensitivity to communication by Genesee et al. (1975) compared 5–8-year-old children in bilingual and monolingual education on their performance on a game. In this simple but ingenious research, the children were asked to explain a board and dice game to two listeners. One listener was blindfolded, the other not. The listeners were classmates and not allowed to ask any questions after the explanation. The classmates then attempted to play the game with a person giving the explanation. It was found that bilingual children were relatively more sensitive to the needs of listeners than monolinguals. The bilinguals gave relatively more information to the blindfolded children than to the sighted listener compared with the monolingual comparison group. The authors concluded that the bilingual children "may have been better able than the control children to take the role of others experiencing communicational difficulties, to perceive their needs, and consequently to respond appropriately to these needs" (p. 1013).

In a variety of cognitive tests with bilingual and monolingual samples among the Konds (Kandhas) in Orissa, India, Mohanty (1994) found an increased sensitivity to messages among bilinguals. This links with sociolinguistic competence and suggests a heightened social awareness among bilinguals of verbal and nonverbal message

cues and clues in communication. This implies that bilingual children may be more sensitive than monolingual children in a social situation that requires careful communication. A bilingual child may be more aware of the needs of the listener. But much more research is needed to define precisely the characteristics and the extent of the sensitivity to communication that bilinguals may share. Research in this area is important because it connects cognition with interpersonal relationships. It moves from questions about the "knowledge about language" cognitive abilities of a bilingual to their "knowledge about language" social abilities. The social abilities of bilinguals that derive from their knowledge about languages are illustrated in the social purposes of code-switching.

Code-switching

Code-switching reveals knowledge about languages in contact that is distinctive among bilinguals and multilinguals. Code-switching will vary according to the people in the conversation, the topic, and the context in which the conversation occurs. Such variations imply a knowledge about languages that is needed by competent bilinguals and multilinguals. Familiarity, projected status, the ethos of the context, and the perceived linguistic skills of the listeners affect the nature and process of code-switching. This suggests that code-switching is not just linguistic, it relates to social and power relationships. The bilingual needs to have implicit knowledge about these factors to perform appropriately in moving between languages.

Some illustrations follow

- Words, phrases, and sayings in languages may not correspond exactly and the bilingual may switch to a language (especially if the listener is bilingual) to express an idea that has no exact equivalent in the other language.
- Code-switching may be used to express identity, communicate friendship, or family bonding. For example, moving from the common majority language to the home language or minority language both the listener and speaker understand well may communicate friendship and common identity. Stroud's (2004) research shows that code-switching between Portuguese and Ronga in Mozambique relates to social identities that are constructed in tensions between competing political, economic, and cultural pressures.
- Code-switching may be used to signal a change of attitude or relationship. For example, a code-switch signals there is less or more social distance, with expressions of less commonality or a growing affinity indicated by the switch. A change from a minority language or dialect to a majority language may indicate the speakers' wish to elevate their own status, create a distance between themselves and the listener, or establish a more formal relationship.

These illustrations suggest that the perceived status of the listeners, familiarity with those persons, atmosphere of the setting, and perceived linguistic skills of the

listeners are examples of variables that may foster or prevent code-switching. Such factors operate in children as young as 2 years of age. Whereas a 2-year-olds mixing of language has tended to be seen as "interference" or a lack of differentiation between languages; research has shown that code-switching by 2-year-olds can be context sensitive, for example according to who is being addressed (Deuchar and Quay 2000). Thus, a very young bilingual has knowledge about language that affects code-switching.

Language Interpreters and Brokers

Such early knowledge about languages in contact is also found in children acting as interpreters for their parents and others (Valdés 2003). Bilingual children (and adults) are frequently expected to act as go-betweens and language brokers by interpreting from one language to another. Such an interpreter's role requires a particular knowledge about the relationship between languages.

For example, in immigrant families, parents may have minimal or no competency in the majority language. Therefore, their bilingual children act as interpreters across a variety of contexts. When there are visitors to the house, a parent may call a child to help translate. The child interprets for both parties (e.g., the parent and the caller). Similarly, at school, stores, hospitals, the doctor's, dentist's, optician's, and many other places where parents visit, the child may be taken to help interpret (Valdés 2003). Interpretation may be needed in more informal places: watching the television, reading a local newspaper, or working on the internet. Rather than just transmitting information, children act as information and communication brokers, often ensuring the messages are "acceptably culturally translated" as in the following example:

Father to daughter in Italian: " *Digli che è un imbecille*!" (Tell him he is an idiot!) Daughter to trader: "My father won't accept your offer."

Such language brokering depends on more than fluency in two or more languages. It requires knowledge about the relationship between the two languages that influences the message. For example, children may be expected to be adult-like when interpreting (e.g., medical information) and child-like at all other times. Such brokering also affects their knowledge about the status of the two languages. Children may quickly realize when language brokering that the language of power, prestige, and purse is the majority language. Negative attitudes to the minority language may result.

Language brokering has potential positive outcomes for the child, including in creating extra knowledge about languages in contact. First, it can bring parental praise, reward, and status within the family for playing a valuable and much prized role. Such translation ability may gain both esteem from others and raise self-esteem. Second, the child learns adult knowledge quickly and learns adult language and communication. Early maturity has its own rewards in the teenage peer group. Third,

Kaur and Mills (1993) found that children accustomed to acting as interpreters learned to take the initiative. For example, a child may give the answer to a question rather than relaying the question to the parent. This puts children in a position of some power, even of control. Fourth, the cognitive outcomes for child language brokers may be valuable. Children who are regular interpreters for their parents may realize early on the problems and possibilities of translation of words, figures of speech, and ideas. For example, such children may learn early on that one language never fully parallels another and that it is hard to translate exactly the inner meaning of words and metaphors. This may lead such children to be more introspective about their languages. Thus, interpretation may both require and stimulate metalinguistic awareness (Tse 1996).

Problems and Difficulties

Before concluding, it is important to state the potential limitations of our current understanding about a bilingual's implicit and explicit knowledge about their languages.

1. Not all cognitive processing studies are "favourable to bilinguals" (Bialystok 2001; Bialystok et al. 2008). Some research locates differences that favor mono-linguals in language specific processing (e.g., reaction times, an initial develop-mental lag in vocabulary knowledge specific to a language). For example, Gollan et al. (2002) suggest that a monolingual's semantic fluency is a little faster than that of a bilingual (e.g., as bilinguals need to ensure the correct word is chosen from their two languages) and that bilinguals are more likely to report a "tip of the tongue" state (unable to immediately retrieve a word) possibly because they use some words in each language less often (Gollan and Acenas 2004). However, none of these studies suggest that bilinguals have a mental overload, process inefficiently or in everyday thinking have weaknesses compared with mono-linguals. In areas such as speed of reaction in retrieving words, the milliseconds difference is of little or no importance in everyday functioning.

2. Researchers who find cognitive advantages mostly focus on relatively balanced bilinguals. Carlisle et al. (1999) found that the degree of bilingualism constrains or enhances metalinguistic performance. That is, those in the early stages of bilingualism do not share the benefits until sufficient vocabulary development, in both languages, has occurred. Similarly, Bialystok and Majumder's (1999) research showed that balanced bilinguals in Grade 3 were superior to partial bilinguals on non-linguistic problem-solving tasks requiring selective attention. A certain level of proficiency in both languages must be attained before the positive effects of bilingualism on metalinguistic awareness can occur. This is usually termed the thresholds theory (Cummins 2000).

3. Causal relationships and delineation of the key influencing variables may also be problematic. For example, parents who want their children to be biliterate, bicultural, and bilingual may emphasize particular thinking skills, encouraging

creative thinking in their children and fostering metalinguistic skills. The parents of bilingual children may be the ones who want to accelerate their children's knowledge about language. Such parents may give high priority to the development of languages and metalinguistic abilities within their children compared with monolingual parents. So is it bilingualism per se in a child that is more or less influential than the parenting environment? This suggests taking care about defining the determining factors in a bilingual's knowledge about languages. It may be that it is not only language that is important. Other social and cultural nonlanguage factors may be influential as well (e.g., the immigrant experience, political pressures, subtractive and additive contexts).

4. We need to ask which types of bilingual children share the metalinguistic benefits of bilingualism? Do children below average in cognitive abilities also gain the advantages of bilingualism? There is a tendency in research to use children from the middle classes, particularly those of above average ability. Do the findings relate to bilingual immigrants in subtractive (assimilative) language environments? Further research is needed.

Future Directions

Is it the case that different languages, or combinations of languages, influence the thinking of individuals? For example, does the structure, concepts (e.g., of time, number, space), and discourses of a particular language affect thinking (the neo Whorfian hypothesis, see Pavlenko 2005a)? Does someone who learns a second language also acquire new meanings, concepts, and enhanced perspectives? Do they change the thinking of the individual? Do such new insights become only partially translatable across a bilingual's or multilingual's language?

Pavlenko (2005a) argues that research on bilinguals assumes that such cognitive effects of bilingualism are universal. But, do different languages and cultures (and their multilingual combinations) have specific cognitive effects? The contested Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been that different languages may give their speakers different views of the world (linguistic relativity). Learning a second language is thus partly a socialization into new understandings, perspectives, and ways of speaking. Recent neo-Whorfian views suggest that different languages may variedly influence individual's thought contents (e.g., concepts) and processes (e.g., selectively attending, remembering, and reasoning). Evidence for this can be located in the experiences of color, number, space, motion, time, autobiographical memory, personhood, and the Self in different languages (Pavlenko 2005a). Such evidence is also present in cross-linguistic differences in terms and understandings about emotion. Pavlenko (2002) showed that in English, emotions are relayed through adjectives as emotional states, whereas in Russian the tendency is to convey emotions more via verbs as actions and processes, with, for example, more attention to body language. Bilinguals may therefore have access to different conceptual representations, experience different imagery, and index more varied discourses and identities (Pavlenko 2005a, b).

Pavlenko (2005a) reviews studies on the concepts of color, shape, number, motion, space, time, emotions, personhood (e.g., egocentric, sociocentric), discourse, and autobiographical memory. For example, while a monolingual Hindi has no term for "gray", an English-Hindi bilingual is likely to have the concept of gray. She shows that a specific language will sensitize and socialize speakers to particular aspects of a concept. That sensitization will vary from language to language. It will also vary between bicultural simultaneous (early) bilinguals, late bilinguals, and incipient language learners (e.g., in a "foreign" context). She concludes that bilingualism can be advantageous for enriching a person's linguistic repertoire. Bilingualism can provide varied and alternative conceptualizations which enable flexible and critical thinking (Pavlenko 2005a).

Are the metalinguistic advantages of relatively balanced bilinguals temporary and located mainly with younger children? Do they give a child an initial advantage that soon disappears with growing cognitive competence? Are the effects in any way permanent? Current research is turning its attention to older bilinguals and possible longer-term metalinguistic advantages.

The relationship between aging (in its physical, psychological, and social dimensions) and language is of much current research interest. One suggestion is that being bilingual may allow access to additional cognitive processes and storage as memory functions decline with age. Bialystok et al. (2004) provide some early evidence across a series of experiments that a metalinguistic advantage persists into adulthood and furthermore helps lessen some of the negative cognitive effects of aging in adults.

In a much publicized study, Bialystok et al. (2004) used the Simon Task to compare groups of younger and older bilinguals and monolinguals. In the Simon Task, colored stimuli are presented on either the left or the right side of a computer screen. Each of two colors (or two pairs of colors) is associated with a response key on the two sides of the keyboard underneath the stimuli. A subject has to press the key on the correct side. For example, a correct "congruent" response occurs when the person presses the left key when red is presented on the left side of the screen. A correct "incongruent" response is when the subject presses the left key when red is presented on the right side of the screen. An incorrect response is when red is presented on the right side and the person presses the right key. The time taken to respond is an important measurement (i.e., "incongruent" trials have longer reaction times and this is termed the Simon effect). Longer reaction times tend to occur with aging.

Across a series of experiments, Bialystok et al. (2004) found superior performance among bilinguals on the Simon task. This result was apparent in younger and older bilinguals. Bilinguals tended to perform the Simon Task quicker than "matched" monolinguals, irrespective of age, and showed less interference in the "incongruent" trials. A key finding was that bilingualism reduced the age-related lower performance as older bilinguals performed significantly better than the older monolinguals. This implies that "the lifelong experience of managing two languages attenuates the age-related decline in the efficiency of inhibitory processing" (Bialystok et al. 2004, p. 301). Thus, lifelong bilingualism may provide a partial

defense against the normal decline in cognitive control associated with aging. This may be due to bilinguals using more distributed brain networks to manage and process information. Luk et al. (2011) demonstrated that bilinguals tend to have "stronger brain white matter (WM) connectivity between brain regions, facilitating information transfer and resulting in better executive performance" (p. 16,808).

The Simon effect is similar to advantages found in bilingual children who appear to be superior in selective attention to problems, plus inhibition of attention to misleading information. The bilingual advantage appears to be in complex cognitive processing that requires executive control. This advantage may be due to bilinguals working in one language while both their languages are active. "The joint activity of the two systems requires a mechanism for keeping the languages separate so that fluent performance can be achieved without intrusions from the unwanted language" (Bialystok et al. 2004, p. 291).

From these experiments, such inhibitory control appears to last for a lifetime (Bialystok et al. 2004). "The simple experience of bilingualism that relies on some aspect of these processes to control the production of the relevant language appears to yield widespread benefits across a range of complex cognitive tasks" (Bialystok et al. 2004, p. 302). This suggests that future research can valuably engage the range and boundaries in the metalinguistic profiles of bilinguals across the lifespan, from fetus to fading.

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Knowledge About Language and Learner Autonomy
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Beatriz Lado: Methods in Multilingualism Research. In Volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Language Awareness and Minority Languages

Jeroen Darquennes

Abstract

Providing an overview of ideas about as well as practices aiming at the promotion of minority languages at school through fostering pupils' language awareness, this chapter starts with a sketch of some early developments in the scholarly interest in language awareness related to minority languages. It then deals with some major contributions regarding the role of language awareness in the promotion of minority languages at school in Europe during the last two decades of the twentieth century. The following section tackles a number of issues that color contemporary reflections on language awareness as part of plurilingual education. After a brief discussion of some of the major difficulties and challenges surrounding the interplay between language awareness and minority languages, attention is given to some possible future directions in research on this topic. Throughout this chapter, the focus is almost exclusively on Europe since that is the context the author is most familiar with.

Contents

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Introduction

This chapter provides a generalizing account of ideas about as well as practices aiming at the promotion of minority languages at school through fostering pupils' language awareness. Language awareness is used here as a synonym for knowledge about language. It broadly refers to an individual's awareness of how language functions as a system and of how language as a social construct is used in society (cf. Cots 2008: 1). Minority languages refer to languages used by members of so-called "old" or "new" minorities that can be found in the majority of the world's states. The "old" (depending on the context sometimes also referred to as "historical," "traditional," "autochthonous," or "indigenous") minority languages are used in language communities that have lived in their respective territories for centuries (examples are the Bretons in France, the Aboriginals in Australia, or the Quechua in Bolivia). The "new" (also referred to as: "immigrant," "allochthonous") minority languages are the home languages of migrant workers or asylum seekers who quite recently (i.e., in the second half of the twentieth century or later) settled in a host country and mainly can be found in urban areas. Examples are the Pakistanis in Barcelona or the Vietnamese in Toronto (cf. Extra and Gorter 2009 for a more detailed discussion).

This chapter opens with a concise overview of some early developments in the scholarly interest in language awareness related to minority languages. It then deals with some major contributions regarding the role of language awareness in the promotion of minority languages at school in Europe during the last two decades of the twentieth century. The following section homes in on a number of issues that color contemporary reflections on language awareness as part of plurilingual education (a concept emanating from discussions at the level of the Council of Europe). After a brief discussion of some of the major difficulties and challenges surrounding the interplay between language awareness and minority languages, attention is given to some possible future directions in research on this topic. Throughout this chapter, the focus will be almost exclusively on Europe since that is the context the author is most familiar with.

Early Developments

It has been repeatedly pointed out that language awareness *avant la lettre* can be traced back to Humboldtian comparative linguistics (cf. van Essen 2008) that, itself, builds on the work of Adelung and Gessner. Humboldt, a renowned connoisseur of indigenous languages, was mainly interested in a philological comparison of

language structures and the "character" of languages as it reveals itself in their use. A more marked attention to the contribution of conscious reflections on language form and language use with respect to language teaching and language learning in relation to state and "foreign" languages started to manifest itself in the early twentieth century. Examples can be found in the works of linguists such as von der Gabelentz and Palmer (cf. van Essen 2008). When it comes to minority languages, the added value of educational approaches that explore pupils' conscious awareness of language structures and language use starts to be more systematically studied toward the end of the 1960s. At that time, reports such as Allen's *Survey of the Teaching of English to Non-English Speakers in the United States* (1966) appear in which attention is paid to the challenges that migrants face when trying to integrate in a host country, and the possible role that language education could play to help them overcome these challenges.

Inspired by Allen's report as well as by Fishman et al.'s *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), Spolsky publishes an edited volume on *The Language Education of Minority Children* in 1972. Spolsky (1972: 4) argues that schools should "take into account the language competence" that pupils of migrant origin as well as speakers of nonstandard varieties of English bring to the classroom. Similar ideas feature in what one could call the "social linguistics" of the 1970s in Germany where reflections on the role of dialectal and regional varieties of German are flanked by discussions on the position of migrant workers in society and the way in which linguists could or should contribute to their linguistic integration and well-being. In an intellectual climate that was dominated by heated discussions on the appropriateness of Basil Bernstein's language deficit hypothesis (see Bolander and Watts 2009), linguists developed ideas on how the immigrants' *Sprachbewusstsein* ("language consciousness," also translated as "language awareness") could be activated in such a way that it would facilitate the acquisition of German (cf. Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977).

A glance at publications in the field of sociolinguistics and contact linguistics in Europe since the 1970s shows that research on "new" minorities has – at least in general terms – more quickly developed an interest in language awareness issues than research on "old" minorities. In research on language education in the case of "old" minorities, a lot of emphasis is initially put on the role of minority language learning in fostering the intergenerational transmission of the minority language and securing the use of the minority language in society. In research on "new" minorities, attention is given to educational strategies that could help to facilitate the linguistic integration of migrants into a new environment.

In order to facilitate the integration of immigrants in European society, the Council of Europe (a supranational organization that was established in 1949 and aims at cooperation between its currently 47 member states, cf. www.coe.int) starts to promote the so-called Enseignement de langues et cultures d'origine (ELCO), also known as the "Heritage Language Programme" (HLP) in the UK (as well as in Canada which is one of the Council of Europe's observer states). Toward the end of the 1970s, (extra)curricular activities are developed in which intercultural approaches (some of which are still evident today) are used to give a recognized

place to migrants' linguistic and cultural usages at school (cf. Castellotti and Moore 2010: 8).

It takes a while before the research community, let alone schools and society at large, starts to move away from a discourse that approaches the language background of persons belonging to a language minority as a "problem." In the UK, such a shift comes about at a policy level with the publication of a number of reports between 1975 and 1990 dealing with the challenges of language education at large and the challenge related to the presence of pupils with an immigrant background in particular (cf. Bhatt and Martin-Jones 1992). Notwithstanding the fact that these documents are – if not explicitly, then most certainly latently – colored by an assimilationist discourse, Martin (2009: 496–497) concludes, echoing Ruiz's (1984) well-known typology, that there clearly has been a shift in the UK "from viewing the languages of the new minorities as a 'problem' to viewing them as a 'resource', though not always as a 'right'."

A pioneer in this respect and one who contributed much to the spread of the notion of "language awareness" is Eric Hawkins. In the early 1980s, Hawkins set out to tackle three major problems confronting British education: (1) the fact that Anglophone students had difficulties learning foreign languages, (2) the fact that Anglophone students also had problems with English due to a lack of understanding language structures, and (3) the fact that immigrant children had difficulty integrating and underperformed at school (cf. de Pietro and Matthey 2001: 33). In order to counter these problems, Hawkins did not just aim at bridging the space between L1 and L2 in language learning but also argued for the incorporation of both ("new" as well as "old") minority community languages and foreign languages into the comparative study of human language. He put great emphasis on what all pupils can learn from the presence in their classroom of children who speak a language other than their own (cf. Bhatt and Martin-Jones 1992: 287–288).

Hawkins' ideas (cf. Hawkins 1984) found their way into a number of support materials to be used in education (cf. de Pietro and Matthey 2001). The change in discourse did not give rise to major upheavals in the practical organization of language education in the UK (cf. Martin 2009). It did, however, trigger off reflections on the benefits of language awareness activities for the linguistic development of all pupils (especially pupils with an immigrant background) at school that gained momentum on the European mainland in the 1990s.

Major Contributions

As mentioned in the previous section, Europe had witnessed an investment in programs that accorded a place to immigrant languages at school in the late 1970s and the 1980s. However, already in the early 1990s, scholars started to recognize that this type of language education sometimes ran counter to the integration and acceptance of immigrant pupils in that it perpetuated the compartmentalization of society into majority and minority groups and even contributed to the stigmatization of immigrant language communities (cf. Castellotti and Moore 2010). Parallel to the

Enseignement de langues et cultures d'origine, an approach was developed that aimed at an awakening to and an appreciation of the diversity of languages present in the classroom and in society at large. Inspired by the work of Louise Dabène (Grenoble) and Christiane Perregaux (Genève), this approach has come to be known under a variety of denominators including *Begegnung mit Sprachen* (in the German-speaking parts of Europe), *Educazione Linguistica* in Italy, *taalsensibilisering* (in the Dutch-speaking parts of Europe), *Éveil aux Langues* (evlang) in the French as well as in the Franco-Canadian context, and *Éducation et Ouverture aux Langues à l'École* (EOLE) in the Swiss context. This approach (which will be referred to as *evlang* in the paragraphs that follow) has extensively profited from project funding by the Council of Europe. The results of the subsequent projects are, at least partly, documented on platforms such as www.elodil.org, www.edilic.com, and carap.ecml.at as well as in publications such as Balsiger et al. (2012a) and Troncy (2014).

Although there certainly are differences related to the legal frameworks and the language policies on which evlang initiatives in various countries rest, the levels (i.e., preprimary, primary, or secondary) at which they are introduced, the (extra) curricular time devoted to, and the actual languages covered by such activities, it remains possible to identify a couple of basic evlang principles. Based on de Pietro and Matthey (2001: 34–35) and Cummins (2012: 48), these basic principles can be summarized as follows: *evlang* activities do not aim at learning languages; they are rather complementary activities that exist next to the teaching of other (i.e., L1, L2, L3) languages. They are meant to encourage pupils to reflect on language as a system and on the use of languages (not just those that are part of the school curriculum, but also the ones used at home, the ones that are used in the environment the pupils live in, languages that have the status of a lingua franca, sign languages, etc.). This reflection is encouraged by means of pedagogical activities centered around languages as "objects of study" that are meant to trigger the pupils' implicit knowledge about and to foster their susceptibility to differences and similarities between structural features of spoken and written language. Next to bringing pupils into contact with different sounds and writing systems that make them aware of the arbitrary relation of sound/form and meaning, pupils are also encouraged to consciously reflect on the way in which language diversity manifests itself and is lived in society and the classroom. This is done by letting them talk about and listen to individual language biographies and individual accounts of the use and usability of individual language repertoires in various spaces of society. As such, pupils have the opportunity to valorize their home languages (as well as other languages and language varieties of their individual repertoires) within the classroom. They also get the feeling that their identity as well as the cultural capital of the community they belong to is affirmed. *Evlang* is thus meant to add to the purely linguistic and cognitive skills of pupils (it urges them to reflect on how language works as a system), their sociolinguistic skills (it invites them to reflect on the role of, the attitudes toward, and the beliefs about different languages and language varieties in society), and their psycholinguistic skills (in the sense that pupils are invited to reflect on how the (abstract) knowledge about their own language can help them to

familiarize themselves with and/or to acquire other languages). Cummins (2012: 41) stresses that *evlang* "represents a powerful instructional strategy for *all* students," yet can mean the difference between success and failure for immigrant and marginalized group students.

That *evlang* approaches have the potential to bear fruit is illustrated by Young and Hélot (2003) in a contribution on an *evlang* project in a small rural primary school on the outskirts of Mulhouse in Alsace. In the project that lasted for 3 years, over 20 languages and cultures were presented to children aged between 6 and 10. Young and Hélot (2003: 243–244) report how pupils, teachers, and parents profited from the project that helped to forge closer links with the local community and helped to lessen the linguistic and cultural gap between the children's home and school environment. More practical examples can be found in publications already mentioned such as Balsiger et al. (2012a) and Troncy (2014).

Typical of *evlang* approaches is that they aim at a sort of "inclusive" approach to language diversity in that they put diversity itself rather than specific languages at center stage and do not concentrate on language learning as such. In certain contexts, however, language awareness activities are more tightly connected to actual language teaching. That is the case in the German *Bundesland* (i.e., state) of North Rhine-Westphalia where a concept of mother tongue education has been developed for multilingual children (i.e., mainly children raised in families with an immigrant background) in grades 1–10 of compulsory education. As explained in detail by Extra (2009: 181–186), mother tongue education is offered as an elective course that helps the pupils, among other things, to maintain and develop contacts with their countries of origin, to look at their cultural background from their own and others' perspectives, to understand the (linguistic and cultural) behavior of others, and to solve problems arising from cultural misunderstandings.

Raising awareness of the value that language and culture have to minoritized language communities is increasingly considered to be an important aspect in language education in areas where efforts are made to promote historical minority languages. Ibarran, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2008) point to the necessity of securing a place for language awareness activities in the Basque curriculum in order to stimulate positive attitudes of pupils with a Basque, a Spanish, as well as an immigrant language background to Basque language and culture. The conviction that positive attitudes toward a minority language are a key element in the success of minority language education has stimulated the people in charge of the trilingual (Ladin-German-Italian) education in the Ladin valleys in the Italian Dolomites to invest in language awareness activities over the past years (cf. Verra 2004). Similar views guide French-Italian bilingual education in Val d'Aoste on the Italian-French border.

In language minority research, the Val d'Aoste is known for thorough reflections on language education instigated by collaborators of the former Institut Régional de Recherche Éducative pour le Val d'Aoste. As Cavalli (2008: 47–49) explains, toward the turn of the millennium, the institute focused on the further development of scenarios for language education in Val d'Aoste that could profit from already existing approaches which at first sight were rather different, yet in practice highly

complementary, namely, (1) the *evlang* approach, (2) integrated didactics (i.e., the acquisition of active skills in a language on the basis of another, genetically related language), (3) intercomprehension (i.e., the fostering of passive skills in a language on the basis of comparisons with another, mostly genetically related language), and (4) a combination of language and content as in content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Due to political decisions, the researchers in Val d'Aoste have not been able to implement the scenarios they had in mind (cf. Cavalli 2011 for details). If implemented, they would have been among the first to give a concrete interpretation to what the Council of Europe has come to promote as plurilingual education since the beginning of the new millennium.

Work in Progress

Emanating from discussions among experts, the language policy division of the Council of Europe has published a considerable number of documents on plurilingual education over the past years. One can derive from these documents that plurilingual education is promoted as education for democratic citizenship. It is meant for all pupils (thus not for a specific category of pupils) and seeks to exploit their linguistic resources in order to develop their plurilingual competence (i.e., their capacity to successfully acquire and use different competences in different languages, at different levels of proficiency, and for different functions). Plurilingual education seeks to achieve this goal through the organization of (the combination of) the following types of activities: (1) activities, curricular or extracurricular of whatever nature, which seek to enhance and develop language competence and speakers' individual linguistic repertoires, from the earliest schooldays and throughout life, and/or (2) activities that are principally designed to raise awareness of linguistic (as well as cultural, religious, etc.) diversity, but which do not aim to teach such languages and therefore do not constitute language teaching in the strict sense (cf. Beacco and Byram 2007). Promoting a combination of mutually enriching approaches in language education that have been developed over the past decades (*evlang*, intercomprehension, integrated didactics, CLIL, and intercultural education), the Council of Europe's documents on plurilingual education contain a vision of what language education could look like in the twenty-first century.

In order to stimulate the conversion of this vision into actual language-in-education policies and school curricula in its member states, the Council has published a guide for the development of language education policies in Europe (cf. Beacco and Byram 2007). Parallel to the Council of Europe's activities, teams of researchers test existing language-in-education policies all over Europe against classroom realities and/or describe and scrutinize bottom-up practices in language education that could allow for the development of scenarios that better correspond to linguistically diverse classroom realities in an increasingly globalized and superdiverse world. In the publications that are the result of (often qualitative) empirical research, language awareness is considered to be one (albeit essential) part of a total package of tailor-made, interlocked approaches that require careful planning in order to be

effective (cf. Little, Leung, and Van Avermaet 2014). The topic of awareness is mentioned especially when it comes to the acceptance of hybrid forms of language use.

Spurred on by researchers such as Ofelia García, the hybridity of language repertoires of (minority and other) pupils who grow up bilingually has quite recently advanced to a central topic in research on language education. What researchers point to is not just the need for a sensitization to the normality of "translanguagings" (i.e., the "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds,*" Garcia 2009: 45) but also the need to creatively capitalize on the phenomenon of translanguaging (others use notions such as "heterolingualism," "polylingualism," or "metrolingualism") in language education. As Castellotti and Moore (2010: 15) with reference to the work of Gajo and Mondada (2000) note, there is research available that shows that allowing pupils in multilingual and multicultural classrooms to utilize their abilities in several languages at the same time "prompts them to communicate at school and gives them confidence in their ability to also acquire the language of schooling." More and more studies appear that investigate the role of hybrid language use in (urban) classroom settings in a constructive critical way (cf. Canagarajah 2011).

Parallel to the interest in what one could broadly refer to as the intermingling of languages and the consequences of this sort of language use for language education, research also increasingly concentrates on the functioning of one language as a bridge or a leg up to the acquisition of (passive or active) skills in another language. At the crossroads of research on language awareness, integrated didactics, receptive multilingualism, and language contact, a team of scholars at the University of Groningen is currently investigating factors that contribute to the intelligibility of a related language. They do not merely focus on widespread languages but are also intent on taking "old" minority languages such as Frisian into account (cf. Bergsma et al. 2014) and hope that the outcomes of their research will contribute to the further fine-tuning of didactic approaches (partly) based on the comparison of languages.

Problems and Difficulties

Fostering pupils' awareness of how language functions as a system has been identified in this chapter as one of the components of language awareness. Raising awareness about language structures can, however, be done in different ways. It can be accomplished on the basis of rather superficial comparisons that aim at awakening the interest of pupils to the existence of different sounds and writing systems. If one intends to make use of more in-depth comparisons of languages in order to facilitate the acquisition of passive or active language skills, then one has to recognize that it is a lot more straightforward to compare languages that are genetically related than languages that belong to different language families. Consequently, a lot more materials are available for the comparison of closely related languages (cf. the EuroCom method as referred to below) than for the comparison of more distant

languages (which is the case for many of the "new" and some of the "old" minority languages when compared to the state languages in Europe).

But even if one engages in language awareness activities around languages that are genetically related on the basis of available materials, one cannot take it for granted that the pupils' awareness for language as a system will be triggered to the same extent as their awareness of the role of language as a social construct in society. Research in a Swiss context shows that what has been referred to as *evlang* activities did have a very positive effect on the pupils' beliefs about and attitudes to language diversity in general. The effects on their awareness of the comparability of phonological, syntactic, and lexical aspects of the languages they were exposed to were, however, rather limited (cf. Balsiger et al. 2012b). A lot depends, of course, as to whether language awareness activities are intimately linked to language acquisition or not. If they are, then care has to be taken to use appropriate methods that allow for learning a language on the basis of structural comparisons. A good example is the EuroCom method that helps language learners to acquire passive skills in a language that belongs to the same family as their first language by showing them how to use their existing language knowledge to deduce lexical, phonetic, syntactic, and morphological information from the target language (cf. McCann et al. 2002). Care also needs to be taken to make these methods an essential part of teacher training (which, as yet, is not a standard practice). If not, then one can content oneself with more superficial language comparisons where one can be relatively sure that, combined with other awareness raising activities, they will positively sensitize pupils to linguistic diversity. Since this is an outcome that, most certainly when it occurs at the level of (pre-)primary education (cf. Young and Hélot 2003), is most likely to have a positive effect on pupils' interest in learning languages, it is a pity that this type of language education is still not that widespread (cf. Eurydice 2012). Overall, European states are rather reluctant to change existing practices in language education. These practices are still mainly centered around offering a couple of widespread "foreign" languages (i.e., mainly English, French, Spanish, German) next to the state (or regional) language and are only slowly moving toward experimenting with CLIL or other forms of language education promoted at the supranational level. The Council of Europe (as well as the European Commission that promotes individual multilingualism in the sense that every citizen should have practical skills in (at least) two languages in addition to his/her mother tongue) keeps on pushing for changes. However, their operational procedure is one of consensual persuasion. This means that states are not obliged to implement proposals emanating from Strasbourg (Council of Europe) or Brussels (European Commission).

Future Directions

Plurilingual education has emerged as a sort of umbrella term for language education, which aims toward inclusive education (i.e., education for all) and seeks to combine various approaches such as language awareness, intercomprehension, integrated didactics, CLIL, and intercultural education in a tailor-made fashion.

Given this, it seems almost logical that more emphasis will (or ought to) be put on research that looks at how these various approaches can be fruitfully interlocked in practice and pragmatically translated into tailor-made curricula for plurilingual (or bi-/multilingual) education in various settings. That is one of the general ideas behind the Council of Europe's guide for the further development of plurilingual education. The ideas put forward in this guide, however, deserve to be combined with similar ideas developed elsewhere. If one puts aside the (in reality sometimes rather small or ideology driven) terminological differences one is confronted with in the literature on bi-, multi-, and/or plurilingual education, it could, for example, be of interest to try and map the ideas expressed in the Council of Europe's guide with clear and flexible frameworks or typologies for language education such as Cenoz' continua of multilingual education. Cenoz (2009: 31–56) gives a clear overview of the variables that have to be considered in the design of multilingual curricula, including "linguistic distance," the macro- as well as the micro-sociolinguistic context, and the school setting (with attention to the subjects taught, the language(s) of instruction, the role of the teachers, and the school population). Mapping existing ideas requires that researchers will have to be willing to cross the intra- and interdisciplinary fences in a field of research that has become increasingly specialized and compartmentalized over the years. They should be invited to look for and build on common denominators and to value the rather neglected rich history of their field (cf. also May 2014). Next to that, research on language awareness and related concepts would also profit from an attempt to provide an overview of its actual implementation at different levels of compulsory education in Europe. In this respect, it would be interesting to build, for example, on Colin Baker's work (cf. the types of bilingual education discussed in Baker and Prys Jones 1998, in Baker 2011, as well as in May and Dam 2014), on Mercator's regional dossiers regarding the situation of "old" minority languages in education across Europe (www.mercator-research.eu), as well as on the findings of Language Rich Europe, a project that has identified trends in policies and practice for multilingualism in Europe (cf. www.language-rich.eu).

Cross-References

▶ "Awakening to Languages" and Educational Language Policy
▶ Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Elzbieta Kuzborska: International Law and Language Minority Education. In Volume: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education
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Translanguaging as a Pedagogical Tool in Multilingual Education

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter

Abstract

This chapter looks at the development of language awareness within the context of multilingual education by focusing on translanguaging as a pedagogical tool. The origin of translanguaging in the context of Welsh-English bilingual education is discussed as well as its spread to other contexts. The focus of the article is on the use of translanguaging in language and content teaching. It highlights the importance of considering the learner as a multilingual speaker who has a multilingual repertoire and uses it in a social context is highlighted. The original concept translanguaging based on the alternation of the languages used in the input and output have developed so as to use other possibilities of relating the different languages. Several projects aimed at developing metalinguistic awareness by activating the relationships between the languages in the multilingual learner's repertoire are discussed. Some of the challenges of using translanguaging as a pedagogical tool are also addressed. Among them the concept of translanguaging and the spread of monolingual ideologies are discussed.

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Contents

Introduction

This chapter looks at the development of language awareness within the context of multilingual education. Multilingual education aims at the development of multilingualism and multiliteracy in two or more languages. Within this context, a holistic view questions that native competence should be the final goal when learning a language and looks at the learners' whole linguistic repertoire.

It is often thought that language learning in school settings has as its ultimate goal to acquire the language skills of an idealized native speaker of the target language(s). The goal for teaching a second or a foreign language would be to achieve native command of the target language and learners are measured against that yardstick. However, as most learners do not achieve this goal, the process can result in a feeling of failure and incompleteness.

Another related aspect is that of establishing hard boundaries between languages. The idea that the target language has to be isolated from other languages in the learners' repertoire has old roots in the direct and audiolingual methods (see also Cummins 2007). The ideology of language separation at school is sometimes reflected in the association of one teacher with one language and even in multilingual language teachers acting as if they were monolingual. Other indicators are the use of different classrooms for different languages or the avoidance of translation as a learning strategy.

In this chapter we look at the reactions against this monolingual view of multilingualism, and we will look at new holistic approaches that can develop language awareness when learning languages in school contexts.

Early Developments

In this section we will see the origin of the concept translanguaging and other trends that challenge the establishment of hard boundaries between languages.

According to Lewis et al. (2012), translanguaging has been used in Wales since the 1980s. The term was first coined in Welsh "trawsieithu" by Williams and Whittall and translated to English first as "translinguifying" and later as "translanguaging." It refers to a pedagogical practice that alternates the use of Welsh and English for input and output in the same lesson. The idea is to get information in one language and to work with that information in the other language. It is important to consider that translanguaging has its origin in a context of bilingual education that aims at developing balanced bilingualism both in Welsh and English. The idea behind it is that it is necessary to understand the information before using it and that ability in both languages will increase when these languages reinforce each other (Williams 2002). According to Williams (2002), the pedagogical practice of translanguaging works both ways, from Welsh to English as well as from English into Welsh. As Lewis et al. (2012) explain, "translanguaging" uses the stronger language to develop the weaker one, and in this way, it implies a deep understanding of meaning and can result in increased proficiency in the two languages. Lewis et al. (2012: 644) explain the pedagogic and cognitive foundations of translanguaging according to Williams' (1996) concept of translanguaging "the process of translanguaging uses various cognitive processing skills in listening and reading, the assimilation and accommodation of information, choosing and selecting from the brain storage to communicate in speaking and writing. Thus, translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating as it moves from finding parallel words to processing and relaying meaning and understanding."

According to Lewis et al. (2012), translanguaging emerged in a historical context in the 1980s in which the idea of holistic additive Welsh-English bilingualism was being developed after many years of separate monolingualism in Welsh and English. The concept of translanguaging brings Welsh and English together so that they can reinforce each other, and by doing so, it shares some aspects with the holistic proposals of bilingualism made by Grosjean (1985) and Cook (1992).

Grosjean (1985) reacted against the monolingual view of multilingualism. He considered that bilinguals are fully competent speaker-hearers who have a unique linguistic profile. This profile cannot be divided into two separate parts because it involves a unique and global set of competences. As it has been argued by Grosjean (2010), a bi- or multilingual person's communicative competence is not comparable to a monolingual's. At the same time, as Grosjean (2010: 20) points out, the "equal and perfect knowledge" of two languages is a myth. This holistic view of bilingualism, which considers the bilingual (or multilingual) person and his/her whole linguistic repertoire, has been very influential in the study of multilingualism in school settings.

Cook (1992), also adopting a holistic view, proposed the term "multicompetence" as a complex type of competence, which is qualitatively different from the competence of monolingual speakers of a language. The reason is that learning a second or additional language has an influence on the whole cognitive system. In fact, some multilinguals achieve a very sophisticated but different knowledge of a target language that goes beyond the common core mastered by many native speakers. Because of their richer experience with languages, bi- and multilingual speakers of a

language can also manifest creativity and language playfulness to a larger extent than monolingual speakers of the same languages. L2 learners cannot be compared to native speakers of the L2 because they can never be monolingual native speakers and therefore should not be judged by the standards of a different group of speakers. Cook considers that L2 learners are fundamentally different from native speakers and that multicompetence should be examined using a different lens.

An area of research that has been influenced by Grosjean and Cook's holistic views is third language acquisition. This area, which has expanded rapidly in recent years, highlights the differences between learning a second or a third language. The obvious difference is that third language learners already have at least two languages in their linguistic repertoire, and they can use these repertoires when learning additional language. They can develop awareness of the similarities and differences between structures, vocabulary, phonetics, and communicative functions in the languages they know and the target languages. Third language learners can also benefit from their own experience as language learners and apply the learning strategies they consider successful when learning an additional language. Studies on the influence of bilingualism on the acquisition of additional languages have shown that in most cases, bilinguals have advantages over monolinguals, and these differences have been attributed to the development of metalinguistic awareness (Cenoz 2013). Bilinguals can reflect about language to a greater extent and be more aware of the way languages work. The contribution of studies on third language acquisition is important because it goes across the boundaries between languages. In fact, metalinguistic awareness can be enhanced because of multilingual speakers' larger linguistic repertoire.

The Council of Europe also goes in the direction of softening boundaries between languages and questioning the role of the native speaker as the only legitimate model. According to the Council of Europe (2001: 168), "plurilingualism" is a single competence which encompasses all the languages in the speaker's linguistic repertoire.

The need to avoid hard boundaries between languages is also highlighted by Cummins (2008) when referring to second language immersion programs. He refers to the languages as "two solitudes" and states that there is no research evidence for the separation of languages. According to Cummins "if bilingual and second language immersion programs are to reach their full potential, it is important that we revisit the monolingual instructional orientation that dominates the implementation of many of these programs and in some cases has assumed the status of dogma" (Cummins 2008: 73).

The trend to isolate languages is pervasive in different programs. Byrd Clark (2012) reports the monolingual view of languages in the Canadian context where Anglophones and Francophones are seen as two separate homogeneous groups of learners and the syllabuses for learning French and English are seldom integrated. This is also the case of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) in Europe. These programs are characterized by the integration of language and content but still draw hard boundaries between the languages in the curriculum (Cenoz 2015).

In the next section, we will look at major contributions that take the learners' whole linguistic repertoire into consideration.

Major Contributions

The contributions in this section have emerged from different areas and give more emphasis to cognitive, sociolinguistic, or pedagogical issues, but they all criticize separate monolingualism. These contributions are challenging well-established traditions in language learning and bi-/multilingualism in school contexts and can be said to be part of an emerging paradigm. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) proposed the holistic model "Focus on Multilingualism" which defines the three dimensions of this emerging paradigm: the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire, and the social context.

The Multilingual Speaker. The first dimension that can be identified when a multilingual lens is used is that multilingual learners are respected as such and not expected to be monolingual speakers. Multilingual learners navigate between languages and do not use each of their languages for the same purposes in all communicative situations, in the same domains, or with the same people (Moore and Gajo 2009). Rather than being defective communicators, multilingual speakers display their agency by using their linguistic resources to communicate more effectively.

The Whole Linguistic Repertoire. By focusing on multilingualism, the idea of languages as discrete-bounded entities has to be excluded because communicative practices show that multilingual speakers have the possibility of using elements from the different languages at their disposal. In fact, this is the way their speech can be creative and different from the norms of individual languages. Multilingual speakers can also communicate by using a single language in communicative situations when they are expected to do so. Furthermore, multilingual learners can also compare the languages they know and use their resources cross-linguistically when learning additional languages in school contexts. In contrast to monolingual ideologies that actively exclude languages other than the target languages, "Focus on Multilingualism" takes the learners' whole linguistic repertoire into consideration.

The Social Context. Holistic approaches focusing on multilingualism cannot separate language acquisition "becoming multilingual" from language use "being multilingual." In contrast to monolingual ideologies, "Focus on Multilingualism" aims at bridging the gap between communication practices inside and outside the classroom. It is not a question of learning a language in isolation but developing awareness about the way multilinguals use their linguistic resources in creative and hybrid ways.

The concept of translanguaging has gained currency in the last years. As it has already been seen, the original concept referred to a pedagogical practice based on the systematic use of Welsh and English for input and output in the same lesson. The concept has been extended beyond the classroom. García (2009: 45) defines translanguaging as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in

order to make sense of their bilingual worlds." As García and Li Wei (2014: 22) explain, translanguaging is different from code-switching because bilingual speakers construct complex discursive practices by using their complete language repertoire, and these practices cannot be easily assigned to one language or another.

Translanguaging has been associated with the development of multilingual identities. Creese and Blackledge (2010) distinguish "separate bilingualism" from "flexible bilingualism"; the latter places the speaker at the heart of the interaction and views languages as a social resource without clear boundaries.

The concept of translanguaging has become quite popular but its meaning is not unitary. Nowadays translanguaging is an umbrella term. It can refer to pedagogical strategies used to learn languages based on the learners' whole linguistic repertoire. It can also refer to spontaneous multilingual practices and to the way those practices can be used in a pedagogical way (see also Gort 2015). In any case, translanguaging implies that there are no hard boundaries between languages. The concept of translanguaging is dynamic and implies activity rather than the interaction of closed systems. The understanding of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy is in some cases closer to the origin of the concept coined by Williams for bilingual education in Wales, and in other cases, it is closer to the extension of the term proposed by García (2009). In this chapter we look at translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy examining its relationship to language awareness and metalinguistic awareness. We focus on using translanguaging as part of the teaching process and not on spontaneous translanguaging in communicative practices among students even if these practices can also be used pedagogically. Translanguaging is much broader than the pedagogical strategies than we describe in the rest of this section as it can be seen in García and Li Wei (2014).

The use of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy can have different aims in multilingual education. Translanguaging can be used both in language and in content classes and it can be used in different ways. Here we will refer to some contributions that involve different languages and educational settings. The contributions refer to translanguaging in input and output, the use of the L1 as a resource in language and in CLIL/CBI classes, and translanguaging in writing. We include different types of pedagogical strategies that soften boundaries between languages as being translanguaging such as using input and output in different languages, translation, comparison of language structures, or the use of cognates.

Translanguaging in Input and Output

Lewis et al. (2013) conducted a study on the use of English and Welsh in 29 primary and secondary schools in Wales. The study aimed at observing the use of the two languages and how the allocation of languages is related to academic levels and subjects. After observing 100 classes, they elaborated a typology which included the monolingual use of one of the languages and other possibilities. Among the latter they identified translanguaging in its original meaning when input and output are systematically varied in one or the other language. They reported other strategies that

could also be regarded as translanguaging in a broad sense. The main strategy was translation and they reported three variants. The aim of the first is to use bilingual textbooks, worksheets, or teacher explanations involving translation for the whole class so as to ensure understanding of content. A second variant was the use of translation for subject-related terminology in content classes. The third variant was to use translation as reinforcement for some groups of students when learning through the medium of the L2. Lewis et al. (2013) also observed that translanguaging in the original sense and translation were combined and an additional category was code-switching by the teacher in responding to student's language.

The results indicated that 18 classes had translanguaging in the original sense as input and output in different languages, 42 had some type of translation, 14 had combinations of translation and translanguaging, and in 5 classrooms it was observed that the teacher switched to the language used by the students. In total there were 79 out of 100 classes that were not monolingual. The alternation of the two languages for input and output was more common at the end of primary school in arts and humanities subjects. Lewis et al. (2013) discuss that translation is a temporary device, a way to increase language capacity to work in the L2 and consider that, with the exception of translation, there is quite a degree of language separation in bilingual schools in Wales.

The Use of the L1 as a Resource in Language and in CLIL/CBI Classes

The Welsh study reported the use the L1 to ensure understanding of content when the medium of instruction is the L2. In fact, the use of the L1 in CLIL/CBI classes is becoming to be seen as a resource for a more efficient learning through the medium of the L2. The scaffolding function of the L1 is reported by Swain and Lapkin (2013) and by Luk and Lin (2015). The L1 can be useful because preexisting knowledge could be a foundation for acquiring new knowledge particularly if there can be cognate connections between the languages and also because the L1 can be a cognitive tool when the learning tasks are complex, particularly in the case of content-based instruction (Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain 2009; Levine 2011). This could include the use of translation and bilingual dictionaries as pedagogical strategies (Cummins 2007). However, as Macaro (2009) points out, more research is needed to examine the effect of using the L1 as a pedagogical strategy.

Translanguaging in Writing

The contribution of studies on the development of multilingual awareness goes beyond analyzing the way two or more languages are used in the classroom or the L1 as a scaffold in language and content classes. The idea is to use the resources in the multilingual students' repertoire in order to increase awareness of the way languages work.

Cenoz and Gorter (2011) compared compositions written by the same students on different topics in Basque, Spanish, and English. Participants were 165 secondary school students from the Basque Country (Spain) who had Basque and/or Spanish as their first language. Students were given a picture for each language and were instructed to write approximately 250 words in each language. The compositions were on different topics and were written on separate days. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) reported that students tend to use the same general strategies when they write in the three languages. For example, some students tend to use a lot of colors in a description; others organize the description according to the position of the different elements from left to right or from the top to the bottom of the picture. Some students include themselves in the descriptions and linked the elements in the pictures to their own experience. Some students announced the content of the different parts of the description in the three languages, while others did not do this.

Soltero-González et al. (2012) also asked students to write compositions. Participants were 36 bilingual teachers who provided writings from 216 students. The authors concluded that a holistic bilingual lens is necessary to analyze the multiple bilingual strategies used in the compositions. They also add that the compositions written by each of the students should be analyzed side by side so as to see how students work across languages. When using a holistic lens, students are seen as learners who use their multilingual resources at the word, sentence, and discourse level.

These two studies on writing skills are examples that show the need to use a holistic lens when analyzing the strategies used by multilingual learners. The multilingual speaker is the same person when writing in one language or another and some competencies are developed across languages. The multilingual speaker uses the resources she/he has as a multilingual when facing a new task such as writing a composition. This explains the similarities and the interaction between the compositions in the different languages. At the same time, it implies that when there are similarities at the vocabulary, grammar, discourse, or pragmatic levels, there are also many elements that have already been acquired in one of the languages and can be reinforced in the other languages. From a pedagogical point of view, the idea would be to reinforce the links between languages. Instead of ignoring the languages in the multilingual speaker's repertoire by building hard boundaries between languages, the idea is to soften the boundaries so as to reinforce language and content learning.

Another important contribution that has focused particularly on writing has been the work of Canagarajah on translingual practice (Canagarajah 2013). He analyzed the strategies multilingual students adopt when writing and explains the way translingual practices are based on the whole linguistic repertoire and involve diverse semiotic resources.

Work in Progress

In the previous section, we have shown that teachers and learners use translanguaging in the classroom as a resource to ensure understanding. We have also seen that learners use similar strategies when writing in different languages. The

next step, which can be considered still work in progress, is to develop pedagogical interventions that include translanguaging.

Already a few years ago, Lyster et al. (2009) reported an intervention in the 2nd year of primary education in Canada where French and English teachers alternated the reading of chapters of the same books in French and English. One of the goals of the project was to raise teachers' awareness of the bilingual resources of their students. Lyster et al. (2009) reported that students were highly motivated, but they also acknowledged that future interventions needed to be more specific.

A few years later, Lyster et al. (2013) reported the results of a more specific intervention targeting at developing morphological awareness in French and English, also in Canadian immersion. A total of 65 students participated in the study, 45 in the experimental group, and 20 in the control group. The instructional treatment was based on the development of prefixes and suffixes that could be found in stories in French and English. Students in the experimental group obtained significantly higher scores in the morphological awareness test in French than students in the control group. English-dominant students in the experimental group also performed better in the English morphological awareness test than English-dominant students in the control group.

Arteagoitia and Howard (2015) use the students' knowledge of the L1 as a resource to improve their literacy skills in the L2. They reported a pedagogical intervention based on the use of cognates in Spanish and English (such as *implementar*, *implement*) to 230 Spanish L1 students living in the USA. The results indicated that Spanish word knowledge enhances English academic vocabulary and reading comprehension skills in English. In fact, the knowledge of Spanish cognates had a significant effect not only on English vocabulary but also on reading comprehension in English.

Makalela (2015) reported an intervention with 60 students of teacher training in South Africa. They all had a Nguni language as their L1 (isiZulu, siSwati, isiXhosa, or isiNdebele) and they were learning Sepedi as an additional language. The experimental group used translanguaging as a teaching strategy, while the control group had a more traditional monolingual approach. The translanguaging strategy used consisted of contrasting and extending meanings when learning Sepedi as an additional language by using English and the students' L1s. Students were also asked to brainstorm in any language when working in groups, to read texts in their first languages, and to retell the stories in the target languages. The results of the study indicate that students in the experimental group obtained better results in vocabulary, but the differences did not reach significance in reading comprehension. Moreover, the reflective accounts students made about the intervention indicated that translanguaging was regarded as a very positive experience.

Another intervention that is in progress is the translanguaging project in the Basque Country. In this context, the aim is to develop language awareness and metalinguistic awareness in three languages: Basque, Spanish, and English. The instructional treatment aims at developing awareness of multilingualism in the community, morphological and discourse awareness.

The diversity of multilingual education regarding linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pedagogical factors creates the need to experiment specific pedagogical interventions for different contexts. The interventions reported in this section can be considered exploratory, but they show the potential of adopting a multilingual focus that has translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy.

Problems and Difficulties

The use of pedagogical strategies based on translanguaging has many advantages but also faces problems and difficulties. Some of the difficulties, such as the scope of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy or the difficulty of softening well-established firm boundaries between languages, are linked to the emergence of a new paradigm.

One of the main difficulties of translanguaging is conceptual and terminological. Translanguaging in a broad sense can include a variety of terms that are used for strategies that go across languages such as code-switching or translation, cross-linguistic pedagogies to develop language awareness, and multilingual practices. Translanguaging in a narrow sense can refer to a single pedagogical strategy such as the cross-linguistic strategy used in Wales (Lewis et al. (2013) or the language alternation for exploratory and presentational talk Probyn (2015) refers to in African educational contexts and elsewhere (see also Quinn 2013 for Timor-Lester). The difficulty of using the same term for different phenomena is related to the attractiveness of the term, the diversity of languages and educational settings, and the multidisciplinary nature of studies in multilingual education.

Another difficulty related to the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical tool in education is that it questions the well-established monolingual tradition in language learning. The idea of isolation of the target language is still well spread and cross-linguistic activities can be seen at the same time as new and old. They are new because they go against the common practice, but at the same time, they may be regarded as old because the L1 was used extensively in old second language teaching methods such as grammar translation. However, there are very important differences between methods such as grammar translation and translanguaging because the latter does not hinder the extensive use of the target language for communicative and academic purposes.

An additional difficulty is related to the implementation of translanguaging pedagogies. The challenge is that translanguaging goes across the curriculum and is not limited to one school subject. Translanguaging affects all language classrooms and all the content classes taught through the medium of a second or additional language in CLIL/CBI programs. This challenge implies the involvement of the whole schools and language and content teachers in projects based on translanguaging. It is clearly more challenging than implementing a new teaching method in a language course.

Another important challenge is related to some contexts where a minority language is spoken (see Gorter et al. 2014). Gorter (2015) explains that there is often

strong social pressure toward the use of the dominant language. In these contexts it is important to keep spaces that allow the development of the minority language (see also Lewis et al. 2012).

Future Directions

The popularity of the term "translanguaging" reflects that holistic perspectives that soften boundaries between languages are developing in different educational contexts.

Future work on translanguaging will probably go in different directions.

One of these directions will be to fine-tune the use of the term translanguaging that it is nowadays used for different realities. As Heugh (2015: 283) points out, translanguaging provides a discourse of educational legitimacy for the use of other languages in educational contexts in South Africa but also some problems when compared to code-switching: *In my view, code-switching conveys a sense that this could be two or multidirectional whereas 'trans' as in translanguaging suggests in the South African context, at least, of moving from one place to another, moving from one language to another, and possibly from an African language to English.*

When translanguaging is a pedagogical tool to develop language and metalinguistic awareness and to expand the learners' linguistic repertoires, it is crucial to prove its efficacy. Translanguaging is more natural than language separation because multilinguals process language and communicate by using the resources at their disposal. As we have seen in the "Work in Progress section," some pedagogical interventions have reported good results associated with translanguaging. However, more research is needed so as to see if translanguaging results in advantages in additional language learning or if it provides a better understanding of subject matter in CLIL/CBI programs. In the same vein, it is necessary to know if translanguaging is more or less effective at different educational levels or for different types of students.

Another direction that needs further research is the multimodality of translanguaging. Translanguaging necessarily looks at complex multimodal practices because multilinguals combine semiotic signs in their repertoire to make meaning. The way these modes are combined needs to be explored further. In sum, translanguaging as a pedagogical tool is still in its infancy but has an exciting and promising future.

Cross-References

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Language Awareness and Multilingual Workplace

Ifigenia Mahili and Jo Angouri

Abstract

The use of many languages for work purposes is not new. However, in the globalized world, the unprecedented level of mobility of people and businesses results in complex linguistic landscapes. This constitutes the norm rather than the exception for employees. In this chapter we discuss multilingualism in relation to the workplace and present some early scholarship as well as areas open for future research. We draw on research related to European settings, which has been the focus of our own studies, but the phenomena we discuss are applicable to professional settings around the world. We discuss the relationship between language policy and language practice and provide the reader with a brief critical review of studies that have influenced the development of thinking in the area. Special attention is paid to issues around ideology and language practice as well as the problems for carrying out research in workplace settings. The multilingual workplace has attracted a lot of interest over the years. The fact that professional activity takes place in a cosmopolitan and transient context has generated considerable literature about the multilingual, multinational, and intercultural dimensions of the world work. It is common however for research to remain discussed within rigid disciplinary and methodological boundaries. The aim of this chapter is to bring together studies from different linguistic subfields and provide an overview of key issues and debates.

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Contents

Introduction and Major Contributions

About 18 years ago, language was identified as the "the forgotten factor" in
management. This widely cited statement echoed a number of studies in the 1990s
which attempted to identify which languages were used for business purposes in
different professional settings. Large-scale surveys were used to capture the lan-
guage needs of different organizations, industries, and, by extension, countries. And
while research showed the multiplicity of languages that formed the ecosystem of the
various organizations, few companies, and typically the larger ones, had clear
strategies in place to meet those needs. The audit-based methodology has been
influential in the field, and it was applied also in more recent work that has provided
the field with an overview of the changing linguistic landscape of European busi-
nesses. As an illustration, the ELAN project (Hagen 2006) surveyed nearly 2000
exporting small medium enterprises (SMEs) across 29 European countries, and
30 multinational companies (MNCs) were also included in the sample to establish
differences in relation to language skills. Recent work (ARCTIC 2013) with
100 UK-based SMEs on the perceived boundaries for international trade confirmed
that language skills have acquired prominence in the knowledge-based economy.
Companies have become more aware of the significance of "language" for business
success and a range of strategies for managing needs are in place by large and small
companies alike; organizations are reported to invest in implementing language
training programs, and they work with interpreters and translators and liaise with
local partners to cover their language needs.

Survey-based studies have also created a useful underpinning for problematizing
the use of English as a key language for commerce in international settings. Although
the adoption of English, one of the major lingua francae of commerce, as a corporate
language is common and often portrayed as a "practical" way to manage linguistic
diversity, multiple other languages play an important role in the actual everyday reality

at work. This is often reflected in organizational language policies, where the official working language(s) is explicitly stipulated in the organization's recruitment advertising/strategies, and/or its written policy documents as well as evidenced more implicitly in established employee practices (Kingsley 2009). However, monolingual language policies do not necessarily entail a monolingual workplace (Angouri 2014; Kinsgley 2013), and a variety of both global and local languages form the linguistic landscape of a range of public and private organizations in different geographical regions. As white- and blue-collar workers are expected to be mobile, work in virtual teams, and address complex issues in languages other than their L1, "communicative events [become] considerably more complex than the label of English as a lingua franca would suggest" (Nickerson 2005, p. 371). The use of business languages (English or other) has been related to access to decision making centers and the democratization of the workplace (Gunnarsson 2004). So, while the choice of a monolingual policy is often represented as "neutral" by companies, it is an ideological decision (see next section) which has specific implications for the management of the power (im)balance between individuals, teams, or departments. Admittedly, the term ideology is used differently by different researchers. Blommaert's approach, according to which the term denotes "the socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use" (1999, p. 1), usefully indicates the limitations of attempting a narrow understanding of the term. As ideological decisions both affect and reflect language policies, a language is used to include and/or exclude others from the various encounters at work. This applies to both lingua francae and other languages. For instance, in Mahili's (2014) qualitative study of the writing practices of eight MNCs based in Greece, external partners were excluded from long email chains through the use of the local language. Local languages are reported to be used to establish solidarity between the groups and to safeguard the privacy of informal communication. Employees report the need to acquire the dominant local language even when this is not part of a job description and in certain workplaces there is the requirement to pick up the main language of interaction within a set period of time. Environments where a local dominant language is used in parallel with a lingua franca are cases in point – see, for instance, the use of Danish and English in the Danish Higher Education Institutions (Hultgren 2014).

Overall the linguistic ecosystem of the modern workplace is complex and requires theoretical and methodological tools that allow the researcher to capture the ways in which individuals negotiated choices and positions in interaction. Against this backdrop, studies have also attempted to capture the lived reality of the multilingual workplace and to go beyond mapping the language needs of organizations at a macro-level. Michael Clyne's 1994 work is one of the influential early studies focusing on the analysis of naturally occurring interaction in English as lingua franca by employees from different ethnic backgrounds. Clyne's work was focused on capturing and analyzing intercultural interaction through audio-recorded mundane conversation in workplaces in Melbourne, Australia. A number of other studies on the workplace also draw on audio and when possible video recordings of

interaction with the aim to study how languages are used (Holmes and Stubbe 2015; Angouri 2013; Mondada 2012, see also work under the Dylan project). Studies which self-relate to the young but established sociolinguistic field of workplace discourse or to a critical approach to the analysis of interaction more broadly seek to understand the dynamics of language use in different settings (Sarangi and Roberts 1999) and contexts. This involves understanding the relationship between language choice and negotiation of identity, expertise, and power and status (Unger et al. 2014). This body of work consistently argues for a critical view of multilingualism as situated practice that goes beyond an understanding of language as a distinct and concrete bundle of rules. According to this perspective, language choice is negotiated in situ and is related to the power balance in any workplace context. Language is not merely a commodity that *some have and some don't*. Although language competence is often portrayed as an asset depending on its "market value" for employees' advancement and economic gain, this is an ideological position related to the socioeconomic status quo of the neoliberal workplace (Heller 2003). We discuss this further in the next section.

From Language Policy to Ideology and Language Use

Language policy and multilingualism have been widely researched in relation to language planning and government policies, language standardization, and nationalism (see Martin-Jones et al. 2012) but less in relation to the workplace. Multilingualism in policy discourses of the European economic zone is of interest as it reflects a fusion of national, supranational, and economic ideological positions.

The EU policies explicitly refer to the value of multilingualism for European citizens to benefit from the opportunities provided by the union largely dependent on free movement. EU citizens are encouraged to acquire two languages alongside their L1. Multilingualism in this context refers to language as separate standard varieties one is or should be proficient in. Standard languages are desirable mainly for socioeconomic reasons (European Commission 1995). Taking a critical view, Jaspers (2009) talks of two kinds of multilingualism, the "prestige" type of the languages promoted in the EU policy and the "plebian" type of mostly low-educated working class migrants, who are forced to learn languages for their survival. Despite the acclaimed "equality" between languages, some have a higher and some a lower status. This is not relevant only to EU institutions but to any work environment. The promotion of a "narrow" multilingualism is still evidenced in policy documents and practices in multilingual institutions (Unger et al. 2014). Multilingual staff are often seen as easier to move between posts, branches, and countries; they *make more contacts and contracts* (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014) and help expand company network and meet financial targets. The knowledge of discreet number of languages becomes part of the skills an individual brings to the job and a useful tool for achieving employment in international organizations. This of course only applies if the languages in question are "the correct" languages, i.e., those visible for their market

value and useful for the activities of international employers. The ideological basis of this stance is evident (see, e.g., Martin-Jones et al. 2012).

Language ideologies are inseparably linked with language policies but not in a static one-to-one relationship. As "values, practices and beliefs associated with language use" (Blommaert 2005), they affect and reflect power (im)balances at work, and they become central in understanding both policy and practice particularly in relation to decisions made by those in power. For example, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2010) look into the way EU policy statements reflect unequal status among languages and promote a core of languages under the guise of "multilingualism."

Language policy documents are typically officially written documents comprising rules and regulations. They also operate at different levels in a continuum from a "macro" supranational or national governmental level, to a "meso" organizational level, to a local subsidiary, to branch level, to even a "micro" working group level, where it might be difficult to distinguish between implicit policies or the actual practices. Organizational policies, often reflected in recruitment advertisements, also play an important role as they influence the composition of the organization's workforce, its linguistic repertoire, and the actual use of the languages at work. Policies operate at different levels of management and they are frequently seen to overlap and intersect. In her study of 10 banks and employing both interviews and questionnaires, Kingsley (2013) addressed the explicit and implicit language policies in banking institutions and the way they diverge and/or reflect the actual language practices. Using similarly bottom-up mixed methodology, Mahili (2014) discussed the way language choice is negotiated locally in the context of the official and unofficial organizational policies of a number of MNCs based in Greece. Several studies are concerned with the divergence between policy documents and the actual employee practices. Focusing on the written communication between one Argentinian subsidiary and its European head office, Gimenez (2002), for instance, has shown the use of Spanish and English in oral communication in an Argentinian subsidiary, alongside the use of English in its headquarters, while others (e.g., Vollstedt 2001) have similarly discussed the extensive use of local languages in informal situations among the locals in internal communication of companies employing lingua francae. This does not contradict a commitment to a monolingual language policy at organizational level. As recent research has argued (Fredriksson et al. 2006; Angouri 2014), ambiguity in language policies is common and a company may promote one corporate language but allow the use of multiple languages if that promotes the company's economic interests.

In the recent special issue "Multilingualism at Work" (Angouri 2014), the complex relationship between the macro-level policies (e.g., the governmental and institutional language policies discussed in Hultgren's study) and micro-level negotiation of language choices (e.g., the in situ shifts between English as LF and Greek as the local language in the same interaction in Mahili's study) has been foregrounded. The authors show how decisions can only be understood in relation to the context of the interaction and the broader organizational and socioeconomic environment. Language choice is co-constructed between employees and related to the resolution of complex issues, i.e., problems that require analysis, synthesis,

negotiation and deciding on future plans of action, or work that needs to be accomplished by teams as in financial reports, tender proposals, and teleconferences. Because of the multiple participants involved and the need for accountability, language choice becomes part of the negotiation of role and responsibility. Access to the repertoire of local languages enables employees to participate in these complex interactions and access decision making. This is also related to participation in socioprofessional events such as conferences, annual away days, and similar events, which provided the chance to interact with clients, suppliers, and colleagues from other countries. Nicely put by a speaker in Mahili (2014), *Being able to speak good English at the conference dinner is not [..] an official must but the annual meeting is your chance to say a couple of things with those higher up [..] it helps with promotions [..]*.

As these studies show, choices between local and global languages appear to be neither stable nor straightforward and simple but negotiated among individuals leading to a complex reality that cannot be captured in policy documents. It is this mismatch of policy and practice that has also been discussed in relation to the allegedly democratic workplace and the access to power (Park 2011).

Problems and Difficulties

Multilingualism as a term has been associated with knowledge of distinct language systems and has a long history in the linguistic jargon; competence in switching between various languages, switching between different levels of competence, or employing strategies to compensate the lack of competence are only a few from the many connotation the term brings to the linguistic mind. Recent work however makes a case for going beyond the single language (Blommaert 2010 see also Pennycook 2010 on globalization) and terms such as "translanguaging," "parallellingualism," or "cosmopolitanism" – to name but few attempt to capture the dynamic social reality. In this context, the need for taking stock and reflecting on the suitability of our theoretical tools for studies in the area becomes paramount. As the social reality changes, the field needs different epistemologies to be able to capture the new multilingual realities. Multilingualism has acquired different meanings for both the researcher and the participants which need disentangling and perhaps poses a new challenge for researchers in the field. What does "multi" entail? To what extent does "multi" entail equality or the opposite and how is this negotiated in context?

Turning to another perennial issue, any study on workplace discourse will face challenges in accessing the research setting and collecting the necessary sample of data for empirical enquiry. Confidentiality issues are paramount, and this involves both corporate and institutional environments such as health care or law-related bodies. The workplace researcher will have to negotiate long and time-consuming processes for reaching their sample. This involves building relationships of trust and developing the skills to adjust to the reality of the participants. Although this is less relevant to survey-based studies which rely to self-reported data and hence less sensitive, most recent

research aims for a mixed method approach and for a closer qualitative understanding of the multilingual practice. This has time implications and restrictions in research designs that become relevant particularly for young researchers in the field. Ethical issues are obviously at play especially in professions such as medicine, which are reviewed by institutional research ethics committees and regulated by legal frameworks. Taking a participatory approach and doing joint research with the participants (instead of *on* or *for*) provides good-quality rich data and an emic understanding of the various workplaces but has implications for the time and the level of skills the researchers need which the field needs to take into consideration for the training of the next generation of researchers (Iedema and Carroll 2010).

Work in Progress

For some time now, work on multilingualism in the workplace has discussed how organizations, involving large multinational companies and organizations in different geographical areas, handle linguistic diversity. Because of the issues discussed earlier in relation to confidentiality and access, more research has been carried out in academia and large organizations compared to other settings. As the field grows and continues its traction, a wider range of environments and topics are tackled. As an illustration, recent work addresses issues related to the blue-collar workplace (Piller and Lising 2014), the implications of the use of English for the academic practice (Hultgren 2014), immigration and dynamic population flows as well as accessing the job market (Kirilova 2013), and face-to face communication encounters in small stores (Gunnarsson 2014). Multilingual practices in medical sites also attract more attention given the implications for patient safety when health provision in the patient's dominant language (Roberts et al. 2005) is limited because of availability or cost. Finally, the challenges faced by medical systems in relation to mental health and the aging population are being discussed in some recent and ongoing research (Watts in progress).

In addition to the above, current research also focuses on multilingualism in written workplace discourse. In her study of banking institutions, Kingsley (2009) reports that formal documents like reports were mostly written in a common language (English) when more informal genres were written in multiple languages. Her research foregrounds the different strategies and language choice processes followed in formal genres compared to informal ones. Written and oral workplace genres, however, do not have static or clearly distinct uses as they vary in time and across organizations. In this context, investigation into written communication, where issues of accountability and transparency are pertinent, can shed fruitful insight into the dynamic language choices. The negotiation of language choice in written discourse has also been discussed in hybrid genres such as the business email (Kankaanranta 2006). The email constitutes the most frequent form of communication and has been associated both with transactional and relational business practice. The features of the medium (allows for many recipients, is accessible from a number of platforms, affords synchronicity and a-synchronicity) have been associated with

its popularity for both formal and informal practices. Mahili (2014) shows how an email chain starts off locally in Finish by Finn employees, turns to English, and ends in Greek when forwarded to employees in its subsidiary in Greece. Although written discourse has attracted a lot of attention over the years, further research is still needed to address the multilingual and multimodal reality of workplace written interaction. Areas open for further study are discussed in the next and last section of the entry.

Future Directions

Language choice is directly related to the social, political, and moral order of organizations and institutions. Discourses and labels, such as standard or nonstandard, economic assets, commodities, marketable skills, keys to internationalization, and survival, reflect and enact positions not only in policy statements but also in everyday discourses. Future research needs to address further the relationship between ideology and language choice in everyday mundane interaction in the multilingual workplace. Issues of social inclusion and exclusion and the ways in which employees participate (or not) in lines of communication needs to be explored in greater detail. Who and how one secures access to decision making, mobility, and better chances at recruitment, retention, and career advancement needs to be the subject of further critical studies. In this context, the ways in which blue-collar workers and immigrants handle national, linguistic, and professional boundaries in order to access the world of work are also timely and directly relevant to the superdiverse changing societies.

Finally the changing nature of the multilingual reality of employees raises implications about the teaching of languages and the preparation of students to effectively meet the demands of their (future) workplace. Employees are required to be multilingual, mobile, and adaptable to changing organizational conditions and economic pressures. They need to be able to work in teams, from a distance, in (allegedly) flat organization structures, yet to deal with hidden power relations. They also need to be able to adjust to different organizations, departments, teams, and people from different areas of specialization and workplace communities that may overlap, intersect, and/or conflict with each other. In this context, questions still remain as to how we can better prepare the future generations of students to meet these multi-faceted needs. There is a need for a space where educators, material developers, and researchers can come together to develop a better understanding of the complexity of the transition to the international job market and the implications for the students' learning needs.

Cross-References

▶ Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness
▶ Multilingualism in Immigrant Communities
▶ Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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Deborah Palmer: Critical Ethnography. In volume: Research Methods in Language and Education

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Receptive Multilingualism and Awareness

Gerda J. Blees and Jan D. ten Thije

Abstract

Receptive multilingualism is a mode of interaction in which speakers with different linguistic backgrounds use their respective preferred languages while understanding the language of their interlocutor. The mechanisms and competences contributing to mutual understanding in this constellation are described by the concept of lingua receptiva (LaRa). Both concepts can refer to interactions in typologically close as well as distant languages (inherent or acquired LaRa) and to interactions where speakers use any language sufficiently understood by their interlocutor. This chapter argues that successful use of lingua receptiva (LaRa) in multilingual contexts both requires and contributes to language awareness. For individual LaRa users, the awareness needed consists of knowledge of the option to use this mode, basic receptive knowledge of the interlocutor's language, conscious activation of receptive competencies, and sensitivity to the interlocutor's level of comprehension and problems of reception during interaction. Using LaRa will conversely contribute to the language awareness of individuals, as LaRa forces speakers to consciously and often explicitly apply the required linguistic and interactive skills in practice. To promote successful use of the receptive multilingual mode in society, institutions need to develop explicit language and education policies incorporating LaRa as an independent language mode next to other multilingual modes of communication.

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Contents

Introduction: Early Developments and the Concept of Receptive Multilingualism

Receptive multilingualism is a language mode where speakers employ receptive knowledge of each other's languages during interaction, using their respective preferred languages within the same conversation (ten Thije and Zeevaert 2007). Before further defining this concept in relation to other concepts and the idea of language awareness, we go back to the origins of the research field: the study of mutual understanding between speakers of different languages. The first publications on this topic date back to the 1950s, when Voegelin and Harris (1951) introduced a new method for investigating this phenomenon: instead of studying linguistic anthropological data or asking informants about their comprehension, they proposed to "test the informants" by exposing them to actual spoken discourse, recorded with the newly introduced magnetic recorder. This method was then criticized by linguistic anthropologist Hans Wolff (1959), who legitimately argued that successful interlingual communication also depends on factors such as intercultural attitude, political and cultural dominance, and the degree of bilingualism in an area. The question of mutual comprehension was further explored by Einar Haugen (1966) who surveyed Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish speakers for their comprehension of each other's languages and coined the term *semi-communication* to denote the "incompleteness" of understanding reported by respondents. He proposed to systematically investigate lexical and structural differences between the languages and relate these differences to language users' scores on comprehension tests to disentangle linguistic and sociopolitical factors affecting comprehension, a line of

research recently taken up by the Mutual Intelligibility of Closely Related Languages (MICReLa) project for the Germanic, Slavic, and Romance language groups (see, e.g., Gooskens and Van Bezooijen (2013)).

Today, the term receptive multilingualism is used for situations where interlocutors use their mutual understanding of each other's languages in actual interaction. Analogous to the concept of lingua franca, a commonly known language used for communication between speakers of different native languages, Rehbein, ten Thije, and Verschik (2012) introduced the term "lingua receptiva" (abbreviated LaRa) to refer to all "*linguistic*, *mental*, *interactional* as well as *intercultural* competencies which are *creatively* activated" when speakers try to understand each other in receptive multilingual communication (Rehbein et al. 2012, p. 249). Receptive multilingualism has also been named intercomprehension, but the latter term is strongly linked to the context of language education and focuses on reading as well as listening comprehension. In addition, intercomprehension generally denotes comprehension between speakers of languages which are typologically close (Conti and Grin 2008), so-called inherent lingua receptiva (Verschik 2012). In contrast, receptive multilingualism and LaRa can also denote "acquired lingua receptiva," i.e., interaction between speakers of non-related languages who have acquired knowledge of the other language through instruction or exposure, as can be observed in communication between and within ethnic and linguistic minority and majority groups (Herkenrath 2012; Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013). Furthermore, receptive multilingualism does not necessarily involve interlocutors' native languages: it also comprises interactions where participants use a second language that can be receptively understood by their interlocutor (Rehbein et al. 2012). In this contribution we use the term receptive multilingualism for the use of different preferred languages by speakers with different linguistic backgrounds in one conversation, while we use LaRa to refer to the mechanisms and competences contributing to mutual understanding in this constellation. LaRa can be seen as an element of the broader concept of plurilingualism, the ensemble of linguistic, social, and intercultural competences enabling an individual to successfully communicate in different language constellations (Canagarajah 2009), in the sense that receptive multilingualism extends a speaker's plurilingual repertoire.

In the rest of this chapter, we give a state-of-the-art of receptive multilingualism research, focusing on the crucial interaction between LaRa and language awareness, "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (Association of Language Awareness 2007, cited by Svalberg 2007, p. 288). On the level of the individual language user, receptive multilingualism requires language awareness: knowledge of the option to use this mode, basic receptive knowledge of the interlocutor's language, conscious activation of receptive competencies, and sensitivity to the interlocutor's level of comprehension and problems of reception during interaction. Conversely, gaining experience with LaRa will contribute to language awareness, as speakers are forced to apply the required linguistic and interactive skills in practice. On the institutional and societal level, explicit language and education

policies are key to promoting awareness and successful application of receptive multilingualism in society.

Major Contributions

Receptive Multilingualism in Different Contexts

Sociolinguistic studies show the importance of individual and institutional awareness for receptive multilingualism in various contexts. In informal contexts, receptive multilingualism emanates from individual language users' awareness of the communicative resources available; in formal contexts, institutional awareness through explicit negotiation and official agreement, and deliberate linguistic choices made by individuals in actual interactions, determine whether and how LaRa is used in practice.

In a longitudinal study of Turkish immigrant children in Germany, Herkenrath (2012) shows how a child who grew up with her parents' native language but acquired more proficiency in German once she reached school age deliberately chose the LaRa mode when confronted with a German-Turkish bilingual interviewer in a family context. Apparently she judged speaking German to her Turkish-speaking interlocutor to be the most conducive to her communicative purposes. This case illustrates how in an informal context, bilingual children's choice of receptive multilingualism is informed by awareness of their own and their interlocutor's abilities in speaking and understanding different languages.

In workplace interaction, on the other hand, occurrence of receptive multilingualism depends on an interplay between spontaneous choices of individual language users and organizational conditions and policies. In the case of a German-Dutch one-on-one team cooperation at the Goethe Institute in Amsterdam described by Ribbert and ten Thije (2007), participants made an explicit agreement to use LaRa, contending that it was easiest to both express themselves in their native language. Organizational conditions – a history of equal cooperation between German and Dutch colleagues, strongly developed language competencies of employees – contributed to the establishment of this agreement. Beerkens (2010), who recorded German-Dutch receptive multilingual meetings at civil society and government organizations in the Dutch-German border area, shows an even stronger effect of organizational policies. In the majority of her case studies, an explicit top-down agreement had been made to employ the receptive multilingual mode. Even so, in actual interaction, language users may deviate from established policies. In an ethnolinguistic analysis of workplace communication between German- and French-speaking colleagues in Switzerland, Lüdi (2007) observes that "pure" receptive multilingualism, where each participant speaks his or her preferred language throughout the conversation, is rare: more often, participants switch between languages and language modes, adapting to the situation and their interlocutors, even when receptive multilingualism is the official policy.

For multilingual sales and service encounters, where interactions are shorter and participants do not share a discursive history, individual language awareness is even more important. No prior interpersonal or institutional agreement on the language mode exists, and the language choice is negotiated on the spot. In her analysis of Finnish-Estonian sales interactions in Tallinn, Verschik (2012) shows that this results in "accommodated" LaRa dialogue in which participants rely on strategies such as code-switching and adapted pronunciation. If such interactions are repeated over time, a longer-standing tacit agreement to use LaRa can develop, as is demonstrated by Greer in a study of a series of encounters between a Japanese hairdresser and his Bolivian client, who tacitly negotiate a receptive bilingual Japanese – *lingua franca* English interaction mode (Greer 2013). In these interactions, receptive multilingualism develops from the bottom up and participants code-switch if necessary, showing high discursive and linguistic sensitivity.

One of the institutions that could benefit from and contribute to the use of receptive multilingualism is education. In higher education, where internationalization is becoming more important, receptive multilingualism could be used as an alternative to English as a lingua franca, allowing students to express themselves in their preferred languages, without the lecturer having to provide all materials and lectures in these languages (Blees et al. 2014). In language teaching, didactic approaches based on intercomprehension stimulate language learners to recognize similarities between a new language and languages they already know (Meissner 2008). In this vein, the EuroCom research project has developed a didactics for learning languages within the Romance, Slavic, and Germanic language families, resulting, for example, in a guide to learning how to read all Romance languages (McCann et al. 2002).

Still, examples of deliberate application of receptive multilingualism in classroom interaction are rare. In a sociolinguistic study of British community language schools, Creese and Blackledge (2010) show that teachers and students use the "translanguaging" strategy, mixing English and the language of instruction (e.g., Cantonese or Bengali), to achieve their educational and communicative purposes. This sometimes results in receptive multilingualism, where the teacher typically speaks the community language, while the student speaks English. The authors argue that this type of interaction is a promising and more "ecological" alternative to monolingual instruction (Creese and Blackledge 2010). However, it is not clear yet how translanguaging, and receptive multilingual interaction in particular, affects the development of productive skills in the language taught, a question to which we will return in section "Investigating the Relation Between Receptive Multilingualism and Language Acquisition."

Factors of Successful Application

Successful application of the receptive multilingual mode is dependent on (1) socio-cultural and institutional awareness of and commitment to receptive multilingualism, (2) speaker's communicative and linguistic abilities and attitudes, and (3) awareness

of typological differences and similarities between the languages used. On a societal level, Braunmüller (2013) identifies three developments that have changed international communication in Europe since the Middle Ages, when receptive multilingualism was an important language mode. First, writing has become an important medium, and written norms the standard for judging the appropriateness of someone's language use. Second, nationalism has led to the development of standardized national languages, leaving less room for dialects, deviations, and plurilingual practices. Finally, Braunmüller notes that it has become a norm to accommodate by speaking the interlocutor's language or a lingua franca. Using one's native language or an accommodated version of it can be face-threatening, as a language user may be seen as incompetent for not speaking the language preferred by the interlocutor. As a result, today, using LaRa needs to be explicitly negotiated (Braunmüller 2013).

Apart from these societal developments, institutional factors affect the use of receptive multilingualism. According to Ribbert and ten Thije (2007, p. 77), it occurs more often in settings where people from different linguistic communities frequently cooperate for longer periods of time. Additionally, if participants from both communities are equal in number and hierarchical status, it is more likely that this "symmetric" language mode is chosen. If a formal language policy exists, this is a determining factor as well, although Lüdi points out that participants may deliberately deviate from this policy (Lüdi 2007).

When interactants decide to use the receptive multilingual mode, communicative success depends on interlocutors' ability to consciously activate discursive and (typological) linguistic knowledge during interaction. The essential difference between LaRa and other types of communication is that participants switch between languages when switching from the hearer to the speaker role and back. As speakers, they need to monitor their conversation partner's understanding and adapt their utterances accordingly (Beerkens 2010); as hearers, they draw on linguistic, discursive, and world knowledge to understand their interlocutor (Rehbein et al. 2012). This requires activation of two linguistic repertoires throughout the conversation.

Different interactive mechanisms contributing to awareness and resolution of misunderstanding have been identified in receptive multilingualism research. Beerkens' (2010) analysis of problems of reception in German-Dutch LaRa discourse focuses on repair as a means for achieving understanding. The repair pattern consists of four steps, from explicitly identifying to solving a reception problem (Beerkens 2010, p. 283). Similar mechanisms have been observed in a study of Kazakh-Turkish receptive multilingualism by Massakowa (2014), who concludes that speakers are often unaware of their linguistic and discursive resources at the beginning of the interaction but explicitly activate their multilingual potential during the conversation. According to her, receptive multilingualism is more likely to have this effect of explicit knowledge activation, as the alternation between languages makes it more difficult to presuppose a shared knowledge base.

The observation that receptive multilingual dialogue calls for more explicit negotiation of shared knowledge has led Bahtina-Jantsikene (2013) to introduce the concept of meta-communicative devices (MCDs), strategies for ensuring

understanding on three levels: (1) the action constellation and conversational aims, (2) conceptual orientation in space and time, and (3) linguistic expressions. In addition, the author identifies a fourth mechanism aimed at checking overall understanding without explicitly targeting one of the three knowledge domains. In her analysis of task-oriented Russian-Estonian Skype interactions, she observes that these devices are applied differently depending on participants' proficiency: explicit negotiation of linguistic expressions (MCD3) is used more often in dyads where speakers have a lower proficiency in the other's language (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013).

When speakers communicate with each other in LaRa on a regular basis, keywords can be used to activate cultural or institutional knowledge. These are words or phrases with a "special, institution-specific meaning," which are generally not translated from one language to the other (Ribbert and ten Thije 2007, p. 88). Indeed, institutional and cultural keywords contribute to mutual understanding in German-Dutch interactions in governmental and civil society organizations, respectively (Beerkens 2010).

Whether and how shared knowledge is activated in receptive multilingual interaction is partly determined by characteristics of the interactants. Looking at the process of reception in isolation, researchers of mutual intelligibility have tried to explain why understanding between speakers of related languages is often asymmetric. Language attitude, a factor already mentioned by Wolff (1959), and exposure are two major factors hypothesized to account for this asymmetry. Studies investigating the effect of personal characteristics on LaRa interaction have yielded slightly contradictory results. In an experiment on German-Dutch LaRa and ELF communication, no correlation was found between self-reported attitude and exposure on the one hand and participants' success in solving a maze puzzle using LaRa on the other hand, whereas self-reported listening proficiency in the other speaker's language was shown to be a predictor of success (Blees et al. 2014). In Bahtina-Jantsikene's (2013) study on Estonian-Russian communication, however, couples with mixed proficiencies performed better than couples whose speakers were both highly proficient. A possible explanation is that proficient speakers, because of their shared linguistic knowledge, were less attentive to other types of knowledge gaps between them. In contrast with Blees et al. (2014), Bahtina-Jantsikene (2013, p. 86) did find a positive correlation between attitudes toward the other language and the speed of interactive problem solving.

Evidently, linguistic properties of the languages involved also affect the interaction. Even though cases of acquired lingua receptiva show that typological similarity is not a prerequisite for LaRa interaction (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013), the distance between two languages in terms of pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax is believed to be a predictor of success (Rehbein et al. 2012). The asymmetry in understanding between speakers of related languages such as Spanish and Portuguese (Jensen 1989), Swedish and Danish (Gooskens and Van Bezooijen 2013), and Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian (Rehbein and Romaniuk 2014) could at least partially be attributed to typological properties of the languages. Gooskens and Van Bezooijen (2013), for example, showed that for Danish and Swedish school pupils listening to cognates in each other's languages, comprehension was asymmetric because of

specific Danish sounds difficult for Swedes, competition from non-related lexical neighbors in translating Danish cognates to Swedish, and lack of correspondences between Swedish orthography and Danish sounds.

Clearly, the factors outlined above interact at different levels and address different aspects of awareness. For example, depending on speakers' linguistic proficiencies, different interactive hearer and speaker strategies are needed (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013). In addition, similarities between languages contribute more to mutual understanding if speakers are more sensitive to these similarities, a sensitivity known to be related to the number of languages a speaker has mastered (Beerkens 2010). Finally, the willingness to make an effort to apply LaRa skills will depend on sociocultural and institutional awareness and acceptance of receptive multilingualism.

Work in Progress

Comparison with other Multilingual Modes

As societal awareness of receptive multilingualism is growing, it is relevant to know how well this mode works in comparison to other multilingual modes, such as foreign language use, code-switching and code-mixing, English as a *lingua franca* (ELF), and immigrant talk, where members of bilingual immigrant communities mix their languages in a manner that has been conventionalized to a certain extent (Rehbein et al. 2012; Backus et al. 2013). As mentioned in section "Receptive Multilingualism in Different Contexts," in practice, receptive multilingualism often coincides with code-switching and code-mixing (Lüdi 2007; Verschik 2012). However, the continuous switching and mixing typical for bilingual communities require strong productive and receptive skills in both languages, making them unsuitable for transnational communication. ELF, on the other hand, is a likely alternative, having already become the default for transnational communication in many contexts, including higher education, tourism, and international politics. Comparing ELF and LaRa, Hülmbauer (2014) argues that these modes are similar in the sense that speakers with different lingua-cultural backgrounds collaborate to reach the best possible communication, creatively drawing on their respective plurilingual repertoires. In ELF, speakers do this by consciously deviating from native-speaker norms and using their respective linguistic backgrounds to co-create the meanings intended. LaRa on the other hand is more native speaker-oriented, requiring receptive language awareness from the hearer to infer the meanings intended by the speaker. An empirical comparison between ELF and LaRa was made by Blees et al. (2014), who asked German and Dutch students to solve a maze task together using either ELF or LaRa. In ELF, participants were faster and more successful, but this difference was accounted for by participants' high proficiency in English. Further research with different participant groups should provide clarity about the conditions for successful communication in receptive multilingualism when compared to other modes.

Dealing with Asymmetry in Understanding: Hearer and Speaker

Knowing that success in receptive multilingualism is affected by interlocutors' proficiency in each other's language, LaRa users need to be aware of potential differences in proficiency and strategies to resolve them. In section "Factors of Successful Application," we mentioned that understanding between members of different linguistic communities is often asymmetrical (Gooskens and Van Bezooijen 2013; Jensen 1989; Rehbein and Romaniuk 2014). Whether this "average" asymmetry between communities translates to actual asymmetry in LaRa interactions obviously depends on the particular speakers involved. When asymmetry does occur, this is more difficult to detect than in *lingua franca* or native-nonnative dialogue, where proficient speakers adapt to their less proficient interlocutors by simplifying their speech and mirroring the grammatical structure of the other speaker's utterances (Costa et al. 2008). In LaRa dialogue, speakers do not receive feedback in the language they are speaking; therefore, it is more difficult for them to adapt their utterances to the interlocutor's proficiency level. For this reason, hearers with a lower receptive proficiency need to signal problems of reception more actively (Beerkens 2010), while speakers need to be more attentive to reception problems and be more creative in solving them. In interactions involving less proficient speakers, Bahtina-Jantsikene's (2013) meta-communicative device 3, aimed at explicitly creating a shared linguistic knowledge base, is an important interactive resource to overcome the problem of asymmetry.

Problems and Difficulties

Investigating the Cognition of Receptive Multilingualism

As stressed before, LaRa, more than monolingual interaction, requires speakers and listeners to be more linguistically aware because of differences between their languages and asymmetries in understanding. This leads to two questions on the cognition of receptive multilingualism. First, psycholinguistic models of language processing assume that during dialogue, production and reception affect each other through interactive alignment, a process in which speakers interactively adapt their linguistic and conceptual representations to reach a shared understanding of the situation (Costa et al. 2008; Pickering and Garrod 2004). Repeating linguistic structures from each other's utterances is believed to help the process of automatic alignment, but the core feature of receptive multilingualism is that speakers use different languages and therefore cannot literally repeat each other. Because of this, explicit alignment through meta-communication is needed (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013). It is however still a question how the difference between productive and receptive language affects the alignment of interactants' mental representations during dialogue. Second, in relation to differences in understanding, the question is how speakers process and respond to cues of understanding and misunderstanding

in the language of their interlocutor. To investigate these questions, an experimental approach simulating naturalistic receptive multilingual dialogue is needed. As language-processing experiments require high control of input, timing, and context, this is a methodological challenge, which could be resolved by combining dialogue tasks with controlled production and reception tasks and online measurements using, for example, eye-tracking, event-related potentials (ERP), or fMRI.

Investigating the Relation Between Receptive Multilingualism and Language Acquisition

As Massakowa (2014) has demonstrated, using LaRa requires speakers to consciously activate their plurilingual repertoire. This may well result in the development of more explicit second language knowledge, thereby contributing to the development of productive skills as well. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to explore the benefits of receptive multilingualism within the framework of plural approaches of language instruction (Conti and Grin 2008; Backus et al. 2013) and develop didactic concepts incorporating LaRa interaction. Most traditional bilingual education theories, however, assume that separating languages during acquisition is necessary to prevent contamination between the first language and the language to be learned, which is why monolingual interaction is preferred (Creese and Blackledge 2010, p. 104). Still, "translanguaging," using multiple languages in the classroom, is gaining ground both in community language education and language education research (Creese and Blackledge 2010), clearing the way for different types of plurilingual classroom interaction, including receptive multilingualism. However, it is unclear how receptive multilingualism affects the development of productive skills in the second language. Evidence might be derived from longitudinal studies following children raised in a receptive bilingual mode. In the Turkish immigrant families described by Herkenrath (2012), children only start using German-Turkish LaRa once their productive proficiency in German grows, but cases of "purely" receptive bilingual children might be found in families where one of the parents uses an immigrant or minority language, while the other family members use the majority language of the place of residence.

Future Directions

Even though the European Union promotes plurilingualism and has explicitly mentioned receptive multilingualism as a means for transnational communication in Europe (High Level Group on Multilingualism 2007), European awareness of this language mode outside Scandinavia is low. As mentioned in section "Factors of Successful Application," the focus on standardization and correctness in European societies is not conducive to receptive multilingualism. However, the growing body

of receptive multilingualism and plurilingualism research (e.g., ten Thije and Zeevaert 2007; Berthoud et al. 2013; Backus et al. 2013) will hopefully yield stronger arguments on why and when to apply this plurilingual mode and how to promote it.

One of the ways to promote receptive multilingualism and help speakers extend their plurilingual repertoire is to explicitly teach LaRa in language education. To this end, courses aimed solely at teaching LaRa interaction could be developed. These courses could focus on differences and similarities between specific language combinations (e.g., a listening variant of the "seven sieves" for reading comprehension of Romance languages (McCann et al. 2002)). In addition, they should teach how to apply interactive devices for successful interaction, such as explicit negotiation about the language mode, repair patterns (Beerkens 2010), meta-communicative devices (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013), and keywords (Beerkens 2010; Ribbert and ten Thije 2007).

A second way to promote receptive multilingualism is to widen the scope of receptive multilingualism research by looking beyond European contexts and language combinations. The tendency toward standardization and written norms is less pervasive in other parts of the world, leaving more room for plurilingual practices like receptive multilingualism. India, with its diverse and dynamic linguistic landscape, is a case in point. Indian speakers of so-called plurilingual English (Canagarajah 2009, p. 7) are highly aware of their linguistic resources and those of their interlocutors, continuously adapting their language use as the communicative context changes and adhering to "monolingual" language norms only when they deem it necessary. Canagarajah (2009) gives examples of studies describing similar constellations in Brazil, the Polynesian Islands, and South Africa. Investigating receptive multilingualism in these contexts could greatly advance our knowledge of interactive strategies and prerequisites for mutual understanding between speakers with different linguistic backgrounds and change receptive multilingualism research into a truly international research program.

Cross-References

▶ Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education
▶ Language Awareness and Multilingual Workplace
▶ Language Awareness in Multilinguals: Theoretical Trends
▶ Language Contact, Language Awareness, and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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Multilingualism in Immigrant Communities

Kutlay Yağmur

Abstract

Immigrant multilingualism is at the crossroads of many academic disciplines. Educational specialists, policy makers, linguists, social psychologists and immigration researchers are equally interested in immigrant multilingualism. In this paper, immigrant multilingualism is discussed from a variety of perspectives. Discussions surrounding language maintenance/shift, language loss, bilingual language acquisition, the relationship between school achievement and bilingualism, social inclusion and exclusion of immigrant groups are presented. As shown in the paper, a change of focus in the study of immigrant multilingualism is needed. Research on immigrant multilingualism needs to contribute to a better understanding of the language dynamics that take place in the contact between majority and minority languages in contexts of migration. Applied linguists and critical sociolinguists often argue that multilingualism ought to be seen as the norm. However, there is little discussion on how immigrant multilingualism should or could be accommodated in education. The paper presents a number of suggestions for future work on immigrant multilingualism.

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Contents

Introduction

Immigrant multilingualism is a very complex topic. It is at the crossroads of multiple disciplines that have fundamentally different perspectives on the topic. Depending on the ideological approach taken, immigrant multilingualism is seen either as a deficit or a resource. Immigrant minority (IM henceforth) languages are most often associated with problems of poverty, underachievement in schools, social and cultural problems, as well as lack of integration into the society of residence. Even though policy makers make a sharp distinction between national, regional minority, and immigrant minority languages, these languages have much in common. Depending on the status of national and minority languages, there are rigid boundaries between them. On their sociolinguistic, educational, and political agendas, we find issues such as their actual spread; their domestic and public vitality; the processes and determinants of language maintenance versus shift toward majority languages; the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity; and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. In line with the aims of this volume, issues surrounding immigrant multilingualism will be discussed in this chapter. The focus will be on societal and educational aspects of immigrant multilingualism in a number of national contexts ranging from Australia to the EU.

Early Developments

Individual bilingualism or plurilingualism is mostly seen as an asset across the globe. However, bilingualism in a less prestigious immigrant language and a majority language is not always valued. While German plus English or French is highly valued, German plus Turkish is not valued. According to Franceschini, (2011, p. 346) "multilingualism conveys the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to have regular use of more than one language in their everyday lives over space and time." Depending on the prevalent language ideology in the immigrant-receiving society, language policies are made. As documented by Extra

and Yağmur (2004), the legal status of IM groups within host societies is not as straightforward as that of regional minorities. In most immigration contexts, legally, socially, and economically, immigrants are not considered to be equal members of the mainstream society; instead they are often considered as temporary, marginal, or even undesired within the host society. In the literature, four clusters of state ideologies shaping integration and language policies of immigrant-receiving societies are identified (Bauböck et al. 1996; Bourhis 2001; May 2011) as pluralist, civic, assimilationist, and ethnist. A *pluralist* ideology proposes duties and responsibilities to be observed by all members of the society. In this ideology, learning the official or mainstream language is the responsibility of the citizens themselves, and the state provides opportunities to facilitate language learning. Concerning the home languages of citizens, the state has no mandate in defining or regulating the private values of its citizens in the domestic domain, nor their political or social affiliation. Different from other ideologies, the state provides financial support for mainstream language classes and for cultural activities to promote first-language maintenance. Usually, Australian and Canadian multicultural policies are good examples of the pluralist ideology, but even in those contexts, immigrant languages are in a vulnerable position (Rubino 2010; Burnaby 2008). According to Burnaby (2008), Canadians have considered immigrant languages as deficit and encouraged immigrants, especially children, to forget their mother tongue. A *civic* ideology expects that immigrants adopt the public values of the mainstream society. Like the pluralist ideology, the state does not interfere with the private values of its citizens, but unlike pluralism, the state does not provide any provisions for the maintenance or promotion of linguistic or cultural values of IM groups. An *assimilation* ideology expects IM groups to comply fully with the norms and values of mainstream society. The assimilation ideology expects complete linguistic and cultural assimilation into the mainstream society. In the name of homogenization of the society, assimilationist language policies aim at accelerating language shift and language loss of IM groups. With its Unitarian approach, French policies fit the assimilationist ideology cluster quite well. Recent political developments, such as restrictions on marriage partners of IM groups, abolition of community language classes, and compulsory integration classes in Denmark and the Netherlands, show a strong shift toward assimilation ideology. An *ethnist* ideology shares most aspects of the assimilation ideology; yet, it makes it difficult for IM groups to be accepted legally or socially as full members of the mainstream society. Citizenship and naturalization laws are quite representative for distinguishing ethnist ideologies. The principle of jus sanguinis ("law of the blood") underlies acquisition of citizenship in such countries. Even though Germany is shown to be an ethnist model, the states of Hamburg, Berlin, and North-Rhine Westphalia undermine that overgeneralization. These states take all the pluralistic measures to promote immigrant minority languages and cultures.

   In many national contexts, studies on immigrant multilingualism have been conducted from a number of different perspectives. Initially, language use and language choice of immigrants were investigated by sociolinguists, demo-linguists, educational linguists, and even cross-cultural psychologists. In a macro-sociolinguistic perspective, researchers have investigated patterns of language

maintenance and shift in immigrant communities through a so-called sociology of language approach (Fishman 1964). The factors involved in language maintenance or shift were divided into two categories such as those affecting a speech community and those affecting individuals within a speech community (Kipp et al. 1995). In that division, birthplace, age, period of residence, gender, education/qualifications, marriage patterns, prior knowledge of the mainstream language, reason for migration, and language variety are included in the category of individual factors. Group factors were listed as "size and distribution of an ethnic group, the policy of the host community towards community languages, the position of the language within the cultural value system of the group, and proximity or distance of the community language to or from English" (Kipp et al. 1995, p. 123). However, Kipp et al. (1995) admit that it is not always easy to draw the line between individual and societal factors, as there is an ongoing interaction between an individual and the speech community that he or she belongs to. In most cases these factors are interrelated, both on the individual and on the group level.

In the Australian context, using demolinguistic data derived from population census, Clyne and his associates investigated language maintenance and shift of immigrant groups. The Australian LOTE system (teaching Languages Other Than English) has gained worldwide recognition; however, some researchers still expect more from the system. According to Clyne et al. 1997 (cited in Rubino 2010, p. 17.6), LOTE programs are quite widespread in major states in Australia, but these programs do not always work effectively toward the development of the linguistic skills that immigrant children bring to school because of organizational issues or misrecognition of the needs of immigrant pupils. Nevertheless, the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne has led to an internationally recognized breakthrough in the conceptualization of multilingualism in terms of making provisions feasible and mandatory for all children (including L1 English-speaking children), in terms of offering a broad spectrum of LOTE provisions (more than 40 languages are on offer) and in terms of governmental support for these provisions.

In the European context, development of multilingualism followed a different path than the traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada, or Australia. As a result of large-scale workforce immigration since the 1960s, urban development in many large European cities has become highly stratified. With ongoing integration of member states in the EU, linguistic diversity has become very rich. As underlined by the EC Communication (2008, p. 4), multilingualism has become the norm in the EU:

> Today's European societies are facing rapid change due to globalisation, technological advances and ageing populations. The greater mobility of Europeans – currently 10 million Europeans work in other Member States – is an important sign of this change. Increasingly, people interact with their counterparts from other countries while growing numbers live and work outside their home country. This process is further reinforced by the recent enlargements of the EU. The EU now has 500 million citizens, 27 Member States, 3 alphabets and 23 EU official languages, some of them with a worldwide coverage. Some 60 other languages are also part of the EU heritage and are spoken in specific regions or by specific

groups. In addition, immigrants have brought a wide range of languages with them: it is estimated that at least 175 nationalities are now present within the EU's borders.

In spite of this rich diversity, European nation-states are still reluctant to accept benefits of immigrant multilingualism. As documented by Extra and his associates (Extra and Verhoeven 1993; Extra and Gorter 2001; Extra and Yağmur 2004; Extra and Gorter 2008), immigrant languages are seen in a deficit perspective.

Major Contributions

Linguistic diversity is a key property of Europe's identity, and both the EU institutions based in Brussels and the Council of Europe based in Strasbourg have been active in promoting language learning and multilingualism/plurilingualism. The major language policy agencies in these two institutions are the Unit for Multilingualism Policy within the Directorate-General of Education and Culture in the European Commission and the Language Policy Unit of the Directorate of Education in the Council of Europe. The work done by these agencies underpins the important resolutions, charters, and conventions produced by the respective bodies. EU language policies aim to protect linguistic diversity and promote knowledge of languages, for reasons of cultural identity and social integration, but also because multilingual citizens are better placed to take advantage of the educational, professional, and economic opportunities created by an integrated Europe. Multilingualism policy is guided by the objective set by the EU council in Barcelona in 2002 to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two additional languages from an early age. Of all the nonnational language varieties in the EU, immigrant languages are the least recognized, protected, and/or promoted, in spite of all affirmative action at the European level. The Council of Europe and the EU institutions support the inclusion of immigrant languages and call for the recognition of these languages; however, the nation-state responses to these calls are not always positive.

There have always been speakers of immigrant minority languages in Europe, but these languages have only recently emerged as community languages spoken on a wide scale in urban Europe due to intensified processes of migration. Turkish and Arabic are good examples of so-called non-European languages that are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member states. Although immigrant minority languages are often conceived of and transmitted as core values by immigrant minority language groups, they are less protected than regional minority languages by affirmative action and legal measures as, for instance, in education. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of immigrant minority languages are often seen as obstacles to integration by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding immigrant minority languages are scant and outdated. Immigrant languages are not recognized to have a significant value due to a number of misconceptions or misrepresentations.

In the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups, two major characteristics emerge: immigrant minority groups are often referred to as foreigners (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of integration (Extra and Yağmur 2004). First of all, it is common practice to refer to immigrant minority groups in terms of nonnational residents and to their languages in terms of non-territorial, non-regional, nonindigenous, or non-European languages. The call for integration is in sharp contrast to the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. In spite of having the citizenship of their country of residence, many immigrants, including third or fourth generation, are still considered as outsiders in the mainstream public discourse.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups is the focus on integration. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. The extremes of the conceptual spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between immigrant minority groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of newcomers, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for all inhabitants in changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on immigrant minority groups to assimilate and are commonly reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of "integration" in the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of cross-national cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of "national" norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. Paradoxically, in the same public discourse, immigrant minority languages and cultures are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on the integration of immigrant minority groups in terms of assimilation versus multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of immigrant minority pupils, schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given the significance of this language for success in school and

in the labor market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations cannot be reduced to monolingual education programming. In the former case, the focus is on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case, on offering more languages in the school curriculum.

Schools as Major Sites for Blending or Melting

One of the most crucial domains where we see the effects of multilingualism is education. Yet, nation-state ideology uses schools as the most important apparatus to instill the national ideology in young minds. Achieving social cohesion and national unity through a common language has been one of the most important goals in nation-states. Language planning is responsible for achieving linguistic unity. Various other domains of intervention can be distinguished in which measures of language planning and language policies are considered necessary by the nation-state: the choice of status given to a language, e.g., as an official language or as an acknowledged minority language, and, furthermore, the use of language in legislation, administration, justice, science, technology, media, culture, or information in urban public spaces. However, language education policies have always been regarded as the most important tool for language policies available to the nation-state. Schools are the most important site for the state to impose institutional power and to distribute social capital. The feeling of superiority emerges best in classrooms in which the monolingual ideology heavily influences teaching practices. Teachers are social agents who execute institutional power in subtle ways through their teaching practices based on official curricula but also through the way they evaluate students' work and in the way they assign value to the (linguistic) resources the children bring into the classroom. Moreover, teachers tend to teach the way they were taught during their own schooling. In other words, teachers who ignore the various linguistic resources of children who grow up in multilingual families and who regard their competences in the dominant (legitimate) school language as flawed or even incompetent produce power differences among students and contribute to the feeling that being monolingual means feeling superior (Moyer and Martín Rojo 2007, p. 7). By measuring content learning against the norms of the standard language and by comparing the work of plurilingual students always with that of monolingual students, teachers play an important role as agents of social selection and in the process of social inclusion and exclusion.

As reported by Cenoz and Gorter (2010), the specific training and methodology the teacher uses when dealing with multilingualism is important. Some schools and teachers may consider multilingualism as a resource that provides opportunities to develop intercultural understanding. As documented in the Language Rich Europe (LRE) project (Extra and Yağmur 2012), many European countries need to revise their teacher training programs. In the framework of LRE project, data were collected regarding the recognition of multilingualism and plurilingualism in the European context. Challenges facing European public education include the

organization of multilingual education and preparing teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms. Specific questions targeted whether educational institutions recognize the plurilingual repertoire of children and multilingualism in society at large. In the same vein, questions also targeted whether the teachers are trained or encouraged to valorize and make use of the plurilingual repertoire of children in their classrooms. Findings show that on the whole, the averages for pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools are above 60% regarding the recognition and facilitating multilingual practices in the classrooms by teachers. As reported by Helot and Young (2002), in regular French classes, teachers are not trained to deal with the problems of second-language acquisition (which is often confused with foreign language acquisition); most of the teachers are white, middle-class, and from monolingual backgrounds and therefore have little sensitivity to what it means "to leave your language at the door" when you enter school. In line with most European teachers, many French teachers still believe that speaking an immigrant language at home delays the acquisition of French (and consequently integration into French society). Such teachers are not aware of the research on cognitive theories of bilingualism and the curriculum which has demonstrated the importance of maintaining the home language for the development of the school language. Such views are not unique to the European context; Collins (2012, p. 201) reports that American teachers and administrators believe that Spanish-speaking children might have learning problems in the school. Thus, home languages other than English are identified as problematic for mainstream schools. On the basis of a large-scale LINEE project, Franceschini (2011) reports that many of the teachers in their research believe that using the home language might be an impediment to the students' learning of the official language because the home language could confuse the learners. Franceschini points out the most important problem by emphasizing the role of teachers in influencing the parents. The fact that not all teachers seem to be aware of the beneficial effects of prior language knowledge on further language learning is important not only because it influences their teaching practices but also because they are often asked for advice by migrants when it comes to language learning and language use. In such situations, many teachers will probably recommend not to use the migrants' language at home, because they see it as an impediment to the learning of the host language. This indeed is the case in many national contexts. Most immigrant parents are misguided by teachers by giving inaccurate information on the role of home languages in the learning of school languages. This type of monolingualism ideology is not limited to mainstream teachers alone. As reported by Creese and Blackledge (2010) in complementary schools, some teachers insist on the use of the target language only. Instead of making use of the linguistic resources students already possess for effective learning, such teachers seem to insist on the use of ethnic language only, which is not different from the monolingual mindset mostly seen in mainstream classes.

Teachers' opinions are affected by the social status of the immigrant languages. There is a hierarchy of languages in the EU and immigrant languages are at the bottom of this status hierarchy. As argued by Euromosaic (1996, p. 1), most minority languages lack the political, institutional, and ideological structures which can

guarantee the relevance of those languages for the everyday life of members of such groups. In this respect, it is easy to persuade parents that teaching their children the minority language is counterproductive for their social and economic progress because it clashes with the language policy of formal education. As a result, because the value of immigrant minority languages for social mobility and educational advancement is low, the social status of these languages remains low.

Resource or Deficit

Immigrant languages are seen as obstacles before the learning of national language in almost all immigration contexts. Reflecting on the lower school achievement among immigrant children and in particular among Turkish immigrant children, Ammermüller (2005) argues that the main reason for the low performance of immigrant students in the German context should be searched in their later enrollment in schools and the less favorable home environment for learning. Most German students achieve high, because they have more home resources as measured, e.g., by the amount of books at home. He claims that many immigrant children have lower achievement levels because about 40% of all immigrant students speak a language other than German at home. According to Ammermüller (2005), differences in parental education and family situation are far less important. As in many national contexts, also in the German context, students' home languages are apparently shown to be the culprits for low achievement in the schools. Most of the educational experts and researchers blame multilingualism of immigrant children for lower school achievement. International literature on school achievement shows that there are multiple factors that account for school success (e.g., Cummins 2014). The school's language policy, the structure of curriculum, the teachers' qualifications and experience with language minority children, and parental factors account especially for bilingual children's school achievement. Whether the school has a bilingual approach or a submersion approach would make a huge difference in the language development of minority children. Submersion is the most common educational approach in the German school system. Bilingual education as a form of coordinated language teaching and learning has seldom been regarded as necessary (Luchtenberg 2002). Even though there is a general reluctance to refer to migrant students as bilinguals and to develop bilingual programs for them, there is widespread support for native German students in various bilingual programs. Bilingual programs in high-status languages such as English-German or French-German find huge public support but strong negative attitudes surround immigrant children's bilingualism. In a typical anti-bilingual fashion, many German teachers believe that immigrant children are overloaded by dealing with two languages, which lowers their proficiency in German. Apparently, this old-fashioned separate underlying proficiency model can still find some supporters in the German context. Moreover, home language instruction is not regarded as a proper subject in German schools, and in evaluating students' school career, no reference is made to their skills in the home language (Bühler-Otten and Fürstenau 2004). Preparing language

minority children for more successful school careers ideally requires a balanced bilingual approach in which children's greater proficiency in the home language is utilized to promote general cognitive development and acquisition of the school language (Leseman and van Tuijl 2001). However, given the widespread use of submersion models in most European schools, immigrant children's first-language skills cannot be further developed. As reported by Cenoz and Gorter (2011), the idea that nonnative speakers are deficient communicators is still widespread in school contexts. The goal for second-language learners and users is often to achieve native command of the target language, and this creates a feeling of failure and incompleteness especially among immigrant children.

Work in Progress

Given the institutional priorities, there are not many projects on the status and use of immigrant languages in the European context. Recent large-scale Language Rich Europe project on multilingualism in 24 European countries and regions delivered valuable data on the status and teaching of immigrant languages. Pre-primary and primary schools are crucial for language development of children. In order to enhance cognitive development, language skills of children should be developed in early stages of schooling. By making use of home languages, schools can support second-language acquisition of immigrant children. Many EU and Council of Europe documents underline the importance of early language learning; however, the focus is always on the learning of the national language. Council of Europe Policy Center (Beacco et al. 2010, p. 45) highlights the importance of early language learning for immigrant children in the following way:

> As spaces for discovery and socialisation, pre-primary schools represent a basic stage in plurilingual and intercultural education, particularly for children from underprivileged and migrant backgrounds, whose language practices at home may conflict with the varieties and norms selected and fostered by schools. To that extent, and since the issue here is the right to quality language (and general) education, one of the first desiderata is that schooling of this kind for very young children be guaranteed and provided in optimum conditions for all the groups concerned – both permanently resident natives and recently arrived immigrant families.

There is no mention of "optimum conditions" for quality language learning and how immigrant children should receive instruction. However, on the basis of LRE project findings, it appears that provision in immigrant languages in pre-primary education is not yet very common. However, in spite of the difficulties involved in identifying appropriate teachers and learning materials, three countries do offer immigrant language support to very young children, namely, Denmark, Spain, and Switzerland. The canton Zurich has a remarkable offer of no less than 17 languages. There is no provision in any of the other 24 countries/regions. In order to promote linguistic integration of immigrant children, language support programs are provided in their home language in preschools in Switzerland. In line with the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007–2010 in Spain, a number of immigrant

languages are offered in preschools for the maintenance and development of languages and cultures of origin. In Denmark, national, regional, or local funds cover all costs for these programs, while in Spain and Switzerland, source country-related funds cover the costs through bilateral agreements.

Immigrant languages are taught in more number of countries in the primary school period. Out of 24 countries and regions, only five countries report a significant offering of immigrant languages at the primary level. These are Austria, Denmark, France, Spain (in Madrid and Valencia), and Switzerland (in the canton of Zurich). In France and Switzerland, immigrant language classes are open to all children, while in Austria, Denmark, and Spain (Madrid, Valencia, Seville), they are reserved for native speakers of immigrant languages. There are no minimum group size requirements in Switzerland and France. In Spain more than five pupils are required to start a class, and in Austria and Denmark a group of ten is required. In Austria and Denmark, there is a coherent and explicit curriculum, while in the other countries, the curriculum is expressed in general terms. In Spain, it is common to use immigrant languages as a medium of instruction, whereas in Austria, Denmark, and France, this is less widespread. In Switzerland these languages are only taught as a subject. Spain and Switzerland offer lessons partly in school hours, whereas in the other countries they are offered as extracurricular activities. Achievement in immigrant languages is not linked to any national, regional, or school-based standards, although the development of language skills is monitored in all countries. Lessons in immigrant languages are fully funded by the state in Austria and Denmark, whereas in France, Spain, and Switzerland, they are mainly supported by the country of origin.

As Salomone (2013, p. 2044) indicates though a number of European nations have officially recognized regional/territorial languages in varying degrees, immigrant languages have not garnered the same recognition.

Problems and Difficulties

Lower school achievement among immigrant minority children is a serious problem in most European countries. Factors leading to underachievement at school are complex and interrelated. In the literature on bilingualism and school success, individual characteristics of minority students are shown to be one of the most influential on school failure. Because of subtractive bilingual environments, cognitive skills of ethnic students do not develop sufficiently compared to mainstream children. If a child's home language is undervalued or banned on the school ground, identity development might also be hampered. As a result, lower self-esteem among minority students might lead to lower achievement. Due to segregated schools, there is insufficient exposure to the majority language which might in turn lead to inadequate proficiency in the mainstream language. It is also common knowledge that there are gaps between home and school culture due to different socialization patterns, which might also have an effect on school achievement of immigrant children. Most immigrant parents are known to be non-proficient in the mainstream language, which leads to restrictions in parental involvement. If schools want to

improve school achievement of immigrant children, old-fashioned submersion models need to be dropped. By employing teachers and support personnel from linguistic minority backgrounds, schools could support first- and second-language development of immigrant children.

The current linguistic reality in Europe is more complex than many politicians can envisage. Populist discourse on integration and immigration contribute to increased anti-immigrant feelings among the native populations, which in the long run is the real threat for social cohesion and social unity in Europe and elsewhere. It is extremely intriguing that the more integration among nation-states in the EU is achieved, the more exclusionist is the discourse on immigrant minorities in the individual nation-states. It seems that the weakened position of nation-state ideology in the process of European integration is strengthened by increased intolerance toward immigrant languages. Yet, the only way to achieve social cohesion is through social inclusion not exclusion.

Future Directions

All around the globe, a change of focus in the study of immigrant multilingualism is needed. Research on immigrant multilingualism needs to contribute to a better understanding of the language dynamics that take place in the contact between majority and minority languages in contexts of migration. As indicated by Rubino (2010) as a result of globalization, both long established and newly formed migrant communities are characterized by much higher mobility and fluidity compared with the past, leading to increased diversification both within and across communities. Immigration countries need to adopt more inclusive discourses. Identifying third- and even fourth-generation immigrants as allochthonous only leads to exclusion and hardened group boundaries. Social cohesion and unity can never be achieved through such discriminatory discourse.

Spatial segregation of mainstream and immigrant populations characterizes major urban centers. Many large European cities have become highly stratified. Most working class immigrants concentrate in inner suburbs of large urban centers creating ethnic "ghettos" where immigrant populations are excluded from mainstream society on a structural basis. On the one hand, policy makers and opinion leaders in the society emphasize the necessity of sociocultural and linguistic integration of immigrants, but, on the other hand, they take no concrete action to end urban segregation. Such segregated inner suburbs lead to segregated schools attended mostly by lower SES immigrant minority children. Parents belonging to the mainstream society do not send their children to such "ethnic" schools. In the Netherlands, these schools are named "black schools" showing the level of stigmatization surrounding such schools. Even the policy makers do not hesitate to talk about "white" versus "black" schools. School achievement in the schools of such poor suburbs is quite low. Instead of searching for the real cause of school failure, some scholars even blame the victims. It is even claimed that ethnic diversity in schools is correlated with lower educational achievement (Dronkers 2010).

According to Dronkers, the higher is the ethnic diversity, the lower is the educational achievement. Dronkers (2010) bases his arguments on the findings of international PISA study. Instead of looking into crucial factors such as the facilities in the schools, the number of children in each class, teachers' qualifications and skills, parental involvement, SES level of the parents, and so forth, he takes the "color" of the school as the only variable to explain school failure. Such unfounded claims strengthen the prejudice among native parents against multicultural schools. Ethnic diversity and multilingualism become problems in the mainstream discourse, which leads to further "white flight" from such schools.

PISA results of European nation-states caused intensive discussions regarding the share of immigrant children in low national scores of Austria and Germany. As reported by McNamara (2011, p. 437) "The PISA reports explicitly link the "poor" national performance of Austria to the presence of minority language students and constructs the multilingualism of immigrant students as a problem requiring remediation." German and Austrian policy makers complained the most about the influence of immigrant pupils for lowering the national scores; however, these countries have highly stratified school systems, which is detrimental to immigrant children's school achievement. The term stratification refers to the degree to which educational systems have clearly differentiated types of schools whose curricula are defined as "higher" or "lower." One typical feature of highly stratified school systems is early tracking, i.e., separating pupils into different school tracks (Griga and Hadjar 2013). By examining immigrant students' access rates to higher education institutions in countries with high and low stratified school systems, Griga and Hadjar (2013) concluded that a highly stratified secondary school system – as it is prevalent in many conservative welfare regimes (e.g., Austria, West Germany) – reduces immigrant students' chances of attaining a higher education degree. Instead of blaming the victims, by taking appropriate measures such as bilingual education, employing bilingual personnel, and abolishing the stratification system, immigrant students' school achievements can be improved.

Finally, applied linguists and critical sociolinguists often argue that multilingualism ought to be seen as the norm. However, there is little discussion on how immigrant multilingualism should or could be accommodated in education. García et al. (2009) suggested that multilingual schools should take into account and build further on the diversity of languages and literacy practices that children and youth bring to the schools. Providing bilingual education for major immigrant groups would decrease school dropouts among immigrant youth. The future research should concentrate on real causes of lower school achievement among school children.

Cross-References

▶ Awareness Raising and Multilingualism in Primary Education
▶ Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness
▶ Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

Guus Extra: Language Policy and Education in the New Europe. In Volume: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education

Piet Van Avermaet & Sven Swierens: Bilingual Education in Migrant Languages in Western Europe. In volume: Bilingual and Multilingual Education

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Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness

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Abstract

All of us – nomads, immigrants, refugees, students, company executives, academics, and farmers – are in flow, in motion, and on the move. This is true even if physically we stay put. If "immobility is not a realistic option in a world of permanent change," as (Zygmunt Bauman. Globalization. Columbia University Press, New York, p 2, 1998) puts it, being totally local, which is virtually impossible, then is a sign of social deprivation. Therefore, flow, immigration, emigration, movement, displacement, and globalization, it seems, especially post-Internet, are the intractable fate of the world (Appiah Cosmopolitanism. Ethics in a world of strangers. W. W. Norton, New York, 2006). This intractable fate, however, on the one hand, seems to magnify the wealth of a few and worsens the world's majority and with the power of the globalized meaning-making machines (media, Internet, popular culture, etc.) and time/space compression; on the other, this situation is as much a threat to the local as it is a space for future hope and possibilities for wide-awakeness Rautins and Ibrahim (Int J Crit Pedagog 3 (2):24–36, 2011). Building on these contentions, this chapter argues that it is in this space of tension between threat and hope that our discussion on immigration, cultural flows, hybridity, and language awareness should be situated.

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Contents

Introduction

According to Healey and Upton (2010), transnational flows of capital and goods have been the backbone and the driving force behind globalization, especially in the last part of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. These flows have been made possible by the increasingly forced global liberalization of investment and trade. Ironically, however, this lowering of barriers is matched by strict and resistant policies against liberalizing migration. In fact, especially in Europe, nation states are initiating some of the harshest policies against immigrants. In Britain, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden, opposition to immigration has become a central issue of many elections. In France (with its Front National), Italy (with its Northern League), and Greece (with its Golden Dawn), it has turned into a dire situation. In Greece, for example, an attack on 600 immigrants by the ultranationalist and far-right party affiliates was allowed to occur unimpeded under the eyes of the police (Bozzo 2012; Stevis 2012).

Despite this dire situation and in the face of formidable obstacles, immigrants continue to arrive in Europe. Between 2010 and 2011, there was an increase of 35%, most of whom came through Greece and Italy (Stevis 2012). What is happening in Greece and Europe in general mirrors the global picture. According to a 2012 World Bank report, 3.05% of the world's population is now living outside their countries of origin, rising from 120 million in 1990 to an estimated 215 million in 2012. In 2008, a United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report puts it thus "today, the number of people living outside their country of birth is larger than at any other time in history. International migrants would now constitute the world's fifth most populous country if they all lived in the same place" (p. 7). Clearly, this has cultural and linguistic effects, which will be explored below.

A Necessary Background: Notes on Immigration

Historically, there were three distinct waves of global mass voluntary migration. The first wave happened between 1850 and 1914 when over one million people, mostly from Europe, were drawn to the "new world" (i.e., North America), accounting for

close to 10% of the world's population (O'Rourke 2001). The second wave happened post-World War II as workers from former colonies of European powers, especially England and France, migrated to Europe in search of work. With this, the pattern of migration was reversed, thus changing the face of Europe culturally, linguistically, religiously, socially, and demographically. In North America, the new migration is no longer from Europe, but from Latin America and Asia (Daniels 2002). The third and final wave is a contemporary one, where the vast majority of migrants move within, rather than between nations. Most Mexicans now, especially after the 2008 recession in the USA, move within Mexico, rather than to the USA. In China, close to 230 million people have moved from one region to the next within China, accounting for one-third of the world's migrants (The Economist 2012).

In all three waves, there are three basic reasons for migration. First, there are the "push factors" that drive people to leave their homeland. These include poverty, lack of jobs, civil strife, war, and political and religious persecution. Second, there are the "pull factors" that attract migrants to a new location, including higher standards of living, higher wages, labor demand, and political and religious freedom. Finally, there are environmental problems, creating environmental refugees. Even though environmental problems are global, they tend to affect certain parts of the world more than others. For example, the 2004 tsunami killed 230,000 people in 1 day (Paris et al. 2007). In Northern Africa, close to 50 million people are now threatened by desertification, climate change, and poor farming land (Willsher 2012). Interestingly enough, despite the media reports about North African migrants fleeing to Western Europe, the vast majority end up migrating to neighboring countries (Willsher 2012).

Major Contributions

The above is a necessary background as we attempt to understand what Appel and Muysken (2005) call "language contact" and their impact on culture, identity, language maintenance, and language awareness. Working with a similar background to the one described above, Appel and Muysken note that the majority of the world's population speak more than one language thanks to language contact, thus creating a space of hybridity and transnational and transcultural identities. In response to these transcultural flows, some nations, beginning with Canada in the early 1970s (Kymlicka 2010), have introduced "multiculturalism" both as an expression of having different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups within the nation state and as a policy of containment of/for this diversity.

The early works that attempted to look at the intersection of hybridity, migration/ flow, and language were located either in sociolinguistics (with Joshua Fishman as its leading figure) or psycholinguistics (with Jim Cummins as one of its transformative figures). However, up until early 2000s, the literature did not use the term "hybridity" as we understand it today. The preferred term was/is "identity," which was/is linked to language and ethnicity. For Fishman (1977), there are two levels to identity: group and individual identities. Group identity is what he refers to as "patrimony" or "ethnic identity" (inherited cultural norms, values, cloths, music,

etc.), and he refers to individual identity as "paternity" and "phenomenology" (an inherited constellation acquired from one's parents, which guides individual desires, hopes, and behaviors). Language, Fishman (1977) explains, is the symbol *par excellence* of ethnicity. It is a container and a producer of ethnicity and simultaneously a product of it. Language is where identity (group and individual) is both formed and performed.

Taking his cues from Fishman, Hewitt (1982) studied how, for West Indians in Great Britain, Creole became an identity in its own term and a medium through which identity is expressed, thus proving Fishman's (1977) argument that "language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology" (p. 25). Always within the British context, Mercer et al. (1979) studied the identity formation of first-generation immigrants from the Indian subcontinent. Mercer et al. were able to outline three identities: those who identified themselves as "Indian," those who identified themselves as "British," and those who identified themselves as British-Indian, therefore forcing a discussion on biculturalism and bilingualism. We reached similar conclusions of "mixed" identities with Colin Baker (1985) in Wales (Welsh-English), Nancy Hornberger (1995) in Peru (Quechua-Spanish), Kathryn Woolard (1991) in Catalan (Catalan-Spanish), David Lopez (1991) in the USA (Spanish-English), Carol Myers-Scotton (1991) in East Africa (Swahili-English), and Andrew Gonzalez (1991) in the Philippines (Cebuano-Tagalog), among others (see Dow 1991, for the 1991 chapters and for full discussion on Fishman and his legacy).

In North America, Jim Cummins has had a lasting effect, especially theoretically, on how we think about immigration, identity, and language. Working in concert with Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), Cummins proposed two hypotheses that attempted, first, to understand and work with the cognitive processes that take place in the bilingual child; second, link language and thought; and, finally, create an advocacy framework for minority and migrant language rights. Both hypotheses are located within psycholinguistics. The first is the "threshold hypothesis," which states that, in order for a second language acquisition to be beneficial, a minimum threshold in language proficiency must be passed in the first language. Once this threshold is passed, Cummins argues, then bilingualism can positively influence academic and cognitive functioning, creating an "additive bilingualism." A child who reaches a low threshold might be influenced negatively, arriving at "semilingualism" (not proficient in L1 or L2), thus creating a negative or "subtractive bilingualism."

Pushing these arguments further, Cummins (2001) proposes his "interdependence hypothesis." In it, he argues "that the level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins" (p. 75). That is to say, "there is an interaction between the language of instruction and the type of competence the child has developed in his L1 prior to school" (p. 75). This is a counterintuitive hypothesis, one that has had a vibrating effect around the globe, especially in the USA, in terms of migrant language rights and the need to preserve indigenous languages as a necessary right if we want to reach an optimal level of second language acquisition (Garcia and Woodley 2014; see Baker and Hornberger 2001, for a full collection of Cummins early writings).

Work in Progress

Building on Jim Cummins, Joshua Fishman, and also on Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall, Roger I. Simon, Ben Rampton, and Monica Heller, among many others, and in the fields of critical theory, critical pedagogy, radical feminism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and cultural studies, there was a radical rupture in terms of how we conceive the intersection of immigration, hybridity, and language. That rupture started in the University of Toronto (Canada) in the mid-1990s with the preeminent work of Alastair Pennycook (1994) and Bonny Norton (Peirce) (1995). Both Pennycook and Norton studied under Jim Cummins and Roger I. Simon. The latter pushed them into areas that the field of educational linguistics, especially second language, was not familiar with or had not dealt with in serious ways, particularly critical pedagogy, cultural studies, and feminism.

In 1994, Pennycook published his now classic text, *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. A year after, in 1995, Norton published a seminal article in TESOL Quarterly, titled: *Social identity, investment and language learning*. When read together, we enter a new way of thinking and researching (im)migration, flows, identity, hybridity, culture, and language. First, we see a complicated conversation on the very term, immigrants. This term is no longer linear, referring to the richest of the earth who voluntarily immigrate or move from one geographical place to another, bringing with them wealth and success in schools (Daniels 2002). "Immigrants" are now a complicated category by gender, social class, ethnicity, sexual preference, accents, history, war, and environmental disasters. It is a category that does not contain nor express the abject reality of refugees, asylum seekers, and the undocumented. These are two different populations that tend to perform differently (immigrants do well, while refugees struggle; Daniels 2002).

Making use of this literature, the recent works by Alim et al. (2009), Blommaert (2010), Heller (2011), Higgins (2011), Ibrahim (2014), and Terkourafi (2010) have pushed a new conceptualization of cultural hybridity, identity, and language. Culture, especially cultural identity, these authors argue, was arrested for a long time in a modernist approach where it was seen as a shared code, value, and ancestry; a common historical experience; a "oneness" that binds; and a continuous and uninterrupted frame of reference and meaning. The idea of "home," "homeland," and place was central to this modernist conceptualization, one where an imaginary coherence is imposed despite the experience of dispersal and fragmentation.

Clearly, this approach has reached the brink of its ultimate logic. In its place, we now have cultural flows and transcultural identities where migration is no longer a physical act but also a cultural one. History is no longer a passé, an essentialized category that happened and from which our hands are clean. History is now an organic and living entity that is influencing our everyday activities, how we think, what we learn, how we learn, what we invest in in terms of desire and identity, what we love, and why we love what we love. These are the *cultural flows*. They belong to the future as much as to the past. They are not, Hall (1997) explains:

something which exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural [flows] come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being external fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, [cultural flows and cultural] identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (p. 52)

Like Hall, Pennycook (2007) is thinking about language, hybridity, and cultural and musical migration when he introduces what he calls "transcultural flows" as an episteme "to address the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse context" (p. 6). Pennycook is concerned with how cultural forms are refashioned, taken up, appropriated, localized, and changed in ways that the originators would not recognize. Clearly, Pennycook does not and cannot ignore the many detrimental effects of globalization – be it exploitation of cheap labor, forced migration, destruction of local economies and ecologies, and war – yet his interest is "not so much on how [for example] music works culturally in specific locations but on the effects of the many encounters and hybrid co-productions of languages and cultures" (p. 6).

Like Appadurai (2006), Hall (1997), and Pennycook (2007), my own work (Ibrahim 2014) has shown that place, culture, locality, and identity should be approached not as a fait accompli but as a production, "which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall 1997, p. 51). Similar to my work, the "trans" in Pennycook's "transcultural flows" is a way to escape the locked-in and flattened debate over globalization versus localization and turn it into a productive, ground-up, and empirical way to see *how* the two talk to each other; how the blending, remaking, returning, and refashioning take place; and how, in the end, despite the uneven impact of globalization, cultural and linguistic flows can turn into, not a process of homogenization, a reorganization of the local. In this sense, language, culture, and identity are reconceptualized as fluid, in flux, and a contingent production (rather than a given) that is located in time and space. It is this flux, ever mixing and mixed cultures, languages, and identities, that Homi Bhabha (1994) refers to as "hybridity." Hybridity is a space of in-betweenness where nothing is guaranteed, where identity is a never-ending product, and where languages and histories intermingle, thus producing, in the case of immigrants and refugees, a space where the "old" and the "new" (culture, language, and identity) look neither like the old nor fully like the new, but the two combined.

In-Betweenness: Investigating Hybridity, Culture, Immigration, and Language Use

The conceptualizations above are too abstract, so there is a need to offer concrete examples. To do so, I will briefly discuss three studies from across the globe. The first study is my own (Ibrahim 2014). In it, I argue that if all identities are situated,

placed, and contextually produced, then we need to visually see, ethnographically decipher, and semantically make sense of them. Identity is not a theoretical notion, I contended, but a fluid, contingent, and bodily performed category. Guided by these two propositions, I conducted three ethnographic studies, where I sought to understand: what happens to migrant and displaced identities in the new home/land? How do old and new identities negotiate and translate each other? And what is the play of language in the process of identity formation? The three studies focused on continental African youth who found themselves as immigrants but mostly as refugees in Canada. The findings show:

(a) Race and gender are salient categories in students' integration in the Canadian society.
(b) Students enter a social imaginary – a discursive space in which they are already imagined, constructed, and thus treated as "Blacks" by hegemonic discourses and groups (of course, these groups and discourses are not homogenous, hence my use of the plural).
(c) This imaginary is directly implicated in whom the students identify with (Black American), which in turn influences what and how they linguistically and culturally learn.
(d) What they learn is Black English as Second Language (BESL), which they access in hip-hop culture and rap lyrical and linguistic styles.
(e) Students' cultural and linguistic heritage is not seen in opposition to the new North American context (in fact, the two complement each other in very complicated ways).

The overall conclusion of the studies is that when it comes to language, culture, and identity investment, immigrants and refugees invest themselves where they see themselves mirrored in society, thus learning BESL by a Black student is a resistant act that is mindful of the abject history of Black people in North America.

The second study is that of Jennifer Roth-Gordon (2009). Situated in Brazil, the study shows how hip-hop was localized and made Brazilian and how, in the process, it has become the voice (in the linguistic, social, and cultural sense) of the *favelas* (shantytowns in the outskirts of big cities). It has become the voice of the *favelas* by musically "sampling" and reciting US conscious rap from Public Enemy and KRS-One and using graffiti, artistically displaying socially charged issues like poverty, racism, police brutality, and social neglect on large murals all across the *favelas*. In performing the confrontational style of conscious rap, Brazilian hip-hoppers are "embracing U.S. ideas of structural violence (including institutional racism) and a Black–White racial dichotomy, as these themes directly contradict Brazilian ideals of racial democracy" (pp. 63–64). This US–Brazilian symbolic and cultural exchange is part of what Halifu Osumare (2007) calls "connective marginalities," one where hip-hop becomes a Global Hip-Hop Nation by resonating with young people across the globe in four main fields: culture, social class, historical oppression, and youth rebellion. Rapping about these four areas, and with limited English, Roth-Gordon concludes youth thus consciously create

connections between Brazil and the USA, especially the African American experience of marginalization and social exclusion and that of the *favelas*. In doing so, the Brazilian hip-hoppers "traffic" (i.e., metaphorically, artistically, and linguistically borrow or talk about) nationally opposed racial ideologies. Here, it is worth noting that race is a taboo in Brazil. However, hip-hop groups brought the issue of existing racial disparity, discrimination, poverty, and White supremacy to the forefront. They did that by naming what they saw as the racial similarities between themselves and the USA. In this sense, for the Brazilian hip-hoppers, South Bronx becomes a racialized urban symbolic site of power and linguistic, social, political, and racial inspiration.

Titled "Multilingualism, Ethnicity and Genre in Germany's Migrant Hip Hop," the third and final study is that of Jannis Androutsopoulos (2010). Androutsopoulos reaches four conclusions. First, youth from migrant background are using hip-hop as a means to express discourses of migration and ethnicity and as a site where immigrant languages are deployed and made use of. Second, when it comes to migrant hip-hop in Germany, which language is used as a "base" (German with some Turkish terms, e.g., or Turkish with some German terms) is a symbolic act of audience identification (i.e., paying homage to being German-Turkish, for instance). Third, in Germany's migrant hip-hop, the "base language" tends to be German, but the use of migrant languages is systematic and for indexical purposes (i.e., to claim an identity, a language, a heritage). Finally, Androutsopoulos concludes that "a symbolic use of migrant languages allows artists to make ethnicity claims while targeting a mainstream, monolingual audience" (p. 21). Androutsopoulos's overall conclusion is that Germany's migrant hip-hop artists are redefining what it means to be German *and* Turkish, for example, through language choice and self-expression.

Problems and Difficulties

Suresh Canagarajah (2013) refers to these hybrid spaces of language mixing, of cultural *métissage* (Ibrahim 2014), and of artistic dialogues as "translinguaing practices." In a time of hyper-communication, when people are meeting face-to-face and online with an incredible ease that was not possible before, Canagarajah argues, translingualism is a fresh theoretical framework that attempts to understand the intersection of transcultural flows, hybrid identities, and language use and awareness. For Canagarajah, the examples above and the other studies he detailed in his book, *Translingual Practice*, would be perfect examples of translingualism. It is rather interesting that most of the translingual research is recent and is done within the sociolinguistic of hip-hop (Alim et al. 2009; Ibrahim 2014; Terkourafi 2010). In migrant and refugee contexts, where more than one language is spoken, language relationships are conceived in more dynamic terms. Languages are not separate entities but resources that migrants put into practice in their daily communication. This daily language contact and "meshing," for Canagarajah (2013), pose interesting possibilities and challenges for communicating across language boundaries. Translingualism is a way out of this classic binary of native/nonnative, thus engendering

new communicative modes as people adopt creative strategies to engage each other and represent their voices. Canagarajah offers the example M.I.A., the British-Sri Lankan hip-hop artist, whose linguistic hybridity, sociocultural in-betweenness, and refugee status allow her to deploy an incredible array of translingualism that would have been missed if we as linguists and educators are too focused on "proper" or "correct" use of language. We see a similar example in Canagarajah with Buthainah, a female Saudi Arabian student, who uses Arabic, English, and French as repertoires that most effectively represent her transcultural and translingual identities. Canagarajah leaves us with a difficult question that is yet to be posed and answered: if Buthainah is in our English language classrooms, how do we evaluate her work? Buthainah's example poses another problem. She uses a translingualism of symbol system (i.e., icons, emoticons, graphics) and modalities (i.e., image, audio, video) on the same page. Again, how do we evaluate this mixture of rhetorical objectives and modalities?

Future Directions

From these two last questions, there are two directions that are urgently in need for future research. The first is epistemic and the other is pedagogical. From an epistemic point of view, there is a need for more research that attempts to deepen our understanding of the intersection of immigration, hybrid identities, and language awareness. First, we need to unpack the very category of "immigrant." Using "immigrant" as a category to describe the population I conducted research with (Ibrahim 2014) is misleading, to say the least. Most continental Africans in North America are actually political and environmental refugees (Ibrahim 2014). Second, we need empirical research to theorize and better conceptualize the relationship between displacement, identity formation process, and translinguaing practice. Finally, when we talk about "language" as a self-standing product, as a tightly knit system that stands free from semiotic resources (symbols, icons, and images) and as a strictly spoken, written, and read word, we are bound to distort meaning-making practices. As my and Pennycook's work makes clear, we need to research language more urgently from a semiotic perspective, where meaning-making practices are ecologically embedded in context and not in books. We need to see, from the ground up, using ethnographic lenses, how migrants and refugees are making use of language in their daily language practices, what choices they make, and why.

From a pedagogical point of view, as we help our students develop language competency, we as language teachers, especially ESL/EFL, should creatively make use of our migrant students' translingual practice. That is, instead of shutting them down, we need to take cues from Buthainah's example. In his class, Canagarajah (2013) distributed an essay by Buthainah. In it, she used Arabic, English, and French. Interestingly, Canagarajah explains, once students understood the objectives and the reasons for why Buthainah made use of translingualism, students were able to understand her text. This is similar to Flores (2013) who proposes and exemplifies a paradigm of linguistic esthetics in language teaching, which is exactly about how

to teach in ways that support and encourage practices of translingualism. We should be mindful, however, that Canagarajah's course is a graduate course, so we should ask: from an assessment and evaluation perspective, what rubric should we use to evaluate Buthainah's essay? This is a pedagogical question that needs an answer. Translingualism, at least for now, may be a partial answer. It breaks away from the binary mono/multi and uni/pluri, a dichotomy that can only serve an academic and ideological significance and leads to reductive orientations to communication and competence. This is especially true in migrant communities, where communication, identities, cultures, and languages have always been heterogeneous.

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Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness

Ingrid Gogolin and Joana Duarte

Abstract

Paradoxically, individual and societal multilingualism are officially accepted and celebrated at a European level, the aim being that every European citizen becomes at least trilingual. Closer analyses of the discourse on multilingualism shows, however, that what are celebrated are the languages of European nation-states and officially acknowledged linguistic minorities (such as Frisian in the Netherlands, Welsh or Gaelic in the United Kingdom, Sorbian in Germany) but by no means all languages of the people who actually live in European countries. Embedded in this paradox, the present chapter will first provide an overview on the historical development of the term and concept of "superdiversity." In the second part, we present current research on linguistic superdiversity and awareness from sociological/anthropological, sociolinguistic, education, and psycholinguistic perspectives. Methodological aspects and challenges will then be identified, followed by an outline of future directions in the field.

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Contents

Early Developments

The history of mankind is constantly based on migration. The motives and forms of movement have changed radically over time, but the drive to passage from one place to another is still a central feature of people all around the world. Also the European geographic area has always been marked by large migratory movements, both to and from other areas of the world (Hobsbawm 1990). However, the globalization phenomena of the late twentieth century brought new dynamics to the field. We face rapidly shifting migration patterns, leading to swiftly changing population configurations especially in urban areas, the traditional centers of attraction for migrants. The worldwide diversification of migration flows results in shifts of the social, cultural, and linguistic texture of the sending regions as well as those that receive new populations. According to the United Nations, 231 million international migrants were estimated worldwide in 2013 – with an ongoing upward trend predicted (United Nations 2013).

Whereas migration as such is a constant feature, migration patterns differ across European countries. One marker of difference is colonial migration: Some countries, e.g., the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, or Portugal, faced considerable in-migration from former colonies, whereas in others (such as Germany) this was hardly the case. For all European countries, the end of World War II marked a considerable change of migration patterns. The first wave of migrants were refugees and repatriates, moving away from countries to which the war had thrown them or back to their historical areas of residence. In the early 1950s, another pattern of migration occurred: movers from Southern Europe to North-Western European countries for whom temporary work contracts had been politically arranged in order to support the development of the receiving countries' industries and economies. From the 1950s to the 1970s, large numbers of – mostly single – migrants left their home to work in the more industrialized regions of Europe. Typical countries of origin were Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, or what was then known as Yugoslavia, i.e., the Mediterranean area. Typical receiving areas were Germany, the Benelux countries, France, Denmark and Sweden, and England. Due to economic declines, namely the "energy crisis" in the early 1970s, most European receiving countries enacted a ban on recruitment of workers – which had an unexpected effect: whereas relatively small numbers of contract workers left,

considerably larger numbers of family members migrated to join those who had stayed, simply because family reunification was almost the only legal and tolerated way to get access to the receiving countries. This led to considerable societal changes across European countries. The migrant populations increasingly consisted of whole families – not only the persons with working contracts but moreover their spouses and children (Bade 2003). Consequently, public systems such as education, health, and welfare were increasingly challenged by the diversity of their clientele.

In the early 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, another pattern of migration that can be characterized by the metaphor of "diversification of diversity" (Martiniello 2004) arose. The number of countries or areas of origin of migrants coming to Europe enlarged considerably. Although emigrants still tend to settle down in regions that are close to their former *lebensraum*, a growing number of them take the burden of overcoming long distances to receiving areas. Moreover, the backgrounds, motives, aims, and channels of migration diversified. Migrants today are socially more stratified, generally more mobile, possess a greater variety of legal statuses and of religious orientations, and stay more deeply connected with their areas of origin than three decades ago.

In traditional views on migration-led diversity we can distinguish two main approaches: In the German speaking countries and others that are influenced by their philosophical tradition, it was presumed that the heterogeneity of migrants could effectively be seized by categorizing them by their "nation" and "culture" of origin; the two terms were broadly used as synonyms. In this perspective, migrants were considered to be "carriers" of the national/cultural inheritance of their country of origin and thus "alien" to "the culture" of their new environment. In the United Kingdom and other Northwestern European countries such as the Scandinavian, the notion of culture was complemented by considering ethnic, racial, and social features. Here it was stressed that differences between autochthonous and migrant populations were mainly due to dissimilarities deriving from ethnic or racial characteristics in connection with social class effects (Donald and Rattans 1992). In both perspectives, however, the consequences of migration were conceptualized as related to differences between those who had long been settled in the receiving countries and those who were newcomers.

The two mentioned mainstream positions, however, were accompanied by criticism that was especially directed towards the dichotomy of classification – old-established vs. newcomers in a society. It was argued that migration is not necessarily projected as a unidirectional process but rather as dynamic and undisclosed. The concept of "transmigration" was developed in order to allude to the fact that the historical view of leaving one place and settling down at another, connected to the notion of assimilation to the receiving area, was no longer appropriate for capturing the diversity of migration processes (Bade et al. 2011). One example: It is a general feature of contemporary migration that the connections with the region of origin or people deriving from there but living anywhere in the world are not cut but retained. Technical and economical advances such as electronic communication and cheap possibilities to travel support the development and

stability of transnational contacts and networks. Consequently, concepts of "assimilation" or "integration" no longer connote the unmitigated dismissal of links with the cultural and social heritage but rather a functional adaptation to the living conditions in the country of residence ("selective acculturation", see Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In this perspective, growing diversity rather than homogeneity constitutes the future sociocultural reality.

On the basis of in-depth observations of migration patterns and effects on societal development in London, Steven Vertovec offered the term and concept of "super-diversity" in order to capture the complex constitution of contemporary migration flows and the societal diversity which is triggered by them (Vertovec 2007). The work drew on a range of data sources showing how diverse the UK's and London's population is with reference to net inflows, countries of origin, languages, religions, migration channels and immigration statuses, gender, age, space/place, and practices of transnationalism. Super-diversity is proposed as a "'summary' term to encapsulate a range of such changing variables surrounding migration patterns – and, significantly, their inter-linkages – which amount to a recognition of complexities that supersede previous patterns and perceptions of migration-driven diversity" (Meissner and Vertovec 2015, 542). The theoretical and empirical formation of the super-diversity concept is still on-going. Anyhow, it is useful as a heuristic metaphor, highlighting the dynamic changes in population configurations particularly arising from migration flows. With respect to research methodology, the super-diversity approach requires us to "re-tool our theories and methods, not least in order to move beyond what some call the 'ethno-focal lens' of most approaches within conventional migration studies" (ibid).

Major Contributions

The term and concept of super-diversity has been adopted by a variety of social science disciplines, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and education research among others (for an overview of recent research see Arnaut et al. 2016). Most investigations based on the concept are carried out in or about urban areas. In his first descriptions, Vertovec (2007) created the image of "the world in one city" by the example of London's diverse population, representing a plenitude of origins and heritages, living conditions, and lifestyle. In the meantime, the term was applied to other urban areas around the world, not only in order to understand contemporary features of migration-induced diversity but also for historical analysis (see for example De Bock 2015).

Irrespective of the great attention paid to the term, however, research on the educational and linguistic developments arising from super-diverse constellations is as yet very sparse. This may not least be an effect of the traditional understanding that linguistic and cultural diversity is hardly to be found within a nation-state, as the "classical" European notion of nation is associated with the concept of a "homogenous" society, composed of people who share a common history, culture, and language (Gogolin 2002). This understanding is still deeply rooted in conventional

ways of looking at the composition of populations and languages (May 2012). An illustration of this is the notorious underestimation of the number of languages spoken in European countries as well as the attempts to quantify them as separate entities. Different from some other countries of the world that consider themselves as "traditional" immigration regions, such as Australia or Canada, there is little reliable or valid statistical information about the languages that are spoken by people living in Europe. Despite being only one possible step in understanding how migration movements leading to super-diversity actually affect the linguistic composition of European nations, an attempt to detect the languages in Europe can lead to a variety of answers.

From a political point of view, Europe represents 24 languages. These are the languages functioning as official and working languages in the European Union. Another roughly 60 languages are considered as "indigenous regional and minority languages" (Council of Europe 1992). These languages are officially respected, and their speakers may profit from support measures that are laid down in the "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages." In both perspectives, the languages that are spoken by migrants in Europe are not included in the picture.

When a more scientific point of view is applied, immigrant languages are taken into account, but the available data is nonetheless weak and based on traditional ways of counting languages. This can be illustrated by a comparison of information given by (a) "Ethnologue," a comprehensive database "that catalogues all the known living languages in the world today" (www.ethnologue.com; see also Lewiset al. 2014) and (b) different regional surveys on the languages spoken at home by school children, conducted in some European cities (Table 1).

In this traditional perspective, languages are conceptualized as separate coexisting entities that influence each other in the case of contact. Language diversity in this perspective is seen as a constellation in which different languages coexist, each in its assigned space. The case of "linguistic minority" occurs if the space devoted to one language is at the same time used (or claimed) by (an)other language (s). The super-diversity perspective shows that this is a brittle perception as a lot of

Table 1 Number of languages spoken in five European nations according to different sources.

Country	Number of languages (Ethnologue 2015)	City	"Languages spoken at home" according to regional surveys
Germany	70	Hamburg	120[a]
Portugal	10	Lisbon	80[b]
United Kingdom	59	London	233[c]
The Netherlands	55	The Hague	88[d]
Sweden	38	Gothenburg	75[d]

[a]Freie and Hansestadt Hamburg (2011)
[b]Mateus et al. (2008)
[c]Eversley et al. (2010)
[d]Extra and Yağmur (2004)

coexisting languages, jargons, vernaculars claim the same time and space. Moreover, the linguistic composition of regions is most probably object to rapid and permanent change, as can be shown by "linguistic landscaping" (Gorter 2006). In a globalized world, speakers may have to change their language behavior and practice according to new constellations in their immediate environment or to other imperatives, e.g., traveling abroad. This observation calls for a re-orientation of fundamental concepts in research on language, be it with regards to socio- or psycholinguistic issues or be it from an educational linguistics point of view. The concept of languages as separate, bounded entities has become questionable, and new approaches to capture the dynamics, instability, and unpredictability of the particular social and linguistic conditions in a globalized world are necessary.

An attempt to shed light on the concrete manifestation of language in super-diverse constellations derives from sociolinguistic research that identifies "new repertoires" of speakers. This line of research is based on a paradigm shift with respect to essential ideas about (a) languages themselves, (b) language groups and their speakers, and (c) actual communication practices. The researchers observe "mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 4) as relevant for the study of these three aspects. The conceptualization of languages as "bounded systems linked to bounded communities" (ibid, 5) and areas is depicted as an ideological artifact.

Concerning language groups and their speakers, the super-diversity framework calls for a shift towards the observation of "communities of practice" (ibid). Traditional research on language groups and speakers is grounded on binary categorizations. Typical concepts are the "native speaker" (vs. the "nonnative"), "mother tongue," "heritage language," or "first language" (vs. "foreign" or "second language"). These concepts are based on the notion of monolingualism as "normality" and all other manifestations of language constellations or practices as exceptions. By contrast, the super-diversity approach is focused on linguistic diversity as the "normal" constellation. Within this, the individual speaker possesses of "plurilingual repertoires" which are composed of a varying skills pertaining to different "languages," dialects, or registers, that may be mastered to distinctive degrees and fulfill different communicative functions. The speakers' repertoires are of a fluid and partly fragmentary nature. In order to detect their functionalities and appropriateness, standard concepts such as "correct," "native" miss the target as they exclude the nuances that actually occur in super-diverse constellations. In this perception, the term "multilingual" is used in order to refer to the linguistic composition of groups of plurilingual individuals.

The methodological requirements of research in the super-diversity framework call for the integration of traditional concepts and methods from social science research with new approaches that allow for "highlighting the importance of mutual relations, interactions and influences among residents of different origins and backgrounds, including the experience of both immigrants and autochthonous populations" (Padilla et al. 2014, 621). It is thus not focused on "the migrant population" but on the constellations of interaction that build "communities of practice" (sensu Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Previous definitions of repertoires,

based on the triad of language resources, knowledge of language ("competence"), and community, are revised in light of the complexity of strategies and channels through which language is acquired and used. A new typology of language learning trajectories proposes to include a variety of factors such as length of socialization, contexts of acquisition, purposes of acquisition, types of languages learned, and levels of performance in order to analyze "superdiverse repertoires" (Blommaert and Backus 2011, 22). Some attempts to identify the respective fluid communicative abilities and practices have been published already, in conjunction with the coinage of new terms for characterizing language usage. Examples of such neologisms are "crossing" (Rampton 1995), "polylingualism" (Jørgensen 2008), and "translanguaging" (García 2009) among others.

Education research has dealt with the issue of linguistic diversity primarily within the scope of intercultural education, second language pedagogies, and educational linguistics. Similar to the superdiversity approach, a main motive of research addresses the question how the significant educational disadvantages found for plurilingual pupils in most receiving countries can be reduced. Large-scale international studies on educational success such as PISA or TIMSS recurrently reveal disadvantages of migrant children (OECD 2014; Martin and Mullis 2013). The analysis of their approaches and results shows, yet, that they cannot be sufficiently explained by the traditional and well-tried concepts which are applied, such as sociocultural strata, cultural capital, or educational aspirations. Although these concepts explain a considerable part of the divergent success rates, another substantial residual remains unexplained. In current research this is often referred to as the "ethnic residual" which can as yet not be clarified by the concepts that have been applied. The term derives from research on the effects of resource-based differences in intergenerational status transmission in migrant families and educational outcomes of migrant children. It can be shown that after control of parental resources (namely economic, cultural, and social capital) differences in educational success rates of different migrant groups still exist. This finding is interpreted as "ethnic residual," which remains unexplained in the framework of traditional explanation models of educational disparities (Nauck and Lotter 2015).

The lack of explanations is especially evident with respect to the role and significance of linguistic diversity as the cause of educational disparities. In mainstream research as the above mentioned, it is claimed that linguistic assimilation to the majority language is key to the successful integration of migrants in the host communities and their schools (Esser 2009). Living in a multilingual constellation is identified as a "risk factor" for educational attainment (Müller and Stanat 2006). On the other hand, a number of studies unveil the individual and educational advantages that are bound to growing up and living in a multilingual environment. On the individual level, namely, cognitive advantages have been identified that can serve as a positive potential for the learning of languages as well as for learning in general (Bialystok and Poarch 2014). On the level of classroom practice it could be shown that bi- or multilingual approaches bear the chance of advantage both for students who live a plurilingual life and for those who come from monolingual families (August and Shanahan 2006). It has also been shown that language related

explanations for school success can be attributed less to the question of which language is used in family and outside school. More relevant seems to be the "mode" of language socialization and usage. Positive effects on educational attainment can be assigned to the literacy practices in families, regardless of the languages in which they are practiced (Scheele et al. 2010).

The number of research projects taking up these results and combining them with a superdiversity perspective is growing in education research. Recent studies attempt to reveal evidence for the potential of explicitly using linguistic diversity in classrooms as a tool for raising academic achievement (Duarte 2011). Especially experimental projects on the question how to make multilingualism a resource for learning in mainstream classrooms have tentatively shown positive results (Bourne 2013; Sierens and Avermaet 2014). The "secret" of such models seems to arise from their flexibility (Anderson 2008), specifically allowing for language comparison and cross-language transfer (Cummins 2005), and the acknowledgment of language mixing as tools for learning, not only of multilingual pupils.

The practical development of teaching approaches in the spirit of taking advantage of plurilingual competences is much more advanced than empirical research on the potential and efficacy of respective models. Nevertheless, some of the teaching concepts that are actually discussed seem to point in the right direction. García's concept of "translanguaging" is probably the most disseminated of these approaches (García and Wei 2014). The concept refers to the dynamic and flexible use of linguistic resources that are typical of plurilingual speakers. Empirical research so far has focussed on analyzing classroom interaction by zooming in on the ways the translanguaging phenomena are used for constructing meaning, acquiring knowledge, and negotiating in diverse classrooms. Criticism of this approach stresses its lack of empirical verification in terms of the effects on educational outcomes. Further skepticism identifies it as being suitable for multilinguals only. A general skepticism is uttered towards the inclusion of migrant languages in mainstream classroom interaction. Some studies, however, do suggest that their integration in classroom discourse opens up better chances of educational success for all pupils (Moodley 2007).

A specific approach for teaching language to all pupils is centered on the concept of "language awareness." This term is used in a variety of ways but in any case related to the findings that emphasize the cognitive advantages of bi- or plurilingualism (Hélot and Young 2006). Generally speaking, language awareness approaches aim at raising four dimensions of language competence: (1) revealing awareness of the individual's dispositions and motivations for language learning and use (socio-affective dimension); (2) controlling of the linguistic and communicative biography in new interaction situations (management of linguistic and communicative repertoires dimension); (3) coping with acquisition processes (management of learning repertoires dimension); and (4) reflecting upon the interactive processes which characterize language contact situations (management of interaction dimension) (Andrade et al. 2003, 489). The classroom activities aim at establishing associations between different languages (minority, immigrant, language of instruction, and foreign languages) at fostering intercomprehension and at a pedagogy that attempts to break with the segmentation and isolation of language teaching methods

at schools (Candelier 2004, also in this volume). Such a pedagogical approach holds the potential to raise the achievement of all pupils.

The rise of such alternative approaches to the still widely spread monolingual self-concept in mainstream education, second language, and bilingual education has been termed "the multilingual turn" in languages education (Conteh and Meier 2014; May 2014) and consists of a growing body of theories, pedagogies, and practices. Basic notions deriving from the monolingual bias, such as that of the idealized native speaker, are criticized under this new perspective of language education. Instead, advocates of the "turn" stress out the potentials and complexity of multiple competencies of multilingual learners as necessities for successful language instruction.

Work in Progress

With the exception of the above-mentioned recent development (Conteh and Meier 2014; May 2014), the application of a superdiversity framework to research on language and language learning is as yet scarce. Nonetheless, we can observe a growing attention to this theoretical perspective, not least due to the fact that a high number of phenomena that occur as concomitant features of recent migration patterns can neither be explained nor handled by the application of traditional linguistic, social, and education science concepts, methodologies, or practical approaches. The following examples of work in progress can show the range of activities that strive for better understanding and explaining of linguistic superdiversity or for the development of activities that support practitioners or policy makers to deal with superdiversity.

The area to be mentioned here is concerned with the re-tooling of *conceptual knowledge* about language development and language practice. Two approaches can be observed in this field: (a) the attempt to a holistic understanding of language development under the conditions of linguistic superdiversity and (b) the "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of linguistically diverse interaction and ways of meaning making.

Research projects which are carried out in the first sense can be based on the observation that in many European countries students are likely to develop multilingual abilities in the course of their school career. Two types of students can be distinguished: first, students who develop plurilingualism in a *lebensweltlich* (Habermas 1973) manner, i.e., by living and acquiring languages in a context in which more than one language is used for the management of everyday life and second, students who live their everyday life preferably in one language but get acquainted with other languages by foreign language teaching at school. In a growing number of European countries the first "foreign language" is offered to students in primary education. Many of the students, at least those who are learning in academic tracks, receive instruction in a second or third foreign language during their school career. Both types of students have foreign language instruction in common. Moreover, both have personal encounter with languages in everyday life in common, be it the languages of the *lebensweltlich* multilingual peers, be it

linguistic diversity in the public space, be it through media or while traveling. In a traditional perspective, all the nuances of constellations of language acquisition and learning were subsumed in a binary perspective as "mono-" or "bilingual" development, bilingualism rated as the prototype of any kind of diversity. Consequently, the terms "bi-" and "multilingualism" were often used as synonyms.

In innovative research projects, this perspective on language development will be questioned in order to provide fundamental insights into the individual development of plurilingual competencies that are acquired under different conditions. In longitudinal studies, the factors (both linguistic and nonlinguistic) that positively or negatively influence plurilingual development have to be identified as well as the effects these factors have on educational attainment. Key questions are: Which linguistic, personal, and contextual conditions influence plurilingual development positively or negatively? How do these conditions change over time? And how do the different languages interact in the individual and influence each other?

Respective research projects will aim to contribute not only to language development in a narrow sense but also to pinpointing the circumstances that would be required for sustainable safeguarding of societal coherence in a linguistically and culturally superdiverse population. The assumption is that strengthening young plurilinguals' resources and potentials, including their *lebensweltlich* abilities, can contribute significantly to this goal. The answers to the research questions should allow for the identification of innovative courses of pedagogical action that highlight the positive effects of linguistic diversity, thereby improving the educational opportunities not least for young migrants.[1]

Recent projects aiming at the description and understanding of linguistically diverse interaction and ways of meaning making can be found with respect to school contexts as well as extra curricular activities. In their analysis of interactions within Chinese and Gujarati community schools in the UK, Creese and Blackledge (2010) describe flexible translanguaging practices within such bilingual language teaching ecologies and propose the use of instructional approaches based on the use of two or more languages alongside each other as a means of fostering knowledge across languages. Their approach focuses on identifying knowledge and skills that participants use while translanguaging and which could thus be the basis for a flexible multilingual pedagogy. These include, among others, the use of translation across languages, the practice of translanguaging to explore identities and negotiate meanings, or the endorsement of simultaneous literacies.

Translanguaging practices in mainstream classes have so far been less investigated. A video-study analyzing multilingual peer interaction in subject-matter classes (Bührig and Duarte 2013 described how plurilingual adolescents translanguage in order to negotiate and acquire subject content. While the language of instruction is used in terms of identifying and exploring technical concepts, the other languages (in this case Russian, Turkish, Twi, Bosnian, and Dari, among others) mostly serve

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[1]A research project investigating this type of questions started in 2015 in Germany, see www.mez. uni-hamburg.de (July 2015).

to paraphrase and summarize the content and to negotiate meanings as well as linguistic aspects related to fulfilling the task in the language of instruction. Similar to Creese and Blackledge's analysis, the study shows how a flexible pedagogical approach towards the use of several languages for learning can bring about a valorization of pupils' linguistic resources.

Problems and Difficulties

Investigation under the superdiversity lens bears with it several challenges. A first set of problems is related to the complex methodological issues attached to investigating repertoires and their speakers in ways that can explore the full manifestations of their linguistic resources and their impact in several societal contexts. The framework has indeed shed some light on the shortcomings of language assessment in relation to plurilingual speakers. One manifestation of this can be seen in a realization of the limitations of classical self-ratings of language proficiencies for capturing superdiverse repertoires. Such self-ratings will most likely be embedded in traditional notions of language and language competences, which do not include the complexity on the one hand, the fluidity and "incompleteness" of plurilingual repertoires on the other hand. The need to complement self-rating scales by assessing productive and/or receptive language skills of plurilingual speakers is a current challenge for language assessment in multilingual constellations. This raises several hurdles concerning both (a) the languages that are actually selected for testing and (b) the norms used as criteria in their evaluation. Regarding (a), the tendency is to choose the major immigrant languages of a given region to include in the testing process along with the host community languages (Berendes et al. 2013). This approach stems from the association between nations and dominant languages, but anyhow it opens up new possibilities of analyzing diverging repertoires of different languages in a more holistic approach. Concerning (b), a challenge arises from the use of monolingual "native-like" norms to comparatively assess proficiency of plurilinguals. Shohamy claims that "[o]verlooking the construct of multilingualism is likely to result in language tests of limited evidence of validity" (2011, 419), thus not measuring what they set out to assess. One consequence of this discussion is increased efforts to explicitly take the language learners' developmental stages into consideration in the design of language tests and in the interpretation of their scores. The development of such tests is, however, a complex and expensive endeavor; as yet, there is no valid, i.e., psychometrically tested instrument available – to the best of our knowledge.

Associated with the need to trace the trajectories of plurilingual language development, and the manifold factors influencing it, is the claim for longitudinal designs enabling the identification of causal inferences around the patterns of change. Due to their longevity and complexity, large-scale longitudinal designs are hard to fund and require oversized starting cohorts in order to cater for phenomena such as panel attrition (i.e., the loss of individuals from a cohort that in being studied). They would, however, shed light on the intricacies of language interdependency over time.

Moreover, they would overcome the actual state of speculation with respect to language development that is based on cross-sectional research with different age groups. The results could serve as basis for designing flexible curricula and pedagogical approaches that react on validated knowledge about language development in superdiverse constellations.

With respect to pedagogical practice, yet another challenge arises from the lack of experimental studies with controlled samples in order to learn more about the adequacy and concrete effects of teaching and learning approaches focussing on the active use of plurilingual practices for teaching and learning. Most research conducted so far is of a small-scale qualitative nature, thus there are merely a few results that can only very cautiously be communicated to teacher training programs and pedagogical practice in general at this point.

Future Directions

A strong future direction within the investigation of superdiversity, pluri-, and multi-lingualism is related to the investigation of the role of migrants' heritage languages for the development of academic language proficiency and for enhancing the school outcomes of all pupils. These studies focus on an analysis of language-overarching features that may facilitate the mutual support between heritage languages, school languages, and all further languages that have to be learned. The emphasis on language features that are interdependent and interwoven can bring with it a renewed valorization of migrants' heritage languages as rightful parts of complex repertoires, contributing to elevating proficiencies as a whole (Duursma et al. 2007). Among others, these can be related to pragmatic features, such as elaborated narrating skills, but also to meta-linguistic knowledge on the formal and linguistic requirements of different school genres across the range of school subjects.

A second issue towards to which recent efforts are being directed relates to the investigation of the manifold factors affecting plurilingual language development in its relation to school outcomes. Traditionally, background variables such as migration, socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital, and generation were taken into account in empirical studies with a social science background aiming at explaining performance disparities or growth patterns. In light of the superdiversity framework, the further diversification of such aspects has to be taken into account, and alternative or additional aspects may have greater influence than is known yet. One example refers to the diversity of language practices at home and its relation to school requirements and outcomes. A particular emphasis has been put on the literacy practices of multilingual families and their potential to enhance the academic language skills of their children (Leseman et al. 2007). Available studies indicate that multilingual practices constitute the "normal" behavior of migrant families and their offspring, but the languages serve different purposes. While heritage languages are used in the interaction with parents and relatives, often on migration-specific and family issues, the host community languages are used with siblings, and they serve for literacy activities and literacy-oriented subjects (Ilić 2012).

In terms of transfer, the trend towards designing interventions to influence pedagogical practice will most certainly be reinforced. One current example is the Validiv project in Flanders that aims at valorizing the linguistic repertoires of pupils within primary education (e.g., English, French, immigrant languages). The project includes 30 experimental and 30 control schools. Preliminary results show the power of translanguaging practices for learning in multilingual primary schools and how this can be systematically supported by adequate pedagogical models (Sierens and Ramaut 2013). Such methodologically sound designs, using both social sciences approaches and qualitative methods to highlight processes and effects of pedagogical activities, will constitute a future trend in the field.

Research using the superdiversity framework can contribute to the creation and valorization of a "multilingual habitus," explicitly fostering the active use of the whole linguistic repertoires of pupils in both language and subject-matter classes throughout schooling. In light of demographic trends and predictions of future migration patterns, a multilingual habitus, i.e., the self-concept that linguistic diversity is "normal" in a society and can be mastered by all their members, will be a key to social coherence. While many criticize it as being just a trendy new concept to look at the same old phenomena, super-diversity has the potential to become a key concept for applied linguistics in terms of a paradigm shift on the way languages, language skills, and plurilingual speakers are perceived within education and societies.

Cross-References

▶ English as a Lingua Franca and Multilingualism
▶ Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism

Related Articles in the Encyclopedia of Language and Education

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English as a Lingua Franca and Multilingualism

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Abstract

This chapter explores the relationship between two modes of international communication: the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and multilingualism. ELF provides a means of communication among those who share no other language and is used by people in all parts of today's globalized world as a resource in the conduct of their professional and private lives. Since it effectively allows speakers of different languages to interact with each other and so brings their respective L1s into contact, it is necessarily related to multilingualism. Recent decades have seen an unprecedented spread of ELF as both consequence and driving force of globalization, resulting in a fast-growing field of research that is concerned with the use of ELF as a naturally adaptive linguistic process, with theoretical as well as applied linguistic implications. The focus of this chapter is on the main areas and objectives of ELF research, highlighting those aspects that are relevant for multilingualism and language awareness and for language education more generally. It is argued that ELF is complementary to other manifestations of multilingualism and not at all in conflict with it, mobilizing as it does all the linguistic resources of the interactants. But if it is to serve this complementary function, it is crucial that ELF be dissociated from English as a native language. ELF research thus calls for a radical change in established ways of thinking, from a basically monolingual view of English that regarded the language as a bounded and separate code essentially the property of its native speakers, even when used for international communication, to the recognition of ELF as an appropriated communicative resource, its use characterized by continuous negotiation of meaning and linguistic adaptation and plurality.

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Contents

Introduction

Over the last century, English has been developing into the first truly global lingua franca. A lingua franca is most generally defined as a medium of communication among people who do not share a first language. This means that lingua franca interactions happen, by definition, in multilingual settings: they are bi- or multilingual encounters because they bring into contact and mediate between the linguacultures of two or more speakers. This is as true of English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) as it is of lingua francas of earlier periods of human history (e.g., Sabir, Latin, Greek) and artificial lingua francas (e.g., Esperanto, Volapük).

It stands to reason, then, that the recent significant increase in multilingual encounters due to developments in digital communication and international mobility has also increased the need for a lingua franca that multilingual speakers in all parts of the world can rely on to communicate across many different L1s. This is why recent decades have seen an unprecedented spread of ELF as both consequence and driving force of globalization, resulting in a fast-growing field of research that is concerned with the use of ELF as a naturally adaptive linguistic process and with its theoretical as well as applied linguistic implications, the latter particularly in the areas of language policy and education. The use of ELF as a means of communication has become recognized as a crucial issue in a number of other quite diverse domains of activity including youth culture, science and technology, international business, conflict resolution, migration, and tourism. As a consequence, ELF as a subject now figures increasingly in university courses in English departments alongside the longer-established study of World Englishes, with a significant number of PhD projects completed and under way at universities all around the world.

ELF, then, is an expedient translingual use of English where the interactants do not share a knowledge of each other's language. Where they are bi- or multilingual, they can of course make use of other mutually known languages. So ELF is complementary to other manifestations of multilingualism and not at all in conflict

with it (cf. House 2003). But if it is to serve this complementary function, it is crucial that ELF be dissociated from English as a native language (ENL) – and this represents various difficulties that it is important to be clear about and raises issues particularly relevant to language education. ELF is the first truly global lingua franca – which of course does not mean that everybody in the world has access to it, far from it. But more people across the globe and across social strata make use of it than of any other lingua franca before: ELF pervades the daily lives of millions of people, from Brazilian researchers to Russian oil magnates, hip hoppers in Indonesia, American tourists and African asylum seekers in Italy. This is a situation very different from the relatively restricted use of lingua francas of earlier periods. Moreover, some other lingua francas like Latin from the Middle Ages onwards are "dead" in that they are historically decontextualized from their L1 communities or, like Sabir or Esperanto, are artificially constructed languages and so in both cases exist(ed) as vehicular languages in their own right. In the case of ELF, however, there is a "big brother," or rather several brothers, making claims of ownership of the language out of which it developed. But it has to be understood that ELF needs to be decontextualized from ENL communities if it is to serve a lingua franca function. Simply put, a national language cannot be international. This essential dissociation of ELF from English as a native or national language calls for a radical reconceptualization, and this is more easily said than done.

This chapter first gives a sketch of how ELF research has developed. It then explains the main areas and objectives of ELF research, highlighting those aspects that are relevant for multilingualism, language awareness, and language education more generally.

Early Developments

The most important early explicit treatment of English as an international language goes back to the time between the two world wars, when Basic English was conceived by Charles Ogden and I.A. Richards as a means of international communication in the service of world peace (see, e.g., Ogden 1930). As a constructed form of English (850 carefully selected words and a handful of grammar rules), Basic was totally different from the naturally occurring use of ELF, but it has been argued that it held great potential for developing an understanding of how natural languages work in communication, particularly for language awareness (Seidlhofer 2002, 2011). A later model of English for international communication was Randolph Quirk's (1981) concept of Nuclear English. Unlike Basic this was a subset of standard grammatical forms selected for clarity and explicitness. Again, this was very different from ELF as it is being currently studied in that it was a model arrived at by introspection rather than observation and only allowed forms that were in conformity with Standard English.

Another forerunner of ELF research was the discussion of English as an international language (EIL), particularly with reference to pedagogy, by a relatively small number of scholars in the 1980s such as Christopher Brumfit, Werner Hüllen,

Karlfried Knapp, Larry Smith, Peter Strevens, and Henry Widdowson. The issues addressed in their writings partly overlapped with the struggle for recognition of Outer Circle (i.e., postcolonial) varieties of English pursued in the study of World Englishes (cf. Kachru 1992). So while Basic English was motivated by a perceived need for international communication and understanding following the First World War, the focus on World Englishes was a response to the postcolonial situation: Braj Kachru and Larry Smith in particular argued that countries in the Outer Circle were entitled to their own Englishes, signalling their identity and independence. This in turn required the recognition of separate "nativized" Englishes, with their respective endonormative models for teaching and reference works for individual, clearly delineated varieties such as Indian English or Nigerian English, from which curricula and materials for teaching could, in principle, be derived. It may well be that this focus on nativized varieties as representing the independent identity of their users in Asia and Africa prevented this line of thinking from moving seamlessly into ELF research in the Western/Northern part of the globe, where models for English language teaching (ELT) remained oriented to Anglo-American ENL. Another reason why the rare exhortations of the 1980s to rethink the teaching of English had no lasting impact can be traced to the enormous influence of the USA– and UK– led "mainstream" research on second language acquisition (SLA) and corpus linguistics that continued to take the primacy of standard native speaker norms as self-evident.

In the 1990s, there were some important publications, without reference to ELT, that discussed "lingua franca negotiations" (e.g., Firth 1996; Gramkow Andersen 1993/2001) and intercultural communication (House 1999; Meierkord 1996). These studies made important early contributions, but, unlike ELF as currently conceived, they limited the notion of "lingua franca" to exchanges exclusively among nonnative speakers of English.

Major Contributions

Around the beginning of the twenty-first century, discussions intensified of the processes of change referred to as globalization "which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents" (Held et al. 1999: 15). These discussions about changes brought about by global connections coincided with the emergence of new perspectives on English as a global language. Here, too, a "transformation" was taking place, namely, a conceptual one: from a basically monolingual view of English that regarded English as a bounded, completely separate code owned by its native speakers, even when used for international communication, to the recognition of ELF as a multilingual mode, encompassing all the linguistic resources of speakers and listeners. This understanding of ELF as intrinsically multilingual, characterized by linguistic plurality, is distinctive of its development from about the year 2000.

At that time, taking ELF seriously was a novel and very controversial proposition, mainly because both linguistics and English language teaching as well as SLA (*pace* Cook 1999) operated virtually exclusively with idealized native speaker models, thus constructing "nonnative" speakers as defective communicators. Therefore, the first publications on ELF had to address this native speaker orientation head-on in order to be noticed and recognized as relevant. This is done in Jenkins (2000), which argues that for pronunciation in international uses of English, what counts is mutual intelligibility among bi- or multilingual ELF users rather than approximation to native speaker models, and outlines clear priorities for ELT consistent with this approach. While Jenkins particularly addresses pedagogic issues, Seidlhofer (2001) focuses on the necessity of linguistic description, arguing that discussions about "global English" on the meta-level need to be accompanied by substantial empirical work on ELF, ideally making use of the currently dominant methodology of corpus linguistics, in order to make ELF a "tangible reality" that cannot be ignored. As for ELF and SLA, Brutt-Griffler (2002) posits the notion of "macroacquisition," emphasizing societal (rather than individual) SLA in both Outer Circle and Expanding Circle settings, the latter being areas where English is a foreign rather than a second or official language (Kachru 1992). In Brutt-Griffler's account, too, bi- or multilingualism is an intrinsic design feature of both ELF and World Englishes. She demonstrates the active role of ELF users as agents in the spread and development of English: they are not just at the receiving end but contribute to the shaping of the language and the functions it fulfills and so in effect appropriate the language and adapt it to their own purposes. The three publications described above clearly start from a functional definition of ELF and in the sense that they constitute the first assertive efforts to map out the area of ELF research, they are also programmatic. This programmatic character, staking the claim for the legitimacy of the study of ELF, also meant that, as a first step, concepts and methodologies had to be employed that constituted a focus of contemporary "mainstream" research, in order for these unconventional ideas to be taken notice of at all. This approach was effective to the extent that these publications did have an impact and kick-started a broader debate about ELF, although it also gave rise to some misinterpretations. As we shall see, these early writings subsequently opened up space for work on ELF to develop in directions more akin to the sociolinguistic and socio-psychological concerns that motivated the recognition of the need for ELF research in the first place.

These early main contributions to the study of ELF can also be seen as translations into action of Widdowson's (1994) provocative calling into question ENL speakers' claim to the "ownership of English", further developed in Widdowson (2003). This book makes clear that the changing role and nature of the language call for a radical reconsideration of some common assumptions about "English" as a subject for teaching. This reconsideration involves a critical reappraisal of criteria for goals for learning and of the relevance of corpus descriptions of "authentic" native speaker English for the specification of course content and methodology. This in turn led to a questioning of the customary practice of monolingual teaching and the recognition that learning English is necessarily a bi- or multilingual process in that learners naturally refer it to their L1.

By 2004 ELF research had gathered enough momentum to occasion the first overview of the field in the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (Seidlhofer 2004). Only 2 years later, this was followed by another overview in the same journal (Seidlhofer et al. 2006); another 5 years on, a state-of-the-art article in the journal *Language Teaching* (Jenkins et al. 2011) reviewed developments of ELF research up to 2011. Concurrently, a series of annual ELF conferences was established, accompanied by a number of volumes of proceedings including Archibald et al. (2011) and Mauranen and Ranta (2009). In 2012 the AILA Research Network on English as a Lingua Franca was founded and the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* launched, closely followed by the book series *Developments in English as a Lingua Franca*; in 2016, the preparation of the first handbook of English as a lingua franca is under way.

It is clear, then, that ELF has developed into a vibrant area of research – so what is the content of all these writings, and how does what is being discussed relate to multilingualism? We can look at this body of work in terms of conceptualization, description, and application, which has already been mentioned above and will be taken up again below. We can also consider in which areas of social and professional life, i.e., in which domains, ELF is particularly pervasive and has therefore received a great deal of attention. Here the areas of academia and business rank highest due to their intrinsic international character. The use of ELF in business contexts, also referred to as BELF, has traditionally been less tied to native speaker norms than in other settings, probably because ELF, often employed as a corporate language, is regarded quite pragmatically as a means of getting things done, as part of the job. This has been confirmed in research in this area by, e.g., Susanne Ehrenreich, Leena Louhiala-Salminen, and Anne Kankaanranta, who have analyzed the attitudes that business people themselves hold towards ELF, usually regarding it as an integral part of their business expertise. Alan Firth, Almut Koester, Marie-Luise Pitzl, Rita Poncini, Patricia Pullin, and Anita Santner-Wolfartsberger, among others have focused more closely on the functions and forms of business ELF, how negotiations are conducted, and which pragmatic strategies are employed. There is also vivid interest in applying insights from intercultural communication to business contexts, and to implications for teaching, as evidenced in a special issue of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* entitled "Teaching ELF, BELF, and/or Intercultural Communication?" (Ehrenreich and Pitzl 2015). Innovators in the actual teaching of English for international business such as Vicki Hollett emphasize that communication awareness, rapport building, and accommodation skills are more important than proficiency in Standard English.

Academia is a particularly rich site for investigating ELF because research has long been an international endeavor and academic mobility has a very long history. As higher education and research are becoming more and more globalized, English for academic purposes (EAP) can generally be said to be ELF. As Mauranen et al. (2010: 640) point out, academia is an area "where international communication characterizes the domain across the board." It is not surprising, then, that a substantial body of descriptive research has been undertaken that offers rich insights into how ELFA, ELF in academic settings, is employed in university teaching and research projects – which are often staffed by international teams that only include a small minority of native speakers of English or none at all. Many studies are based

on the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) corpus, in particular Mauranen 2012, and work that came out of her collaboration with her colleagues in Helsinki, and numerous references to their publications can be found on the ELFA website. The fact that most big universities have adopted an international policy as far as their student populations are concerned has of course also led to a steep increase in the use of ELF in higher education. The need to follow this development through by acknowledging the truly international nature of this teaching medium, i.e., ELF rather than ENL, is forcefully argued in Jenkins (2014). So where in the realm of academic oral and written communication we have seen a rethinking of EAP as ELF, in the area of higher education, what has hitherto been termed English-medium instruction (EMI) is being recast as ELF as well. In addition to the policy discussion about ELF in higher education, there are studies of ELF as it is used in particular courses in various places all over the world. Björkman (2013) is an in-depth study of spoken ELF as used in engineering courses at a Swedish technical university, Smit (2010) of an international tourism course in Austria. There are also numerous smaller-scale papers investigating communication among students with different L1s. All these studies point to the importance of strategic skills and the way academic staff and students use ELF and shape it to their specific requirements.

While business and academia are areas on which empirical ELF research has focussed most, there are of course numerous other domains, and countless interactions every day all over the world, for which ELF is the chosen medium of communication. In order to facilitate the investigation of ELT talk in different domains, two corpora of transcribed spoken ELF interactions have been compiled and are freely available online. VOICE, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, was the first ELF corpus to be released for online use and download. It contains data from educational, leisure, and professional domains, the latter subdivided into business, organizational, and research/science, and all manifested in a wide range of speech event types, from casual conversation to panel discussion and from service encounter to press conference. The VOICE architecture was then adopted for compiling ACE, the Asian Corpus of English, which thus complements the Europe-focussed VOICE with data from ASEAN + 3 settings and allows connections and comparisons to be made (Kirkpatrick 2010). The many studies based on these ELF corpora are listed on the corpus websites. VOICE and ACE, as well as ELFA for the academic domain, have enabled researchers to access linguistic forms and patterns and study how these are employed in ELF interactions, which functions they serve, and how and why ELF use varies. Corpus findings encompass all levels of language, in particular lexicogrammar and pragmatics. They are summarized in the overview articles mentioned above and in Cogo and Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2012 and Seidlhofer 2011.

Conceptualization, Description, and Application

What is of primary interest for us here, however, is not the investigation of linguistic forms and patterns for their own sake but the question as to what motivates them and how ELF users exploit all their linguistic resources to negotiate meanings and

relationships, to achieve their communicative purposes. The primary goal is thus to understand what the variability of ELF tells us about the communicative and interpersonal functions that these observed forms and patterns serve. Descriptive ELF studies, even when focused on specific linguistic features such as multi-word units, discourse markers, variable verb forms, lexical and phraseological coinages, non-English elements, turn-taking mechanisms and repetition, etc., ultimately shed light on the pragmatic processes and accommodation strategies that characterize all communication. There are, for instance, analyses of the resolution of misunderstandings, establishing rapport and solidarity, expression of identity, and creation of intercultural space.

It is important to understand that all these processes are manifestations of ELF interactions as sites of multilingual contact by definition, so the pragmatics of ELF and multilingualism are the same. This means that ELF, while unprecedented as a global phenomenon, is – or should be – at the hub of current research on language variation and (potential) language change, multilingual processing, and current deliberations about societal multilingualism, superdiversity, transcultural flows, and translingual practice. In ELF interactions, we can see how the interlocutors' first languages come into contact or, as Mauranen (2012: 248) puts it, their "similects," i.e., "the lects that arise from speakers with a shared first-language background." So ELF is both unprecedented in its global spread and also arises from exceptionally complex language contact, which Mauranen terms second-order language contact. Not surprisingly therefore, descriptive studies of ELF interactions highlight the variability, fluidity, and hybridity of the linguistic resources involved. And precisely because of the complexity of the communication situation, interlocutors can be observed mobilizing their language awareness and employing strategies that help communication along. Speakers and listeners engage in fine-tuning their perception of what is going on; they (consciously or unconsciously) enhance intelligibility by modifying sounds and structures, e.g., by making them more regular, simpler, or more redundant and explicit; they cooperate in asking for words, signaling understanding or lack thereof, paraphrasing; they adjust speed of delivery; and they use repetitions. But they also produce complex structures and utterances, often employing resources from more than one language code. And they create new words and phrases, many of which turn out to be frequently attested across speakers from typologically different languages when larger corpora are consulted (Pitzl forthcoming, Pitzl et al. 2008). By and large, these processes can be subsumed under the notion of accommodation, so the hunch expressed in the earliest writings on ELF is being confirmed as more descriptions become available. Understanding ELF, then, fosters an awareness of the essential nature of linguistic communication and awareness of the nature of language in general beyond the knowledge of particular languages (Firth 2009; Seidlhofer 2011). Focus on the specifics of particular languages tends to inhibit an understanding of language in general. This is why it is important to "make strange" what is familiar, and this is what studying ELF communication helps us do.

Of course, many of these processes are also at work in much the same fashion as communication among speakers of any language, in that meaning is negotiated and

co-constructed, and, obviously, as in any use of natural language, occasional non- or misunderstandings do occur (Deterding 2013). At any rate, what is clear is that ELF communication is a creative process in that the code is treated as malleable and adjustable to the requirements of the moment. Apart from the message speakers want to convey, these requirements also have to do with a host of other factors impinging on the accessibility and acceptability of what is said in terms of clarity, time constraints, online processability, memory, available repertoires, social relationships, and shared knowledge. Another way of conceptualizing what goes on in these ELF interactions, therefore, is the notion of languaging, or rather translanguaging, the harnessing of all linguistic resources that help make communication happen; Jørgensen (2008: 169) observes that people "language with all their skills and knowledge," employing "whatever linguistic features are at their disposal with the intention of achieving their communicative aims." It follows that ELF languagers "act upon, and sometimes against, norms and standards" (op.cit: 164), and this is an issue we will return to when we consider pedagogical implications below.

The starting point, then, of ELF research was the increasingly global role of English, which called into question the tradition of thinking of "a language" as an autonomous and bounded object at home in a particular territory. Along with this realization has come the need to rethink the relevance of traditional notions such as (local) speech communities speaking their own linguistic varieties, and of language proficiency and the authority of "native speakers." When used as a medium of "translingual" communication, what speakers learnt or acquired as "English" inevitably undergoes a transformation into a multilingual mode (Hülmbauer 2013; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013). The underlying argument is that in a world characterized by enhanced mobility and electronic communication, ideas of mapping languages on particular territories and linking them to the speakers inhabiting these territories have become anachronistic. Describing "mobile media practices and transnational people," Jacquemet (2005) talks about a "deterritorialized social identity tak[ing] shape, light-years away from the corporate logic of the nation-state" and "find[ing] its expression in the creolized, mixed idioms of polyglottism" (Jacquemet 2005: 262f). He is talking here about issues of "language and power in the age of globalization" (subtitle of his paper), and these will be taken up below.

Work in Progress and Problems and Difficulties

While ELF has, over the last few years, been fairly well accepted as a subject of research in some quarters, a great deal remains to be done. On the one hand, there are areas of activity where the idea of ELF is still fiercely contested, in particular ELT and testing. On the other hand, there are important kinds of ELF interaction into which only relatively little research effort has gone so far, although they are of particular topicality and social relevance. These are areas where "work in progress" and "problems and difficulties" merge and will therefore be treated together in this section.

It has long been noted that while ideas both about the role of English and about classroom methods have changed considerably over recent decades, curricula and textbooks have changed very little in content. This state of affairs has recently been challenged by insights coming from ELF research, and this challenge in turn has been vigorously resisted in some quarters. This is probably due to a combination of reasons including vested interests in a huge global English language teaching and testing industry and inertia in the teaching profession, bolstered by lay attitudes based on conventional ideas of what constitutes "good language use" and "legitimate speakers" (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). For ELT, ELF as conceived as a manifestation of heteroglossic practice (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2014) represents a radically new development, which takes into account the similarly radical changes in the contemporary world. It would seem reasonable to suppose that there might be some corresponding rethinking about how the language might be taught. Just as ELF calls for a reconceptualization of English in use, so correspondingly it should also call for a fundamental reconsideration of the nature of English as a subject. So what would such reconceptualization entail? In relation to language education, the only way forward seems to be a process of careful awareness raising and rethinking in teacher education, examining what Widdowson (2012) calls the "inconvenience of established concepts." These established concepts include, in particular, the notion that the objective of learning must be the acquisition of competence which entails conformity to native speaker norms (Dewey 2012; Vettorel 2015).

It has been argued by ELF researchers concerned with pedagogy, in keeping with research in multilingual education generally (Cenoz and Gorter 2015), that the most crucial reorientation concerns a change of focus in ELT: from goal to process orientation, building on the learners' own experience of language and representing English not as something distinct but as an additional communicative resource, an extension of their lingual repertoire. But such a reorientation is difficult to accept, as is evident, for example, in the exchange between Swan and Widdowson in the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*.

What has only received fairly scarce attention in ELF research so far are the kinds of translingual, intercultural interaction via ELF where the power differential between the communicating parties is very great. These are encounters, not typically captured in the available ELF corpora, whose outcomes have far-reaching consequences, especially for the weaker side. Such high-stakes encounters happen, everyday all over the world, in areas such as asylum procedures, language policy and language planning, language and the law, diplomacy and peacekeeping, international publishing, testing, and interpreting.

These unequal encounters call for a particularly critical consideration and awareness of the lingua franca role of English, but this is often not in evidence. Much more research and public debate will have to be dedicated to investigating whether, and how, an explicit and agreed-upon reconceptualization of the means of communication in these areas – not as "English" riddled by nation-language ideology but as English as a lingua franca – may be appropriate and feasible. In

the absence of such a reconceptualization, there is little prospect of resolving the sometimes literally vital issues of misunderstanding, alienation, inequity, and disenfranchisement that often beset such intercultural encounters. Stark examples are documented in Guido (2008), which presents a discourse-analytic account of the unequal encounters mediated through ELF between Nigerian asylum seekers and Italian immigration officers. A more general lesson to be learnt from Guido's work is the importance of taking into account how ELF interactants perceive of their L1, of English, and of themselves as users of it. Such perceptions will, also in other kinds of encounter via ELF, influence the way interactions proceed and the linguistic forms they exhibit.

High-stakes encounters that readers of this encyclopedia will be more familiar with include language assessment and international publishing. In both of these areas of activity, Standard English and Anglo-American pragmatic conventions had long been the unquestioned model which any writing and speaking had to adhere to in order to be acceptable, for instance, to get one's article published in an international journal or to pass one of the powerful internationally valid English tests. Now that descriptions of ELF variability call into question the universal validity of traditional standards of correctness and instead emphasize appropriateness, it is becoming clear that the benchmarks hitherto employed are no longer appropriate (see, e.g., Jenkins and Leung 2013 and WrELFA, the Corpus of Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings). As McNamara (2011) demonstrates, issues of assessment are also closely tied to, and influenced by, language policies, in particular the Common European Framework of Reference, which has achieved near-global currency.

Future Directions

For a field of research as recently established as the study of ELF, most of the work to be done is likely to be in the future. But one can identify the vectors of future development in current research. One, for example, is the continuing exploration of the nature of languaging in ELF interaction – of the process of communicative interaction by the use of multiple linguistic resources and the shift away from the concept of distinct languages as linked to distinct cultures and communities (cf. García and Wei 2014). And this involves a corresponding shift from the concept of multilingualism itself as having to do with competence in different languages and toward the concept of lingual capability, the strategic use of English and other linguistic resources in ELF for the achievement of meaning and the expression of identity. The implications of such shifts are evident in the areas of high-stakes encounters and language pedagogy already mentioned.

Future work on ELF will continue to explore these implications. Its future challenge will be to develop an educated awareness of these implications in areas of policy and decision making – to engage in applied linguistics as it is generally defined, the dealing with problems which involve the use of language in the real world.

Cross-References

▶ Immigration/Flow, Hybridity, and Language Awareness
▶ Linguistic Landscape and Multilingualism
▶ Superdiversity, Multilingualism, and Awareness

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Doris Warriner: The Politics of English Language Teaching. In Volume: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education

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VOICE: https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/index.php
WRELFA: http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/wrelfa.html

Index