Howard Nicholas and Donna Starks

Language Education
and Applied Linguistics
Bridging the two fields

ROUTLE

Praise for this book

'By reframing language as the communicative repertoire available to each individual within a multiplicity of needs, practices and contexts, this book offers a theoretical and practical bridge between language education and psycho-/sociolinguistic SLA. At a time when language education scholars are increasingly drawn to anthropology and language socialization research, the book offers a much needed reconceptualization of language, language learning and language use for researchers in language and literacy education and reminds them of what the field of applied linguistics has to offer. Eminently suited for any undergraduate or graduate course dealing with language study for educators, introduction to applied linguistics, educational linguistics or applied language studies.'

Claire Kramsch, *University of California, Berkeley, USA*

'This is no ordinary textbook on the application of linguistic study to education. Nicholas and Starks offer a novel, dynamic framework that integrates notions of self, multiplicity, and communicative repertoire in order to explain the intersection of language and education. Educators who care about language and linguists who care about education need to read this foundational resource.'

Walt Wolfram, *North Carolina State University, USA*

'Written in an amazingly lucid style, this book brings together two fields that have so much to offer each other yet have hitherto been rather separate. The result is a refreshing critique of linguistics, applied linguistics and language education, offering new conceptualisations of language, literacy, cognition, and learning. It should be read and re-read by anyone interested in language learning and language use in today's plurilingual world.'

Li Wei, *Birkbeck College, University of London, UK*

LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Bridging the two fields

Howard Nicholas and Donna Starks

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PREFACE

When we set out to write this book we envisaged a dialogue between Language Education and Applied Linguistics. This requires us to engage with a broad and diverse range of material from three distinct fields, Language Education, Applied Linguistics and Linguistics. Readers contemplating our table of contents might wonder at the temerity of anyone attempting to address the identified range of issues in Language Education, Applied Linguistics and Linguistics in a single volume. As we wrote, we often felt the same way. We persevered because we felt the need to bring the different fields into a space where they could engage with one another across their varied ways of being and doing. However, we are conscious that despite the length of the (much reduced!) reference list, we have only touched (and sometimes quite unevenly) on the wealth of available ideas in each field. We hope that our exclusions can be forgiven in light of the larger attempt to frame a productive conversation.

There are strong views of Linguistics embedded within Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching. As we worked on clarifying the relationship between the fields, we realized that we needed to reframe insights from Linguistics and make explicit what these views do and do not offer the other two fields. One of the key steps in helping to bridge the fields involves building a wider framework so that both Language Education and Applied Linguistics find their focus within it. This involved conceptualizing a framework sufficiently comprehensive to enable communication, learning and teaching to be positioned in relation to one another. With such a perspective, learners' resources are not viewed as narrow discrete systems but as larger communicative systems that overlap and combine in rich and complex ways. A second important step in bridging the fields is focusing on the individual as the key locus of language education activity and to engage with learners' views of their own language learning.

When we take a view that individuals are the key locus of language education activity, we can begin to describe the individual's communicative repertoire as a structured system, organized via four dimensions: modes, mediations, varieties and purposes. We present this repertoire through diagrams and figures that could be employed in language learning, pre-service and in-service teacher training and in analysing and critiquing theories of additional language and literacy learning as well as broader areas of multilingualism.

We have introduced the term Multiplicity to refer to the space in which communicative selections are made from the communicative repertoire, whether they are monolingual, plurilingual or translanguaged in form.

Our attention to the notions of self, Multiplicity and the communicative repertoire allows prospective language educators and current teachers in both schools of Education and programmes in Applied Linguistics to extend their focus on dimensions of communication that are not typically presented in methods textbooks or unpacked in the detail that they are here. We hope that by offering a structured view of the resources that are drawn on in the creation of both a communicative repertoire and the individual's Multiplicity, we have provided a way forward to engaging in much-needed detailed discussions of these issues in Applied Linguistics and Language Education, in all of their many and varied forms.

The relationships between Applied Linguistics and Language Education are complex and varied as not all contexts define the fields similarly. In some contexts Applied Linguistics is synonymous with Language Education while in others it has been tightly linked to second language acquisition research and TESOL. This book attempts to provide a framework useful to different perspectives while at the same time giving greater attention to areas we consider vital for communication in increasingly multilingual and globalized contexts. Few TESOL programmes in the US introduce students to the depth of sociolinguistic work profiled in this volume or build links from Halliday's and Hymes' work to classroom choices. The depth of work on modes and mediations in this volume is also greater than what is normally introduced to Applied Linguistics students. Simultaneous consideration of additional language and literacy acquisition and studies of plurilingualism is rarely integrated into studies of Language Education in the ways we have presented here, and although increasing attention is being devoted to alternative views of the communicative repertoire, structured views of how the communicative repertoire connects with learning and learning processes are yet to be elaborated. Our framework offers such a shift in perspective to elaborate ways of understanding the communicative needs and practices of plurilinguals in today's globalized multimodal contexts.

This book consists of three parts. In Part I, we outline our theoretical framework and show how it builds on and draws from established research in the fields of Linguistics, Multimodality, Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis. In Part I, we describe the communicative repertoire as a structured system and present a view of self and how he or she notices, selects and combines features to form communicative acts. In Part II of the volume, we explore three fields central to Applied Linguistics and Language Education, additional language acquisition, additional language literacy

and plurilingualism, and show how our framework provides a useful lens for exploring these fields. In Part III we explore some of the ways Multiplicity as a framework is useful for Language Education for learners, teachers and language educators. We hope that this framework will be embraced and expanded to many other areas and we invite graduate students and researchers in Applied Linguistics and Language Education to engage in debating, refining and expanding on the ideas presented here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

we were doing and made us rethink how we needed to present our ideas. We hope that we have done their queries the justice they deserve.

We are grateful to all of those mentioned for their contributions, but none of them should be held responsible for the way that we have interpreted them. We are also very thankful to our families, who kept with us during all those late nights where we paid more attention to our computers than we paid to them.

The image for self that we have used in our Figures was sourced from Openclipart. org (http://openclipart.org/detail/78061/faceless-woman-walking-by-laobc).

PART I

Multiplicity: a framework for understanding language

1

INTRODUCTION

The need for a new conceptual framework

This book offers a framework for how Applied Linguistics, Language Education and Linguistics can each contribute to ways of knowing and doing in the respective other fields. This is no easy task since the definitions of these fields are themselves not universally agreed. There has been a substantial debate within Applied Linguistics about whether it should be understood as the application of linguistic insights (linguistics applied) or whether it is a field in its own right that engages with a wider problem space (see Davies 1999 and Hall et al. 2011). In some circles, the nature of the problem space has been defined narrowly in relation to second language acquisition, in others it has been restricted to language teaching, in yet others it has focused on uses of languages in varied types of institutions. Equally, Language Education as a field has been used to refer to either one or all of: dominant, mother tongue literacy practices (the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Programme for International Student Assessment, PISA), 'foreign' language education (Michigan State University's Center for Language Education and Research, CLEAR), minority language education, education in multiple languages (Council of Europe) and bilingual education (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO). And finally, Linguistics itself is understood in widely differing ways (see Newmeyer 1986; Halliday 1993). Framing the relationships will vary according to the context of the reader.

There are numerous accessible recent works outlining the fields of Applied Linguistics, Language Education and Linguistics. Some are descriptive in nature, outlining the knowledge base necessary for both understanding the field and for distinguishing it from its more theoretical counterparts. There are also numerous accessible recent works that outline linguistic and sociolinguistic contributions to the field of Language Education and to professional practice. There is a similarly extensive literature in the field of Linguistics. There are however relatively few works that embrace and explore what the fields of Applied Linguistics, Language Education and

Linguistics share as concerns, including how the first two draw on Linguistics so as to illuminate how participants can connect with the others' fields and the associated knowledge bases. In order to work across these diverse fields we explore, structure and elaborate on individuals' communicative resources and their individual communicative repertoires to build a robust bridge to connect key concepts about linguistic resources for communication with key understandings about the nature of emerging or established plurilingualism and pluriliteracies and with key insights into emerging plurilingual and pluriliterate resources and how they can be supported and deployed.

As one's view of the world is affected by one's place within it, we make explicit that we situate ourselves within the field of Language Education. We belong in this domain as academics within a Faculty of Education. But, having been trained outside this field, in Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics respectively, we also see the Language Education world from the outside. We experience the struggle with this duality each time we deal with queries about differences between Applied Linguistics and TESOL, assign an Applied Linguistics reading for our students or read their summaries of this literature in their assessments. We also see the enormous untapped power within our own students' ways of knowing and doing, and how it is under-utilized by Applied Linguistics. As we read our students' work, we see ways in which we need to act to equip them to use the knowledge base within the field of Applied Linguistics to its fullest potential. At the same time we see ways in which much of the literature in both Linguistics and Applied Linguistics fails to be framed so that it engages with the ways of knowing and doing and the talking about knowing and doing of Language Education. What is lacking is a frame that enables the common-alities between the fields to be seen and explored.

In this volume we aim to create a view of communication that informs, clarifies, includes and empowers individuals from different fields to engage with people's communicative repertoires. The book is intended to be of equal use to those in Language Education seeking to understand the communicative repertoires of their students and those in Applied Linguistics seeking to enter into discussions about what their knowledge has to contribute to language classrooms as well as to linguists who wish to delve inside the communicative repertoire itself. We offer a unified frame-work to position linguistic insights within that dialogue. To do this, it is vitally important to understand the assumptions, explicit and implicit, in the terms that we use, and to understand the limitations and advantages they offer us. Applied Linguistics and Language Education are both applied fields that engage heavily with concepts about language organization and language use from within the respective theoretical fields of Linguistics, Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics and the labelling of constructs is often the first barrier to fruitful discussions.

Labelling

Working within Bourdieu's framework, Gunter (2004: 21) contends that 'knowing about knowledge claims and field labels is an important means by which we can

control practice and identities'. Although Gunter works in Educational Leadership, her labelling construct is still very useful for conceptualizing similarity and difference within the fields of Applied Linguistics and Language Education.

Gunter (ibid.) argues that labelling has three distinct purposes:

> it gives clarity of meaning that facilitates both understanding by self and by others;
>
> it organises what we do and so connects with or disconnects from other activity by self and by others;
>
> it is a power 'to' and 'over' process through creating boundaries that include and exclude.

Underlying the labels are the actions of self and others that constitute any activity. Both Language Education and Applied Linguistics include activities such as thinking, doing, writing and speaking. By examining how these and other activities are constructed within the two fields we are able to explore the relationships between Language Education and Applied Linguistics.

Gunter (2004: 22) argues that labelling is tied to professional practice. It ensures that:

> there is an appropriately qualified [ ], in the right [ ], at the right time, with the right group of [ ], and the right equipment, and [ ] resources

Gunter left the brackets empty. In Language Education, the person who would be inserted is often a teacher with his/her students (and teaching resources). In Applied Linguistics, it is often a researcher with his/her participants and equipment. Yet, in our contexts, the two are entangled, as teaching and research are part of the mandate of both applied linguists and Language Education specialists. Teachers are encouraged to connect theory and practice in their teaching, and applied linguists seldom have careers that are research-only; many are themselves educators. Linguistics is likewise a complex field of study which intersects with both Applied Linguistics and Language Education in multiple and diverse ways and is also labelled quite distinctively. We illustrate some of this diversity in an attempt to clarify both what the fields are about and how they are used for different purposes.

Linguistics

Linguistics is the scientific study of language: it focuses on 'the what' of language. But 'the what' is diverse and varied. For some, views of language place language as a form of abstract knowledge. Such views of language are presented by two renowned linguists: Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky. Saussure (1915) used the French term *langue* to refer to this abstract notion and Chomsky (1965) referred to it as an underlying competence. For linguists in this tradition, language is described as a system of knowledge – what is known rather than what is articulated. When looking

at language as an abstract phenomenon, language is separated from the world and its speakers. Those who apply this abstract system to the classroom tend to focus on the structures of language (cf. White 2003 among others) rather than on how those structures are both controlled and manipulated by their users. A consequence of this perspective is a focus on the learner's language system without the same level of attention to the learner and how s/he uses that system.

A second view of language is the psycholinguistic one, where language is seen as shaped by the neurological system (Sperber and Wilson 1995; Slobin 1987; Levelt 1989; Ullman 2005; MacWhinney 2008 among others). From this perspective, language is seen as shaped by key features of the human brain, its processing capacity and storage or connection mechanisms. This perspective offers applied linguists and language educators insights into knowing and learning, yet what characterizes learners' language use in this perspective is often not obvious to classroom teachers, who see the hesitancy, the re-formulations and the slips of the tongue more clearly than the more abstract ways in which learners' processing mechanisms create organization in the use or storage of language.

Other linguists see the enacting of language as their focus. Linguists who study enacted language also take various points of departure, one of which is the study of social aspects of language use. Much of the literature from this perspective has been concerned with varieties, both social and individual (Eckert 2000; Labov 1972). Other points of departure focus on talk-in-interaction and the effects of identity on interaction (Sacks 1995a and 1995b; Gardner and Wagner 2004) and these provide an array of useful concepts that many in Language Education have adapted in language classrooms (Ziegler et al. 2012). A third group of linguists with the same focus explore the purposes that are involved in language use through texts and contexts (Halliday and Hasan 1985). This is a particularly interesting area for those in Language Education, as texts provide larger frames for understanding how learners construct their attempts to communicate.

For us, a definition of linguistics as the study of 'the what' of language has both cognitive and social aspects. It includes any and all overlapping knowledge bases that Applied Linguistics and Language Education draw on, and a shared concern with how language is organized, used and enmeshed in communities, including learning communities. This combination of cognitive and social aspects is important for Applied Linguistics and Language Education as it reinforces the need to focus on the varied and diverse recurrent patterns in a user's communicative efforts even though given instances of surface patterns and irregularities may not be a direct reflection of language knowledge.

As a field, Linguistics engages with the form and meaning of language and how to identify and describe interactions between forms and meanings in a range of contexts. In this volume we have sought to engage with this interaction by exploring how concepts in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis can be structured and presented to Applied Linguists and Language Educators to provide them with a framework that can help them theorize and engage with the wide range of resources used during communication. We place particular emphasis on plurilinguals since their resources

are often inadequately acknowledged by education institutions, where the focus is often on monolingual norms. We frame our discussion around individual resources rather than societal ones as each individual draws on a complex set of resources in their own unique way, which can reflect either or both their identity and their purposes in communication.

Applied Linguistics

Because of our interest in the relationship between Applied Linguistics, Language Education and Linguistics, we restrict our discussion of Applied Linguistics to those fields that are enmeshed in this space even though we adopt the definition of Applied Linguistics used by the International Applied Linguistics Association (AILA) (http://www.aila.info/en/about.html, accessed 2 October 2013):

> The problems Applied Linguistics deals with range from aspects of the linguistic and communicative competence of the individual such as first or second language acquisition, literacy, language disorders, etc. to language and communication related problems in and between societies such as e.g. language variation and linguistic discrimination, multilingualism, language conflict, language policy and language planning.

Views about the nature of language in Applied Linguistics are often in line with those in Linguistics, but in some bodies of research they have been expanded, for instance, in views of the place of gesture. Both Slobin's (1987) 'Thinking for Speaking' model and Lantolf's (2000) application of 'Socio-Cultural Theory' highlight the importance and the role of gestures and show a strong relationship between gestures, thinking and language use. Their work and that of others suggests a need to examine more deeply the construct of communication to more fully enable an understanding of language learning.

When Applied Linguistics came into existence as an identified teaching area at the University of Edinburgh it 'was about language teaching', which contrasted with the notion of the application of linguistics that had shaped programmes and publications at the University of Michigan (Davies 2007: 5). We engage with that intersection in a different way. We take from the European (and particularly British) experience the concern for engagement with whole contexts and the social lives of learners that characterized the work of Christopher Brumfit (1984), Henry Widdowson (1978) and Michael Stubbs (1976). This view is embedded in the attempts by various linguists in the United Kingdom and later in Australia to engage with the creation of a new society (see Halliday 1993; Clyne 2005). We take from the North American experience the concern with changing cultural identities and their relationship to both learning goals and affordances (Kramsch 2009). However, we also acknowledge attempts to capture processes and features of intercultural communicative competence (Kramsch 1986; Byram et al. 2001) that have their origins on both sides of the Atlantic. In doing so, we acknowledge that there are complex intellectual

connections between those histories and provide a framework that respects those complexities. We believe that this framework can be used by applied linguists and language educators of many different persuasions.

Language Education

Language Education has classrooms as its focus but these classrooms can vary enormously. They engage with specific skills-focused language teaching programmes for speaking, writing-remediation and content-based and additional language education for both simultaneous and sequential learners. Language Education also involves research programmes that attempt to understand and improve learning, curriculum planning and teacher–student interaction. Language Education is associated with terms as diverse (and sometimes as contradictory as): TESOL; literacy; minority language education; dual language education; foreign language education; content and language integrated learning; adult literacy and, in some contexts, remedial education. Although there are many types of language classrooms and language education, it is not our intention to describe each or differentiate between them. Instead, we seek to prioritize contexts where multiple varieties are supported as part of the communicative repertoire of individuals. We engage with Language Education for learners from both minority and majority backgrounds and in situations where both single and multiple languages are the focus of instruction. We seek to provide a perspective through which we can understand and positively engage with the promotion of linguistic diversity. To do this we need to focus initially on the nature of language itself.

Language is not a discrete system

Even though much of the literature in linguistics is built on a foundation of describing 'languages' as separate, significant research in psycholinguistics and more recently in sociolinguistics has shown that in the minds of plurilinguals each use of a specific language draws on the totality of their language resources (Thierry and Wu 2007). Based on these insights, what 'language' is cannot be separated from who is using it and why they are using it (in that way). When language is looked at holistically, traditionally understood 'language' is, as many in Language Education observe on a daily basis, interconnected with other systems. Improving communicative ability by isolating a discrete focus on only one language is especially difficult for plurilinguals as many plurilinguals do not agree on which parts of their communicative repertoire belong to which language (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Kress (2005: 12) has even gone so far as to argue that language, as 'a label used to unify … internally diverse resources is … an abstraction of doubtful usefulness'. We see communication rather than language as the core of our endeavours and we see the communicative repertoire as a shared space for linguists, applied linguists and language educators to engage with one another.

While the key business of linguists, applied linguists and language educators is often labelled 'language', the concept of language blurs with the concept of communication. When taking a position that language is discrete, certain communicative

acts become difficult to explain, such as when speakers blend emoticons together with written forms when communicating. The independent development of emoticons in the digital world presents strong evidence that questions the role of images and suggests that they might well be positioned within the realm of language rather than outside it. This is aptly illustrated through the heart image that has become an iconic element in expressions of affection for particular cities, e.g., 'I ❤ NY'. This message makes use of an image of a heart (a noun) in the place in the sentence that is usually occupied by a verb and it is read out loud as 'I heart New York' rather than as 'I love New York', so changing the grammatical status of the 'word' to which the image is linked. Examples such as these reinforce the variation and creativity of speakers as they bring together multiple elements of rich and complex communicative resources.

Much of what happens in the language classroom focuses on the wider construct of communication as language educators use non-linguistic aspects of communication in their language teaching and teach more than narrowly framed 'language'. For example, language teachers often use humming and/or gesture as a means of teaching stress and intonation and point out the connections between body posture, eye contact, confidence and effective communication. While linguists often go to great lengths to argue that certain features (or combinations of features) constitute language and only those are the subject of study, language educators see language learning as part of a larger communicative process and the methods that they use extend outside any strict view of 'language'. Language teachers often use role plays as an effective means for teaching language functions. The success of such methods raises interesting issues about why they succeed. Is it because they enable users to practise language forms (in particular contexts and with particular functions) or is it, at least in part, because they enable users to position their bodies and gesture their thoughts? Language educators also rely on realia to enhance learning. Images are also increasingly used in digital media to make meaning together with, rather than separate from, spoken and/or written modes. Clearly, such images and artefacts are central elements of communicative processes. We are not suggesting that images fulfil the 'same' role as words but viewing images as unconnected with or not an integral part of a communicative system (i.e., used to supplement rather than provide core meaning) does not allow us to fully engage in understanding the nature of what has to be learned and how various elements of that system interact to support, replace or conflict with one another. In other words, learners and teachers do not engage with a system that is narrowly focused on 'language' and neither do they engage with systems that involve only one set of features. Part of the process of bridging the fields is, we believe, opening up a wider frame that is informed by research from all three fields, hence challenging assumptions that language is a discrete system.

Unhelpful consequences of discreteness as a frame

In our global community, applied linguists and linguists working within the field of sociolinguistics have argued that we need to rid ourselves of the monolingual mindset

(see Clyne 2005) and consider how communication takes place. This involves an understanding of how the various parts of 'languages' interact: borrowing, blending and mixing in different ways (Kress and Leeuwen 2001) and why their speakers behave in this way. Although varieties are often described as distinct, the boundaries between them are profoundly blurred. Language boundaries are not clear-cut even amongst monolingual speakers who cross between languages when they put on an accent or use a foreign word or expression. They are even less clear in the minds of plurilinguals, where grammatical systems of individual speakers rarely reflect two perfectly separate monolinguals in one body (Grosjean 1989).

Moving away from views of language as discrete systems also rids us of fruitless discussions of what does and does not constitute Language X and what separates a language from a dialect. The issue has been the subject of much commentary in linguistic circles and definitions are both multiple and conflicting as the criteria are far from clear (Blommaert and Backus 2011). There are no set criteria based on linguistic features that determine when a variety ceases to be a dialect and becomes a language. Nevertheless, the label has powerful implications for language classrooms as those varieties which are deemed dialects often receive less status, funding and other support (e.g., development of teaching materials) and their speakers have fewer opportunities for formal language learning.

Another unhelpful consequence of a view of language systems as discrete entities concerns the concept of mutual intelligibility. This is again problematic as speakers of the same language may disagree over mutual intelligibility, and speakers of different languages may also be of different opinions (Schüppert and Gooskens 2012). The highly subjective nature of mutual intelligibility has been used by nation states to exclude and include. Hindi and Urdu are strikingly similar yet the different labels and orthographic conventions are used to argue that the two are mutually distinctive. The converse is the case where nation states, such as China, use Putonghua as a label associated with a written form to unite peoples who speak mutually unintelligible varieties.

The status of discrete languages has additional consequences. It enables nation states to promote one variety above other varieties, and this contributes to other issues in language policy and language education. When one particular (often arbitrary) variety is used as a language of instruction, problems can emerge because individuals do not use a single discrete homogenous variety, but rather multiple varieties that they access on a regular basis (e.g., African-American English and Standard American English; Northern English varieties and Standard British English).

A final negative consequence of the selection of a discrete variety relates to its labelling. Any label provides a means of differentiating one group of speakers from another and this affects how speakers of these varieties are perceived (see Edwards and Jacobsen 1987). Speakers who have more features of dialect than standard language are often viewed as inferior to speakers of standard Language X and this affects their status as people as well as the potential continuing use of varieties that are important to them (Giles and Billings 2004). These relationships embed notions of norms and power, which stand as barriers to equality and are used to reinforce hegemonic

relationships. Two so-called varieties that are intertwined in a parallel debate are native and non-native (see Kachru 1986 and Llurda 2004).

We propose to widen and integrate our understanding of the elements that interact, intersect and blend in the act of communication to provide a more comprehensive and, therefore, robust understanding of what learners are doing – in particular how they engage with a system that is anything but monolithic and discrete.

Helpful frames of reference: the systematic nature of communication

While linguists must bear some responsibility for the negative consequences of defining language as discrete, other aspects of their views about language have positive consequences. One particularly useful concept that linguists have introduced to Applied Linguistics and Language Education is the notion of language as a system. The view of language as patterned applies as much to Chomsky's early ideas of particular word types patterning together to form phrases as it does to recent research in corpus studies, which focuses on lexical collocations. When speakers encounter one word, e.g., the non-standard/informal *youse*, that is used for plural second person in a variety of World Englishes, for example Australian, New Zealand, Irish, South African and some varieties of American English, they often think of it in combination with other words and syntactic and phonological frames, e.g., *Are youse goin?* Similar patterning also applies to understandings of many other sociolinguistic and rhetorical feature combinations.

This way of knowing language as a system has important implications for Language Education as the idea of the systematic nature of language arms language educators with the knowledge that introducing and exploring relationships between, for example, one vowel and another is much more important than producing one native-like target vowel, or to use another example, understanding how nouns combine to form phrases is more important than learning or testing isolated lexical item knowledge alone (see Nation 2000). Research in exemplar theory has gone one step further, by suggesting that the ways that users interpret words are based on meaningful connections with larger contexts that they have formed based on prior encounters with other users (Hay and Bresnan 2006). The notion of the formation of systematic patterns based on prior encounters is an important aspect of our framework.

The notion of patterns in language is useful in other ways. As early as 1921, Sapir maintained that all grammars 'leak'. In Sapir's work, he was referring to the irregularities in language that are evident in all aspects of the grammar. While the core of each component of language is highly systematic, there are instances in all linguistic systems that are not 'rule-like'. Language educators often focus on exceptions, teaching them in a rote-like fashion, yet linguists have shown that when grammars leak, it is often (although not always) due to the creative use of existing patterns within the grammar, such as the plural *s* being extended to the pronoun system from the noun plural such as in Australian English where a new form such as the non-standard form of *youse* is often used to signal solidarity between its users that the

standard plural form, *you*, cannot. Such inter-relationships can only be taught effectively if learners are offered insights into the patterned but multiple, dynamic and shifting nature of communication – something that is embedded in the teaching of regular patterns, but overlooked in attempting to understand the patterning of something new. So instead of focusing on leaks, we focus on the structure and patterning of the different elements and dimensions of the communicative repertoire. We argue that to do this we must start with the core of communication, the communicative repertoire.

People

Linguistics, Applied Linguistics and Language Education have as a common interest the communicative resources of people. The knowledge bases are configured around people and the labels used are bound up with the experiences that we bring to them. For linguists, who study 'the what' of language, people are often referred to as 'participants' or 'speakers'. Labels such as speakers, writers, signers or participants show a focus on language through the activity that they label. For applied linguists, people are often labelled by their professions or roles, e.g., as 'learners' or 'defendants', while for language educators people are seen as 'teachers' or 'students' of particular types, 'gifted', 'ESL' etc. These labels matter because they have the capacity to shape strong perceptions of and relationships with the people who are labelled, sometimes to their substantial disadvantage.

From our perspective, every individual is a learner who has learned to use at least one set of feature options that is typically referred to as a 'language'. All individuals remain in the process of learning throughout their lives as they acquire new vocabulary, registers, genres and ways of use. Some of us may be learners of more than one large set of features that are typically referred to as additional languages. Yet, associations with the label 'learner' often incline people to think of them as knowing 'less' because they go to teachers or to peers to learn from them. This view implies a lack of command, presenting learners as individuals who are missing something rather than as people already possessing knowledge and skills (ways of knowing and doing). We do not want to change the label; rather we want to invest the label 'learner' with a more powerful sense of capacity building. We explicitly acknowledge that learners can be very proficient in a whole range of domains. Many of our students are already plurilinguals. They come to us in the hope that they can use their knowledge and skills in order to 'learn' more through research. In this sense they are also 'learners'. Other labels, such as 'native/non-native' or 'foreign' and 'second' language user imply other stances. The issues associated with some of these labels are well-debated (see Pickering 2006; Prodromou 2003; Lippi-Green 1997; Phillipson 1992; Rampton 1990).

In our framework we refer to the individuals, who are our prime focus, with the label 'self' as such labelling allows us to focus on a key issue in Language Education, the multiple ways in which one person can present themselves and be perceived. We see individuals as agentive, capable of intention and able to make choices in seeking

to achieve those intentions (see Lam 2000; Dörnyei 2005; Kramsch 2009 for alternative, but sometimes overlapping perspectives). Self may be a competent user of multiple sets of features associated with different 'languages' or one who has only just begun to notice and store features of various sorts. Alternatively, he or she may be undergoing language attrition in one of his or her codes, and certain features or sets of features may be fading. These issues are explored in greater depth in Chapter 7 where we consider individuals who are both simultaneous and sequential plurilinguals.

We attribute several features to self. Each self has the cognitive capacity (see Harris 2006 as well as Csibra and Gergely 2006 and Gergely 2011 for discussion of innate and socially mediated contributions to this capacity) to recognize features which have communicative relevance and to notice and store such features in self's communicative repertoire. Anything that is identified as having communicative potential is eligible to be considered as a feature. Features may be so small as to be depicted only in narrow phonetic transcription or as extensive as a narrative. Self is able to select and combine stored features for future use in the production of his or her own individual communicative acts and do this in diverse, creative ways.

The multiple and conflicting views of self in recent work on identity (Norton and Toohey 2011; Pavlenko and Norton 2007) are seen as arising from the different possibilities for the selection and combining of features by self at any moment in time. It is this combining and selecting that enables self to construct momentary communicative acts. Therefore an individual may have different linguistic realizations of self in different contexts; all constructable from his or her individual communicative repertoire.

Our organizational framing

The remaining chapters in Part I of this volume explore 'the what' of the communicative repertoire, its structure and inner workings and present a framework for what language learning must engage with. In Part II we focus on 'the how' of language learning, areas that are of shared concern to applied linguists and language educators. In the final section of the volume we return to look at how this view of the communicative repertoire can be useful for understanding the purposes of communication, and the 'what for' necessary for helping language learners take a more proactive stance on their own language learning and for helping language teachers take a more active stance on why they teach in the ways that they do.

2

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNICATIVE REPERTOIRE AND ITS FIRST TWO DIMENSIONS

In Chapter 1 we introduced the three fields of language study: Applied Linguistics, Language Education and Linguistics, and opened up a conversation about how the three fields need to communicate more effectively with one another. We offered a number of possibilities for that engagement: a wide view of communication that extends beyond narrow linguistic conceptualizations of language; a view that language is too restrictive a label for understanding communication in today's diverse contexts where codes regularly interact and overlap; and a view that communication is systematic but not fixed. We also suggested that the first step towards understanding communication in ways that make sense in classroom contexts is to focus on how individuals communicate in ways that allow for creativity as well as normativity in communication as learners embrace the full range of their potential communicative resources. This requires an acknowledgement of a structured system.

In this chapter we introduce our conceptualization of the communicative repertoire that self has available to him or her, which constrains and stores what features get noticed and stored, and how these features are selected and combined and stored for potential reuse. After providing an introduction to the various parts of the communicative repertoire and how this repertoire is positioned in respect to the larger societal reservoir, we explore more fully two of its dimensions: those that embrace physical/technological modes and mediations.

Communicative repertoire

Communication requires any self to deploy many different kinds of resources embedded within his or her communicative repertoire. We define a communicative repertoire as:

the set of broadly defined but highly structured communicative resources available to each self.

The repertoire is developed as a result of self engaging with and noticing features of practices in the communities that they encounter. Self selectively and creatively draws on features of these practices when self attempts to communicate with others. The idea of a repertoire of resources used for communication has been around for some time but both the labelling and definitions are the subject of much debate. In the 1960s, John Gumperz (1964a) introduced the notion of a verbal repertoire in an attempt to explain the use of multiple languages and mixes thereof in multilingual India. In the 1970s, Dell Hymes engaged with the notion of a verbal repertoire in his development of a model for exploring ways of speaking (1972b, 1974). Subsequent literature has embraced this notion and various associated meanings and additional terms have also been employed such as linguistic, stylistic and communicative repertoire (see both Benor 2010 and Rymes 2010 for a discussion). We have chosen the label of communicative repertoire, as we believe that both Language Education and Applied Linguistics engage in the study of and work with acts of communication, which include resources that are not always linguistic, stylistic or verbal in nature (see also Allwood 2001 as well as Riggio and Riggio 2012 for elaboration of some of these resources).

The communicative repertoire contains all resources, linguistic or otherwise, that any self has available to him or her to communicate as a result of noticing and storing sets of features during his or her encounters with others. Each communicative repertoire is unique to each self, as different individuals notice (Schmidt 1990) and store different communicative features.[1] Differences between communicative repertoires may be smaller when individuals share similar contexts (e.g., their upbringing) as such shared experiences are likely to socialize them into noticing, storing and prioritizing similar features of communication and therefore constructing similar communicative repertoires. Thus the communicative repertoire of the self shares some but not all features with that of his or her interlocutors. However, even those who have created similar repertoires can select and combine elements from their communicative repertoires in different ways when constructing their linguistic selves. Those individuals who share more features in their communicative repertoires usually believe that they are able to communicate more effectively than those who share fewer features even if this belief is sometimes illusory, as exchanges such as the following illustrate:

A: You just don't get it, do you!
B: Get what?

The set of resources that comprise an individual's communicative repertoire can include any number of languages or variations thereof, as described in Chapter 3. Proficiency affects the choices that any self can make but proficiency itself is not a

necessary condition for features to be included as part of a communicative repertoire. Even a single feature can become part of self's communicative repertoire once it has been noticed (e.g., *bonjour*, as a greeting in French where this is the only French word that the person knows). However, levels of proficiency do have consequences. Individuals with different levels of proficiency have different access to specific resources. If, for example someone is uncertain about how to best express sympathy, a hug may be the only viable means to express that emotion.

Dimensions, elements, threads and features

When describing repertoires, others have presented them simply as a set of features that enable communication (Hymes 1974) or as a pool of resources (Fought 2006; Rymes 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2011). In contrast to this unconstrained approach, we argue that any self must have access to a communicative repertoire that acts as a structured system to constrain what gets noticed and selected and where it is placed in order for self to know how to select, combine and deploy features, and for what effects. One self might view sets of 'language' features as distinct and use them in different contexts (in different domains) and another might view them as similar and use them in similar contexts (within the same sentence). Part of these choices will reflect social norms self has noticed when selecting and storing the features (e.g., in some communities it is appropriate to mix sets of features only for particular purposes in particular contexts; in others the mixing occurs in a greater range of situations).

By claiming that the communicative repertoire consists of structured relationships, we can make predictions about the types of relationships that exist and how individuals have the ability to communicate within and across 'languages'. These structured relationships also provide a means of accessing and understanding the abilities and the awareness that are embedded therein (see Chapter 8 for details). The structured communicative repertoire available to each individual consists of: a basic set of interacting resources, which we have labelled *dimensions*; conceptual frames within each of the dimensions, which we have labelled *elements*; lines of constraint that affect choices, which we have labelled *threads*; and *features* constructed out of engagement with contexts. In order to begin to describe the workings of this framework, we start by representing this visually, and placing self within a communicative repertoire framed by its four dimensions.

Dimensions

The dimensions are the essential building blocks of communication and draw on four aspects of the communicative process. For any successful communication to occur, any individual self must have access to resources for production (a mode, e.g., sound), a way of producing it (a mediation, e.g., a human body, a telephone), a particular type of linguistic code (a variety, e.g., Brazilian Portuguese) and a reason for that particular production in that variety and not another (a purpose, e.g., humour).[2] The four dimensions, which we have labelled *modes*, *mediations*, *varieties* and *purposes*,
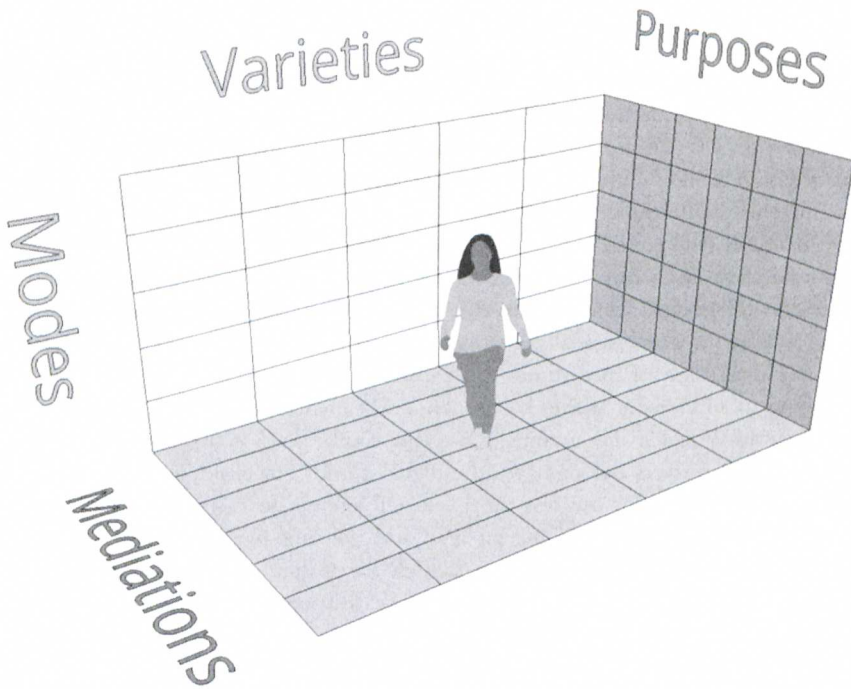
FIGURE 2.1 Dimensions of the communicative repertoire, including self.

provide the basic structural constraints for all successful communicative acts (see Figure 2.1).[3]

These four dimensions of the communicative repertoire provide the basic scaffolding for communication. The dimensions create a shaping for understanding how communication occurs. The four dimensions consist of two types. One is social (varieties and purposes), the other physical/technological (modes and mediations). We describe the differences and similarities between the two types of dimensions in Chapter 3. All selves with normal linguistic abilities are assumed to have the capacity to work with these dimensions and to do so.[4] While much work in both Applied Linguistics and Language Education has grappled with different aspects of the communicative repertoire, it is rare to see acknowledgement of the relationship between the parts and the whole because precisely that relationship is unclear. We contend that the focus should embrace all four dimensions as working together all the time, but for that to be feasible those dimensions and their elements need to be defined and their relationships with one another articulated. Acknowledging the working together of all four dimensions does not require that all work has to engage with the entirety of the communicative repertoire. However, the acknowledgement does enable the relationships between different foci to be explicit so that different endeavours are clearly positioned in relationship to a larger whole.

Elements

Within each of the dimensions are elements. These elements constrain how self sees the world and provide individuals with a means for attending to and storing features to expand their repertoire. We illustrate this by drawing attention to one of the elements within modes: sound. Self can notice features of sound because sound is one of the elements within the dimension of modes. Even if self has never heard a particular type of sound before, self has the cognitive capacity to notice a sound as essentially communicative in nature and store it within the element of sound within the dimension of modes.[5] Once within the communicative repertoire, attention to the sound will assign it as essentially linguistic or non-linguistic. Using another example from the dimension of mediations, if a particular technology is noticed as a feature belonging to an element within the dimension of mediations, self will store this as a communicative device and attempt to use it in similar ways as other similar technologies stored as features belonging to the digital world. For example, when encountering a smart phone for the first time, self will attempt to communicate with it in ways he or she does when using an iPad and will not have to relearn that such technologies are communicative even though the features of each technology will need to be learned. Likewise, self will notice features as belonging to particular macro-geopolitical codes within the dimension of varieties and store them according to social norms (*this is French*). Within the dimension of purposes, features associated with elements, which constrain the structure and organization of the discourse will be noticed and stored as such (*he's lecturing; he's not chatting*), and interpreted in later encounters as similar to those in prior encounters when interacting with the same (and possibly other) interlocutors.

A feature which is originally stored as a feature of one macro-geopolitical variety (*piano* is Italian) may be stored elsewhere on the basis of other encounters with other co-occurring features (*piano* is English). Over time, this may result in some degree of blurring. After sufficient encounters, a feature may be noticed as not fitting within one element and become sufficiently blurred to enable it to switch from one element to another. (For a detailed discussion of semantic priming amongst plurilinguals see Pavlenko 2009).

Threads

Each dimension of the communicative repertoire also has embedded into it threads specific to that particular dimension. Threads within the various dimensions permeate all elements within each dimension and as a result, are embedded in all communicative acts. Each thread plays a role in the interpretation and use of the features within the elements of that dimension. The thread within the dimension of modes is attended to in allocating any feature as primarily linguistic (part of the sound/writing/image system for this set of features selected at this moment) or non-linguistic (part of the general communicative system – high pitch as a sign of nervousness). The thread within the dimension of mediations is attended to in allocating a set of features as

primarily interactive or non-interactive (*I'm using a feature from the digital element [a computer] to prepare my essay or to talk on Facebook*). The thread within the varieties dimension establishes points of reference (Locher and Strassler 2008), which enable self to focus on larger societal norms and how they relate to self (*this is Argentinian Spanish as spoken by an older male teacher in 2013*). The thread within the dimension of purposes establishes how self wishes to use sets of features to communicate with an interlocutor (*My intent is to convey a set of instructions to this person. I will avoid personal pronouns that might distract from the effectiveness of the communicative act*).

Features

Sperber and Wilson (1995, 1997) claim that hearers will use whatever they consider relevant to make sense of what is directed to them in communication. Our framework considers what is directed at or from self as features for communication. As stated earlier, features are what self notices from his or her interactions and stores within the elements of the dimensions within the communicative repertoire as having communicative value. Anything that is noticed and stored as an element of one of the dimensions of the communicative repertoire is deemed to be a feature. This feature can convey communicative potential (be stored as an element of modes), convey its potential as a communicative means (be stored as an element of mediations), may convey a type of communicative potential (be stored as an element of varieties) or convey the intent within that communicative potential (be stored as an element of purposes). A feature may be an isolated feature of pronunciation, a single vocabulary item, 400 pages of text, or even a new digital technology. Features include silences because they too are used for purposeful communication in many different ways (see Kurzon 2007; Ephratt 2008, 2011 for overviews of different types of silence). An additional and important feature is laughter, which has been shown to have a number of different forms and uses (see Holmes 2006 on the different types of humour in the workplace). Other features include our actual physical appearance (the age lines on our face, which we can choose to hide or reveal) and all linguistic codes known to self (e.g., English and Japanese). Features are fundamentally different from dimensions, elements and threads in that they are not an inherent part of the structuring of the communicative repertoire, but are drawn from context.

It is important to recognize that the perception of a feature may not be an exact match with what is stored and later deployed in a communicative act (see Gadamer 1960;[6] Reddy 1979 for general discussions of the communicative process). While features may be deployed by an interlocutor in a particular way, self may notice and store them in another way. For example *please* might be encountered as a marker of politeness but be stored as a way of calling for attention (different activities) – at least until other examples are encountered and noticed. As a consequence of this, self's communicative repertoire is in a continual state of flux. In this way, all selves can be seen as learners who are constantly adapting their communicative repertoire in response to encountering communicative acts of others and deploying their own

communicative acts. In order for self to deploy a communicative act, he or she must access the stored features and select and combine them to create his or her own communicative acts.

Multiplicity

We have labelled the space within the communicative repertoire in which the selecting and combining of features occurs in the creation of communicative acts as Multiplicity. We situate this space visually in the web-like four-dimensional space within the communicative repertoire in Figure 2.1 (see p. 17).

The term Multiplicity itself is not new and has been used extensively in the literature as a 'space' since the nineteenth century but typically in ill-defined ways and sometimes more in association with what we are labelling self. Nietzsche (1885) hypothesized 'the subject as multiplicity' (*das Subjekt als Vielheit*).[7] Multiplicity as a construct was similarly picked up and characterized by Deleuze and Guattari (in translation from the original 1980 book in French) as follows:[8]

> A multiplicity has neither subject nor object, only determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions that cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing in nature …
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 8)*

From our point of view, flexibility and inter-relatedness are key attributes that we build on. In ways that pick up themes from Deleuze and Guattari, but not necessarily in ways that they would endorse, we see Multiplicity as having the same dimensions as the communicative repertoire, but also the potential for almost infinite variation as a result of the potential for creative combinations of the various features associated with the elements of those dimensions.

In the context of its uses in Mathematics and Philosophy, multiplicity as a noun can be traced back to the late nineteenth century where it has been suggested as a potential for diversity. It has since been used in mathematics, law (Tully 1995), psychotherapy (Putnam 1989: 91, 118, 152, 161), construction design (Laufer et al. 1994), architecture (Dovey 1998), music (Slobin 2007), literature (Calvino 1988)[9] and social theory (Biebuyck and Rumford 2012). In Applied Linguistics, multiplicity is often used in an unspecified sense in passing (see Gal 1998; Pennycook 2010) or as a modifier, e.g., 'multiplicity of X' (but see Otsuji and Pennycook [2010] for some use of the term similar to ours).[10] In the field of education, multiplicity has other meanings that go back to Perry (1970, 1981) in reference to an interim stage in the developing complexity of intellectual and ethical thinking in higher education. However, in the above works, the Multiplicity 'space' has not been considered in a systematic way and there has been no attempt to formalize the relationship of this space to the deployment of communicative acts. Literature in the field of Linguistics has likewise not focused on the idea of a space within the communicative repertoire; even though research in exemplar theory has begun to investigate some of the ways that features interact.[11]

For us, Multiplicity fulfils two spatial roles. In the first of these, Multiplicity is the space where any self can select and combine features to create communicative acts. In the second, Multiplicity is the space where these combinations of features are stored for potential reuse. This space within the communicative repertoire allows individuals to be simultaneously creative and constrained by the patterns, regularities or critical instances that give specific combinations of features a particular resonance within their communicative repertoire. We also believe, in line with Deleuze and Guattari (1987), that as the deployed combinations fill the Multiplicity space, the space itself does not change in nature but instead expands.

Within this space, self can creatively select and combine features to meet the desired communicative needs. Self can select any number of elements from within the physical/technological dimensions of the communicative repertoire (e.g., sound alone or sound combined with movement to reinforce a point); self can vary in the quantity of features s/he selects from within any particular element (a little sound and a lot of movement or vice versa) from any dimension of the communicative reper-toire and finally self can combine features from the elements in different ways. Self can write in various ways (on a slant, in different alphabets), can speak in various ways (loudly, slowly), can draw as s/he speaks, and can conform with or break norms according to his or her purpose (talk under one's breath to obscure a point) or use an entirely different set of features (speak in Welsh instead of English).

Self can use new combinations or existing combinations to deploy communicative acts that are both normal and deviant, depending on his or her purposes. This flex-ibility allows an individual a means of expressing his/her own linguistic self. The selections, the amount thereof and the combinations, together realize a linguistic self (a signer, a blogger, an African–American, a man who does not want to be inter-rupted) at any given moment. The choices that inform these combinations vary and are based on the relative perceived importance of each feature or combination of features according to both embedded social norms and momentary situatedness. Over time, the sum of all the momentary experiences creates a more enduring (but variable) perception of self both for any particular self and for those with whom that self interacts.

For each new communicative act, this space also acts as a constraint on possible choices. Self must either create new combinations from existing features within his or her repertoire or draw on previously stored selections and combinations within an existing Multiplicity. This constrains the way each communicative act is deployed as any future communicative act engages with the extent to which prior communicative acts in similar contexts have been successful. Successful communicative acts are often reemployed where they become habitualized as norms (this is the way self speaks in an L2, communicates using digital technology or writes an assignment).

Reservoir

Before describing the intricacies of the communicative repertoire, it is important to digress somewhat. Individuals are never seen as completely separate from societies and

neither are their communicative systems. In other words, self's communicative repertoire and the Multiplicity therein are not separate from the contexts in which they are embedded. We use the term 'reservoir' to mean the set of available resources which self has (and has had) access to. Within our framework, reservoirs consist of sets of feature options that selves can (but do not necessarily) draw on. These feature options may be based on discrete language systems or they may be more heteroglossic in form. There is no restriction on the type of features that occur in the reservoir, only that the features are those that appear in the communities of practice in which any self has engaged as a core, peripheral, marginal or observing non-member. These features include those that appear in the communicative artefacts derived from self's linguistic landscape. This set of resources is unique to each self as each person has different experiences. The resources in the reservoir may be changing as in the case of language shift or more stable as in the case of diglossic contexts and more isolated communities. In today's global contexts, reservoirs are more and more blended and diverse as media and digital mediations and population movements increasingly add new features to self's and others' reservoirs.

We distinguish reservoirs from self's communicative repertoire and restrict the latter to the sets of features that individual selves have noticed and stored. Each self will have a different communicative repertoire as each will have noticed and stored his/her own set of features. In some instances, e.g., in families growing up in the same household, the features that make up the different selves' communicative repertoires will be strikingly similar, but it is not the case that they will be identical, as individual selves will have noticed and stored different lexical items, different pro-nunciations, different phrases and associated these with different purposes. These repertoires have embedded within them a Multiplicity space where feature sets are combined and where combinations of deployed feature sets are stored for potential reuse. This layered view of the sets of resources self has available, has noticed and stored, and has combined and deployed for communicative acts is represented in Figure 2.2. We discuss the interplay between societal/individual resources further when we consider plurilinguals and multilingualism in Chapter 7.

In order to present the intricacies of our framework, we now turn to a description of the various parts of the communicative repertoire.

Modes and mediations as dimensions of a communicative repertoire

In enacting the dynamic, multi-faceted nature of the communicative repertoire, communicative acts must be able to be deployed. This requires a mode of production and a way of producing it. There has been previous engagement with the complex-ities of these issues in association with terms such as mode and medium (see Kress 2005) and with issues that relate to multimodality (see Jewitt 2008; Lemke 2009). These approaches have examined what communicative resources are available for use (modes), how those are combined in various 'products' (mediums) and the extent to which digital technologies have reshaped the available resources and products

Reservoir		
Set of resources which each self has available from which to notice	**Communicative repertoire**	
	Features from the reservoir that each self has noticed and stored and can to varying degrees select, combine and deploy	**Multiplicities**
		The set of selections and combinations of any features available within self's communicative repertoire that self has deployed and stored for reference when producing future communicative acts with similar selves or in similar contexts

FIGURE 2.2 Relationships between more societal and more individual sets of features.

(multimodality). Brown (1965: 251) pointed to some of the complexities in the area when he noted that 'The preliterate has no writing but he is not without technology. There is speech itself.' His words pointed to the simultaneous distinction and close relationship between what is actually produced and how it is produced, but by his use of the word technology he pointed to a distinguishable difference between mode and mediation.[12] In an attempt to formalize the place of mode, Halliday (1978a, 1985) proposed a framework for positioning speaking and writing at different points along a continuum of registers. Many of these concepts have now been unpacked in greater detail, particularly by Kress (2005) and by Biber and Conrad (2009), who present a corpus-based analysis of features of a range of spoken and written texts.

Kress (2005: 6–7) distinguishes modes as 'the culturally and socially produced resources for representation' from medium as 'the term for the culturally produced means for distribution of these representations-as-meanings, that is, as messages' (for example, books, blogs, newspapers). Although we have not constrained modes and mediations to instances related to culture, we agree with the need to distinguish between resources and the production thereof. We also agree with Constantinou (2005: 604) on the need to focus on the multiple relationships which connect these various aspects and the need to deal with issues such as the social context and surrounding practices embedded within both modes and mediums. These social practices are alluded to in both Norris (2004: 11) and Constantinou (2005: 609), who both acknowledge in Constantinou's words that 'A mode is a loose concept of a grouping of signs that have acquired meaning in our historical development'. Referring to the work of Sterne (2003), Constantinou similarly argues that a medium should not be understood solely as the 'physical technology' used to produce material for communication but rather more as including the set of relationships that surround and make real for participants the communication process and what is embedded in or realized through that process. For us, the resolution of these issues is based in our perception of a gap in the existing literature. Although multimodality and its particular relationship to digital technologies is a frequent theme in the literature, it has not been

systematically integrated into the sets of relationships that surround texts. For us, medium intrudes into this relationship because it does not highlight the resources that self draws on in the creation of the communicative act. We believe that by distinguishing between modes and mediations as two dimensions of the communicative repertoire, it is possible to both be clearer about what the resources are and establish a principled way of capturing the surrounding relationships that Constantinou refers to through reference to other dimensions of the repertoire. This requires a more explicit and structured view of what mediates the relationships between modes and communicative acts. Those mediating tools are technologies of various kinds, including the human body. (We argue later that many of the other relational matters raised by Constantinou can be embraced through our dimension of purposes.) In our framework, communicating in a particular format, e.g., in a book or a newspaper, is a feature of macro-text, which is separate from mediations, and falls within the purposes dimension. This means that modes and mediations draw less on the surrounding relations, but also that communicative acts constructed through these modes and mediations are inherently social because of their connections with other dimensions.

One advantage of this reanalysis is that it lets both modes and mediations be seen as physical/technological such that Constantinou's concerns about social and relational embedding can not only be acknowledged but incorporated in systematic ways that focus on the basic notions of what lies behind modes and medium. Such a framing also goes some way into identifying how the different constructs are related to one another. What we therefore seek to do is to systematically distinguish between and provide ways for relating the fundamental resources for communication. This will also open up a flexible conceptual space for considering what the products of the intersections might be. Given the rapid evolution of digitally mediated communication, we need a sufficiently general framework that will not need to be continuously re-defined to keep up with movements such as from letters and postcards to email to blogs to wikis to tweets or other microblogs and beyond and to understand the relationships between the technologies, the communicative resources they employ and their purposes.

For the purposes of clarity of presentation, we will present the different dimensions separately, and each of the elements within those dimensions in a series. However, the force of our framework is that both the dimensions and the elements exist in dynamic, structured relationships and are all (potentially) in play at all times in the deployment of self's Multiplicity. In what follows we describe the essential elements that exist parallel to and in interaction with each other within the two physical/technological dimensions of the communicative repertoire: modes and mediations. Varieties and purposes are the subject of Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

Modes

Modes are one of the two physical/technological dimensions of the communicative repertoire, the one which is concerned with the available resources. The elements within the dimension of modes need to be deliberately framed to be as general as

possible so as to account for all forms of communication. Our proposal is that four modes can be currently identified (sound, movement, image and spatial orientation). Kress (2012: 36) identifies five 'textual threads' within multimodal discourse analysis: speech, gesture, image (still or moving), music (on a website or in a file) and writing. While we build on these constructs, we also feel a need to deconstruct some of them. Speech is an important resource, but it is too selective in that it fails to account for non-speech sounds that are communicative in their use and speech is often enacted in a combination of sound and other elements (movement, spatial orientation). We prefer the label 'sound' to refer to the element, which includes as some of its potential features what is referred to as speech. Gesture is an important mode, but the label gesture is also too selective in its connection with speech over signed forms of communication. We have instead labelled this as the element: movement. We agree with Kress's notion of images (such as the heart icon in Chapter 1), and have labelled one of the elements within our dimension of modes as image. Kress refers to the images as static and moving and Lemke (2012: 79) also notes that 'images and diagrams' can be 'static or animated'. We have unpacked the static versus animated/moving status of images by identifying movement as a separate element. This enables us to describe images that are moving as embodying two elements within mode (image and movement). The assigning of movement as a separate element has advantages. It enables us to differentiate writing as a product from writing as a process (movement), a key ingredient in understanding additional language literacies. It also enables us to better account for crucial characteristics of sign languages. For this reason we have also added the element of spatial orientation as one of the elements within mode. We have excluded two of Kress' modes (which he calls threads), music and writing, as both can be deconstructed and identified as combinations of other elements.

The 'thread' of music is excluded because it can be captured in other ways. The auditory aspects can be subsumed within sounds. The transcribed aspects can be captured by a combination of other modes (images, movement and spatial orientation). The performative aspects are captured via intersections within other dimensions of the communicative repertoire: those of purposes and varieties, particularly within the micro-geopolitical element of the dimension of varieties.

Writing is excluded for similar reasons. It is similarly complex to music and speech, made up of combinations of elements from modes and other dimensions from within the communicative repertoire. The written products of the writing process are all images of different sorts (alphabet letters, syllabics, cuneiform, *kanji*; this is further discussed under additional language literacies in Chapter 6). As with all images, writing can be on paper, or in the sand on the beach, on a screen or a wall. It can even be momentary (as an image in the air). It may be a stand-alone image (its entirety) or only a part thereof (a piece of a torn letter or a picture as a piece of a complete text). The process of writing is a combination of image and movement at different moments in time (the writing that is being done). It also includes spatial orientation, important for spacing letters and proportioning the size and shape of their images (e.g., upper and lower case letters; the difference between *hiragana* and

katakana). Written images may be more or less 'well' formed. This norming is drawn from intersections with other dimensions (e.g., the micro–geopolitical varieties that are being depicted [*this is an image from a four-year-old*]).

There is one other consideration with writing. Elements can be drawn on by all selves who have been born with the ability to access these elements. Writing is not an element to which all individual selves have equal access. Children are taught to write. There is little indication that they are born with the ability to write without instruction. Further, there are many societies where there is limited written culture, and little or no writing. As a result, we do not include writing as an element of modes. However, we leave a space for senses, both present (touch, smell) and future (thought), to be filled as required (e.g. touch for Braille and tactile deaf–blind signing (Mesch 2000), and reading thinking patterns as communication (Galán et al. 2008)).

As a result of these considerations, we have diagrammed within the repertoire in Figure 2.3 five spaces (four of which are filled) for elements of the modes dimension. We argue that these embrace the totality of physical/technological elements that are drawn on to communicate in today's global context.

The order of the elements within modes (and within each of the other dimensions in the communicative repertoire) is of little importance. Linguists argue that the primacy associated with oral systems over written ones stems from the fact that speaking/sound comes first and that the written system is derived from the spoken one (Ortega 2012). Babies usually learn to talk before they learn to write. Images associated with writing do not normally exist without an oral or signed form to accompany them and
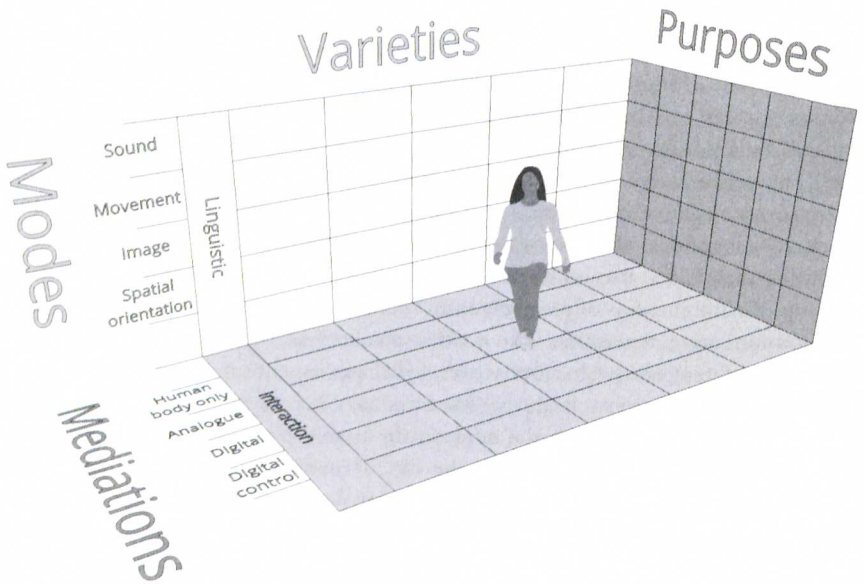
FIGURE 2.3 Elements in the modes and mediations dimensions.

in first language development, learning to write builds on established competencies in the spoken codes. Yet, additional language learners often have access to the written images before they encounter their spoken dimension through sounds and deaf communicators do not have (ready) access to sound from others. In both of these latter circumstances, the use of images, movement and spatial positioning is likely to occur earlier than sound (at least in one of the codes available to self). We see no advantage in attempting to establish a de-contextualized priority of one of the elements of a dimension over another element, even if a particular communicative act will necessarily prioritize particular elements. Actual priorities relate to individual experiences (including the resources that those experiences have made available or blocked), circumstances and life trajectories.

As we mentioned earlier, within each dimension, there are threads woven through each element. We label the thread that goes through the dimension of modes 'linguistic'. This thread associates features within the elements of modes as more or less linguistic. That means that each element can be manifested through features of language (e.g., words) or non-linguistically through other types of features (e.g., humming, pictures, clothes). Threads are inherently fuzzy, and this has the advantage that features within the elements of modes can be allocated as more or less linguistic in nature. Within modes, a spoken word may contain all the requisite 'linguistic' sounds, but these may also be slurred or produced in a quiet voice when an individual is unsure if the answer is correct or when an individual wants to lessen the face-threatening effect of the message being produced. Our view of the communicative repertoire considers this thread within the dimension of modes because both the linguistic and non-linguistic nuances embedded within any communicative act are an important part of language learning (see Ventola et al. 2004, but see also Sekiyama and Burnham 2008 for discussion of language-specific and age-related variation in some areas). We now turn to a description of the elements themselves.

Sound

Sound includes both the 'sounds' of a spoken variety, and also the sounds produced that may accompany spoken words. Sound includes other features such as singing, music and sounds produced through other means, such as tapping fingers on a table. Sound can be linguistic (in the form of phonemes, words, clauses, intonation patterns) or it can be non-linguistic such as the noises that are included to add tension to a computer game. Sometimes it can function to 'replace' other options, e.g., the sound of a teacher clapping in a classroom can replace the sound of calling out *Quiet, please!* The 'same' sound can have different characteristics in different contexts. In some contexts the sounds of singing or poetry can be used as part of campaigning for votes at least in some countries in Africa (Titus and Bellow 2012) whereas in other contexts a candidate who sings in public is regarded with, at best, amusement. Intersections such as these affect the shape of macro-texts and are discussed in Chapter 4. In the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 we will explore some of the issues associated with the

perception and analysis of the sound stream in developing linguistic categories such as word or utterance and in moving from one set of normed sound behaviours to another. In Chapter 6 we will examine the issue of the awareness of sound/writing relationships for learners who are fluent speakers of multiple languages but have not yet learned to read or write in any of them.

Movement

A second element of modes is movement. This includes non-linguistic gestures (when they accompany speech) as well as movement that is itself part of a language (i.e., sign language). It can also include the movement involved in the process of writing. As we mentioned earlier, we use the label movement rather than 'gesture' because 'gesture' is too bound up with the notion of 'human-body-based linguistic mediation' and non-linguistic forms of communication. The specificity of 'gesture' also prevents combinations with other modes such as 'image' where we want to be able to distinguish between, for example, drawing, painting and writing. Movement is not restricted to the human body; it can refer to movement that is recorded in a film or in the scrolling of an image on a computer screen. This use of movement is deliberately designed to permit this particular element of the dimension of modes to be combined with other elements of the same dimension, as well as with elements of other dimensions.

Image

The third element, image, is similarly positioned as more or less a part of the language system (see Bezemer and Kress 2009). The visual aspect of images may be on the periphery of language systems (images posted on Facebook) or they may also be deep within language systems as in the case of sign language or written texts. In advertising or in some forms of graffiti, image can also be a key form of communication. Images can be written, drawn, painted, photographed, sculpted or filmed or physically enacted through the body. They can be formal paintings or other compilations of elements in advertisements. Equally, an image can be created by overall body posture (e.g., someone slumped down as if tired or depressed). They can be on their own and non-linguistic in form, or combine with other images (stretches of writing) to form larger texts (Archer 2006). As indicated previously, depending on whether the element of movement is involved, images can be still or moving (as in a film or a video clip).

Spatial orientation

The fourth element, spatial orientation, likewise can function as a central part of a linguistic system (i.e., in shaping features of sign language) or on the periphery (see van der Sluis et al. 2007). In sign languages, the location of a particular sign (in relation to the body or the interlocutor or the direction of movement) can be associated

with specific meanings. In writing, spatial orientation involves linearity: from left to right/right to left or from top to bottom and sometimes combinations of both. Spatial orientation can refer to points on an image 'high up' or 'low down', 'on the left' or 'on the right' and also 'close to/far from' interlocutors. It overlaps with concepts that denote directions or relationships such as 'vertical/horizontal' or 'backwards/forwards' or 'toward/away'. It might also incorporate relational constructs such as 'large/small'. The presentation of this text in portrait rather than landscape is a feature within the element of spatial orientation. Spatial orientation might be represented in the relationship between written text and other images, e.g., above or below the image to signal a label or next to it to signal commentary or elaboration. These aspects would all appear as features of the element and are evolving rapidly as texts become increasingly multimodal (Graham and Whalen 2008; Lemke 2012). In face-to-face communication, spatial orientation can include features of distance between interlocutors and eye contact.

Our view of the elements that make up a communicative repertoire thus represents a shift in thinking about modes of language from oral, written and signed to one that engages with the multiple ways in which traditional linguistic and non-linguistic features interact. This is important as not only do we increasingly encounter multimodal forms of communication and their resulting texts, but more systematic engagement with research such as D. Slobin's (1996) 'Thinking for Speaking' model and work in second language acquisition (Poehner and Lantolf 2010), both of which have explored how non-linguistic signs, such as gesture, are deeply entrenched in communicative behaviour. Such work has a long tradition (Efron 1941), but it has not yet been explicitly integrated into a larger and systematic view of the communicative repertoire as a whole.

Mediations

Parallel to the way we go behind and beyond the existing elements of modes, in defining mediations, we seek to go beyond and behind artefacts to the elements that are used in the production of communicative acts. Frequently mediations are portrayed as either with or without technology, or partially engaged with via use of the label medium (Kress 2005: 6–7) for linguistic products such as blogs or newspapers. In our framework, these artefacts are conceived of as a joint product of different elements from different dimensions. Mediations are concerned only with the technologies behind the production of communicative acts. The dimension of mediations focuses attention on the technologies that manifest the communicative act, including the human body. By framing mediations as a dimension, we consider all communication as mediated.

The elements of mediations are depicted in the second dimension of the communicative repertoire. We propose the following elements of mediations: human body only, analogue, digital and digital control. As we progress through the different elements in the dimension of mediations, we move from mediation entirely through the human body (e.g., in speech or in using a finger to write in sand) to

communication mediated through other means. The sequence relates vaguely to the chronology of the development of various technologies, e.g., writing with fingers, writing with pens or typewriters, writing with computers and speaking to computers that do the writing for you. The sequence of elements within this dimension is subliminally chronological, but is not intended to imply any inherent sequence. As with modes, we do not want to attach too great a significance to this sequence since at different times or in different contexts most individuals communicate in ways that involve multiple mediating elements. The sequence conveys some elements of change from more overt control (e.g., the hand directly controls the shape of a letter if using a pencil) to less overt control (e.g., a single downward stroke on a particular computer key creates the complex shapes of a letter such as *q*). However, the relationships are not as uni-directional as this description suggests. For example, many of the aspects of human body that are bound up with the pronunciation of particular sounds are so automatized as to not be under self's deliberate and total control.

Within the dimension of mediations, the thread that goes through each element is interaction. Elements within the dimension of mediations are either used in a solitary manner or involve interactions with others. Non-interactive forms include monologues where those texts are designed not to be able to be interrupted or re-formulated during their production, whether they are signed or spoken or written. Interactive mediations include videoed conversations, signed or spoken, and text messages that have been received and responded to. Face-to-face conversation is an obviously interactive act. Because nearly any communicative act is produced and received, both synchronous and asynchronous communication are conceived of as interactive in nature. Synchronous communication involves (at least the expectation of) an immediate response whereas asynchronous communication does not have that 'immediate' expectation, but does contain the expectation of a response. Therefore, asynchronous communication isn't non-interactive, but the interaction is attenuated. The same analysis might not apply to artistic creations, where a painting or sculpture is designed to provoke a response in an audience. Where there is no possibility for a reformulation of the original move in the communication, the mediation is non-interactive. Self can be the interlocutor in interactive communicative acts in cases where there is what amounts to an internal dialogue. We describe the various mediations below.

Human body

The most 'basic' mediation is the human body alone. It can mediate on its own or in combination with other elements within the communicative repertoire. In preparing a speech, self may use various forms of human body mediation. Self will employ his or her brain to think through the ideas and how they are to be communicated. Self may use his or her lips (with or without deploying speech) or other parts of the body such as hands or fingers as part of the thinking for speaking process. This may also involve human movement as self enacts his or her thoughts about a presentation in front of

a mirror. The human body may combine with other elements within the dimension of mediation, such as a mirror or making notes on a piece of paper (both analogue elements). The human body may also combine with features of elements in other dimensions such as personhood (how self may dress or even self-present to communicate how he or she wishes to be perceived as a person). The latter aspect of the human body draws on elements of the dimension of varieties described in Chapter 3.

Analogue

The analogue element refers to communication by mechanical tools, e.g., using a pen or a typewriter to write or flags to signal messages over distance at sports fields or in naval semaphoring. Painting an image with a brush is an example of the use of an analogue mediation. Using a cassette recorder to record and re-play speech is an analogue mediation of sound. A printed book would be an analogue mediation of writing as a series of images.

Digital

Other mediations include more digitized technologies. The process of writing this book is an example of digital mediation, as is an online newspaper, including the embedded imagery, videolinks and sound files (whereas the printed edition of the newspaper would be an analogue mediation for the reader). Websites, wikis and blogs are digital mediators, images (both still and moving) as well as sound (depending on how they have been set up). Social networking applications are further examples of digital mediations. Translation tools or tools to produce written text as sound, such as those built into the Google search engine, are examples of digital mediation of either sound or image.

Digital control

More controversially, we acknowledge the increasing capacity of some digital technologies to appear to be acting independently, e.g., in the use of robots as part of the treatment of Autism Spectrum Disorders (Diehl et al. 2012), in templates such as for PowerPoint or Word that seem to have the capacity to 'tell' the writer what can or cannot be done or in some of the autocorrect functions or formatting constraints in various writing applications.

In Figure 2.3 we have left the final element of the mediations dimension blank as all technologies are prone to change and we do not wish to discount elements that have yet to be developed.

Combining modes and mediations

Combinations of features within the dimensions of modes and mediations interact to enable communicative acts to occur. For any communicative act there must be at

least one feature from an element from the modes dimension and one feature from an element from the mediations dimension. In most instances there is more than one element that is drawn on. Within mediations, for example, sound as speech is prototypically mediated by the human body but it may also be mediated by analogue technologies, as in (older) cassette recorders or by various (more recent) digital recording technologies. Sound, such as the speech of Steven Hawkins is mediated by digital technology and motivated by movement of his eyes. Satellite navigation devices mediate sound recorded from human beings.

Sound, movement and spatial orientation within the dimension of modes can be selected and mediated by the human body to create communicative acts such as 'speaking' (human body + sound). Combining elements from modes with elements from mediations can capture other processes such as 'drawing' (Mode = image; Mediation = human body + analogue [e.g., a pencil or a brush]). Because dimensions of the communicative repertoire interact and the threads embedded within the dimensions play out in communicative acts, features associated with elements from two dimensions of the communicative repertoire are combined. Using hands stretched out to show the size of something is an example of human body mediation combined with spatial orientation. Pointing to signal 'over there' would be another example. In both instances, the communicative act is meaningful because it employs elements of modes and mediations. Respectively, modes have embedded within them the linguistic thread and mediations have embedded within them the interactive thread. As a consequence combinations of features from modes and mediations may be more or less linguistic in nature and more or less interactive.

Combinations are selected and combined by each individual in each communicative act. The selection of multiple features from elements of modes and mediations has a number of consequences. First, when elements of modes are combined for a communicative act, the selections are linked and the act of speaking is inherently connected with the act of moving at that particular instance. This may explain why it is difficult for learners to link features of speaking and movement in their additional language as this involves not only engaging with features of sound and movement, but engaging with the ways that they are linked. The fact that each mode must be mediated has other consequences. The selection of features from both modes and mediations is also helpful for understanding concepts sometimes referred to as translanguaging: an activity which involves sets of features changing to another (shifting from writing in one language to speaking in another; see Williams 2000). When this kind of translanguaging occurs, the moment of change is often associated with a shift from the selection of features with one element of mode to another (sound to image) and a simultaneous shift in the selection of elements of mediation from one selection (human body only = speaking) to another (human body + analogue [pencil]).

While modes and mediations contain the physical and technological elements of communication, they cannot be used for communication unless they are combined with the various elements that characterize communicative resources in relation to social contexts and their intent. We consider these issues in the next two chapters in which we describe the social dimensions of purposes and varieties.

Notes

1 We do not explore in depth the nature of noticing and its relations to awareness or acquisition (Gass 1988, 1997; Schmidt 1993). There is substantial room for investigation of the process from noticing to full incorporation in the communicative repertoire.
2 Jakobson (1960) refers to 'channels', but that does not provide a means of understanding how the meditational tool can also shape what is produced.
3 Others have used our term communicative act but in slightly different senses. Our view of communicative acts differs from that of Ninio et al. (1994), which incorporates only utterances and verbal interchanges, Sigafoos et al. (2000), which engages with a wide variety of non-verbal and paralanguage features in relation to speech act-like functions and Kreckel (1981: 43), who seeks to understand 'how communicants transmit messages in natural discourse'. Our view widens the scope of 'communication' beyond 'information' and to units both substantially larger and smaller than spoken utterances and meanings beyond those communicated in face-to-face encounters.
4 Individuals with specific impairments may not have access to specific dimensions (e.g., varieties or purposes), may not be able to notice features to fill elements within dimensions (e.g., key; macro-geopolitical), and may not be able to select and combine features to create communicative acts.
5 In Chapters 5 and 6 we will explore some of the issues that this claim entails for the acquisition of additional languages and literacies, including constraints on an individual's exploitation of this capacity.
6 We thank Bernadette Knewstubb for drawing this to our attention.
7 See Kaufmann and Hollingdale (1968) and the critical digital collection of Nietzsche's original works Group 40, Extract 42 from 1885, http://www.nietzschesource.org/texts/eKGWB/advanced_search (accessed 29 Feb 2012).
8 As noted by Plotnitsky (2009), Deleuze and Guattari (1987) also drew heavily on the work of the nineteenth-century mathematician Bernhard Riemann, whose work had also contributed to the early twentieth-century philosophical thinking of Edmund Husserl and Henri Bergson. It should also be noted that there was variation in the terms that were used and the ways in which they were translated. Riemann used the German term 'Mannigfaltigkeit' (more frequently translated as 'manifold'). Bergson used the French term 'multiplicité'. Husserl (1891/1970) both used and struggled with Nietzsche's term 'Vielheit' and then (1891/1974) following Riemann (1868), used 'Mannigfaltigkeit'.
9 We thank Angela Scarino for drawing this to our attention.
10 In various articles in Pattanayak (1990) there is reference to both multilingualism and multiplicity in a different sense. Multiplicity is mainly used to refer to the diversity of languages in use rather than the nature of the language repertoire of individuals.
11 Some researchers such as Li Wei (2011a: 1223) engage with the notion of space, but not from the perspective of a structured communicative repertoire.
12 One of the reasons for using the term mediations is because we want to emphasize that the technologies are not neutral (cf. Jakobson's 1960 term 'channel').

3

UNDERSTANDING VARIETIES

The previous chapter described the physical/technological dimensions of the communicative repertoire and outlined their elements and threads while also pointing to some of their features. This chapter focuses on varieties, the first of the two remaining dimensions in the communicative repertoire. The other is purposes, which is the subject of Chapter 4. These two social dimensions derive their ideas from established research in the fields of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis but rearticulate the concepts and the relationships therein.

Introducing the social dimensions of the communicative repertoire

The elements, threads and features of the social dimensions share many of the characteristics attributed to the elements, threads and features within the physical/technological dimensions, but differ in other subtle ways. The similarities include a view of communication as linguistic and non-linguistic. As an example of how this would apply to varieties, we see both the wearing of a kilt and the use of linguistic features of Scottish English(es) as features that can be selected and combined to convey a set of specific macro-geopolitical aspects of self. Any self will notice, store and select a broad range of communicative features to enable him/her to enact a communicative self at a particular moment in time for a given purpose. This broad view of communicative acts is not so different in its perspective from that detailed in Penelope Eckert's ethnographic work about two student groups (jocks and burnouts) at an urban school in the USA. In Eckert's introduction to her book, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice* (2000: 1), Eckert introduces Judy, one of the students, and explains how her dress, manner, actions and speech are all features that style Judy as a 'burnout'.

> Judy's tight laugh seems to match her tight jeans, her speed-thin body, her dark
> eye liner, and her tense front vowels. In everything she does Judy embodies

and projects her style: independent but strung out, on the edge, restless fierce. Judy is a burnout. To the rest of the people in her class she stands as the prototypical burnout – a 'burned-out burnout.' Her dress, her manner, her actions, her speech are all extreme versions of burnout style. Her every utterance seems to thumb her nose at the school, at adults, at fear.

In Eckert's study, Judy and other students-at-risk portray a particular identity. In our terminology, these selves have selected and deployed features from the micro-geopolitical element described in detail below by noticing, selecting and combining particular linguistic and non-linguistic features. Yet as Eckert (2000: 1) herself notes, although 'the social significance' of non-linguistic variables (features) is often used by linguists to understand sociolinguistic ones, those features are typically excluded from the domain of sociolinguistic analyses. The nature, organization and social significance of both linguistic and non-linguistic features are central to our concerns. Both linguistic and non-linguistic features, such as those Eckert describes, are an important part of Language Education.

The above example illustrates that features within the social dimension of varieties, like their physical/technological counterparts, are conceived of as broad and diverse in form. The social and physical/technological dimensions in the communicative repertoire are similar in a second way. They transcend the notion of a single language. This plurality is especially important in the social dimensions of varieties and purposes because of the wealth of multiple manifestations embedded within and across different combinations of codes.

In other ways, however, the physical/technological and social dimensions differ. The physical/technological dimensions share one kind of connection while the social dimensions share another, as illustrated in Figure 3.1. The two physical/technological dimensions, modes and mediations, discussed in Chapter 2 are inherently connected because of their concrete role in how a communicative act is produced/perceived. It is the modes and mediations that give the communicative act a representation in the world. To produce any communicative act, self needs to select at least one element from modes and one from mediations (e.g., sound and the human voice).[1] The two social dimensions share another type of connection. They provide the features that imbue the communicative act with social values and intent.

In the social dimensions, a selection in one dimension has consequences for selections in the other dimension. The teacher who writes an example on a whiteboard or
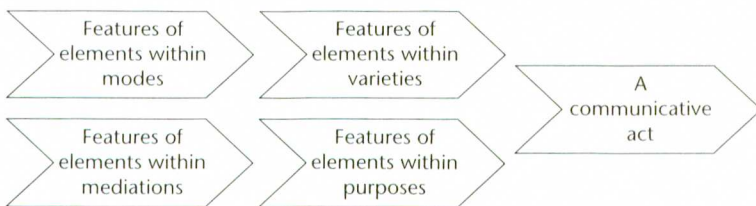
FIGURE 3.1 Layering of dimensions within a communicative act.

says an example aloud needs to deploy features from the dimension of varieties and from the dimension of purposes. For example, she must decide whether the example will be produced using features of her local dialect or using features of the macro-geopolitical standard and make this choice on the basis of how she believes this selection may be interpreted by interlocutors (e.g., has she used this collection of features (code) in previous classes or has she normed it as the classroom code?). Features within the elements of the dimension of varieties are not chosen randomly, but are selected by self for one or more purposes (see discussion of the complex nature and status of purposes in Askehave and Swales 2001). These choices are based on associations self has noticed in prior communicative acts produced by his or her interlocutors (but not necessarily the ones that he or she is interacting with at that moment). There is thus an inherent connection between the two social dimensions of the communicative repertoire.

The social dimensions of the communicative repertoire differ from the physical/technological dimensions in a second way. Unlike modes and mediations, where it is possible to select either one or more than one element from within the dimensions, we argue that for the two social dimensions, *all* elements within each of these two dimensions are selected in any communicative act. For the dimension of varieties this would include, as illustrated in Figure 3.2, the selection of features associated with five elements.

The requirement to select all elements from the two social dimensions helps explain the flexible, dynamic and potentially multiple and ambiguous nature of communicative acts. For example, when talking with someone from Mainland China, a Taiwanese resident may use features of a variety of Mainland Mandarin to signal a shared macro–geopolitical identity but the same self may select (at the same time) another feature from the macro–geopolitical element, the local Taiwanese
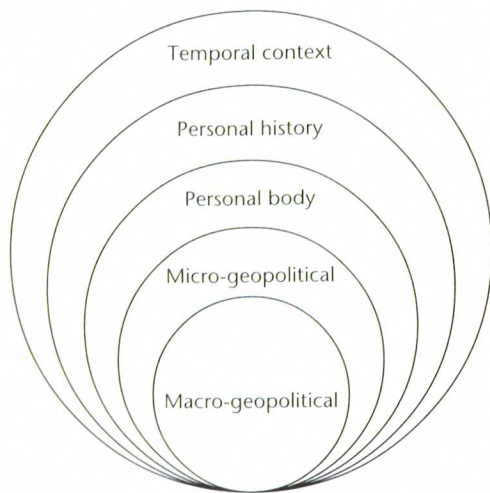
FIGURE 3.2 Inter-relationships of the elements within varieties.

pronunciation of [n] in place of Mainland Chinese [ŋ] (see Su 2012 for a detailed discussion of the use of this variable). It is also possible for such speakers to select words from a local Taiwanese language to reinforce the salience of a local identity, which might align with the use of [n] but not so clearly with the use of Mainland Mandarin [ŋ]. The former is more likely to be deployed in certain micro-geopolitical contexts (e.g., at home) than in others. If the two conversationalists share features of personal history (e.g., they both attended universities in Britain), the use of selected English words in the same conversation might simultaneously signal that layer of shared experience of social status as elite users of English. Their age and the temporal context would also affect how each of the features within the dimension of varieties is deployed. This selecting of multiple features from one or multiple elements of varieties in combination with multiple purposes is what allows self to produce and interpret a single communicative act as multiple simultaneous acts with overlapping, complementary and/or conflicting purposes.

Features within the elements of varieties may belong to the same or a different macro-geopolitical code. When they are different, as in the earlier example of the use of features from different codes by a Taiwanese speaker, different selves can be simultaneously selected and combined for more or less prominent purposes in the same communicative act. When the features within elements are similar, self has access to a greater degree of ambiguity in any communicative act. One of the authors of this volume can signal that she is both an academic and a Canadian using the same sets of feature options (e.g., Canadian English in an educated register) yet it is unclear to the interlocutor which of these she is intending. The drawing together of features from within different elements of the dimension of varieties for multiple intents is relatively common. Vast numbers of variationist studies have shown identical linguistic features to be associated with multiple social categories. In the literature on the New Zealand discourse particle *eh*, the same feature can be used to signal that self is a New Zealander and/or a Maori and/or Maori male (for an overview see Meyerhoff 1994; Bell and Johnson 1997; Bell 2001). Such inter-connectedness allows selves to be represented in ambiguous ways that can be drawn upon to reflect different aspects of self.

The selecting and combining of all elements creates a Multiplicity of connections that enables the communicative repertoire to be simultaneously extraordinarily rich and potentially ambiguous or even conflicted. Coupland (2001) provides an excellent example of this richness and ambiguity in the varied uses of Welsh-English varieties by a Welsh radio announcer on a morning radio show. This ambiguity allows any self to explore a number of ways in which s/he can create a communicative self – one that is not mono (ethnic or gendered or class-based) but one that is a variable mix of all of the above. This also enables the other social dimension, purposes to be both subtle and confrontational.

This selecting and combining of multiple features, is an essential feature of communication, but also a reason why languages are difficult to learn. This Multiplicity is a neglected aspect of many aspects of additional language research. We return to this issue later when we consider plurilingualism from the perspective of the framework of Multiplicity.

The dimension of varieties

The dimension of varieties contains within it all features that self has noticed, selected and stored for deployment in communicative acts. Selves who have noticed similar features and share similar purposes are more likely to use similar sets of features in similar ways and construct very similar repertoires. If these selves live in multilingual contexts, their more extended repertoires may well involve the mixing of features that are regarded as belonging to discrete repertoires of others. (A Francophone Canadian will move one finger under his/her eye to indicate disbelief, perhaps together with the expression *mon oeil*, which an Anglophone American would not normally do [but perhaps an Anglophone Canadian might]).

Although selves with similar personal histories are likely to notice and draw on similar features, this does not entail that they will always do so in exactly the same way since they have the potential to notice different features and to select them for different purposes as even twins differ in the way they speak (see Loakes and McDougall 2010 on variation in the frication of /p/ and /k/ plosives amongst four pairs of male Australian twins).

The noticing and storing of features may not be exact representations of features produced by others. This may be due to a variety of factors including personal body (e.g., being hearing impaired or very young); it may be due to personal history (e.g., being an additional language learner who did not commence learning the code until after starting school) or it may be due to the contexts in which the feature was perceived (e.g., a noisy environment) or produced (e.g., self did not notice that the interlocutor was distressed and therefore what was intended as a joke was perceived to be inconsiderate). Differences may also be due to self's desire to appropriate and modify features for his or her self – as modelled extensively by characters in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* or when children spontaneously invent their own linguistic code in pretend play. A range of other factors may account for deviations in the feature set of self and others.

As such we take a view that discrete sociolinguistic labels such as gendered language or ethnic dialects do not constitute elements in the dimension of varieties. The deployment of a regular set of features is what gives individuals the power to resource their multiple and varied identities. Self draws on multiple regularities simultaneously and without necessarily conforming to the totality of the regularities present in the communicative repertoires of others with similar personal histories and personal bodies. This view of sets of features is noted in other work (see Fought 2006; Benor 2010; and Guy 2013). The remainder of this chapter focuses on the threads and elements within the dimension of varieties.

Norms as the thread within varieties

Selves who regularly communicate with one another or the same third parties come to speak and interpret the communicative behaviours of others in broadly similar ways because they associate these ways of communicating with their regular

experiences – selecting and combining the same (or very similar) features and using these in similar ways. In other words, they develop a norm. To use Locher and Strassler's (2008: 2) terminology, a norm is a 'point of reference' for a particular context.[2] Norms involve the selection of features. Family, ethnic, gender and age-based similarities arise from communicative behaviour as selves create voices that reflect their spatial, personal and temporal histories. To illustrate, a language behaviour enforced in many Canadian boarding schools in the 1950s was to speak English. The use of any First Nations language was banned in the school context and those who were caught speaking in a First Nations language at that time were subject to physical punishment. In order to protect themselves, many First Nations people behaved in similar ways such that over time English rather than First Nation languages such as Cree became the language of the playground and this selection of English as the point of reference later extended into other contexts. Once English was normed as the dominant code in a range of contexts, features of English were noticed, selected and deployed as the first language of many of the next generation.

Norms run as a thread through all of the elements within the varieties dimension. Norms as points of reference are used in the production of communicative acts and to make sense of and react to the communicative acts of others. Shared norms are important because they equip self with a way of knowing how to communicate (e.g., knowing what details to add, when to change turns and when to ask questions). Those same norms equip self's interlocutor with the means of interpreting self's communicative act. A teacher (self) may select features associated with formality because she or he has observed that this is the variety that the additional language learners in self's classroom have noticed, selected and combined in prior interactions so that this is the code that they are most likely to understand.

Norms can be used to create new ways of knowing and doing and serve as a vehicle for explaining or promoting change. These changes can be destructive, as in the example of First Nations peoples' experiences of language shift, or creative, as in French Youth language, *Verlan*, where words are often formed through reversing the syllables of content words. (For example, *ma meuf* corresponds to standard French, *ma femme* 'my wife') (see Lefkowitz 1991 for an overview of this code).

Norms also help to explain short-term accommodation. If self connects with another self at some level, each recognizes the other as similar and tries to communicate this by selecting and combining features from the other's communicative repertoire. In Coupland's (1984) study of a Cardiff travel agent interacting with her clients, the amount of *t*-voicing in the travel agent's speech varied. The travel agent used more *t*-voicing with clients from lower-class backgrounds and less with those from middle-class backgrounds. The variation appeared to be based on stereotypes the agent associated with the client; in other words, what she thought were typical speech patterns of that particular type of speaker (presumably based on her prior interactions with interlocutors who she perceived as belonging to one or the other of the groups).[3] Accommodation to stereotypes (perhaps based on exemplars of features used in similar contexts for similar purposes) can also explain why when talking with an American English speaker a self may produce word final–*r* more than the

American English speaker, whose English may be only partly or not at all rhotic. Stereotypes affect other types of accommodation. They affect how any self will select, combine and deploy features when engaging with, for example, the young, the elderly, or additional language learners.

Norms also affect long-term accommodation. When two selves establish ongoing connections, they seek to minimize barriers to communication. They may either (or both) seek to minimize sets of features of their own code that they recognize as most different from others' norms or seek to use sets of features that they notice in the other's repertoire. Alternatively, this may involve meta discussions about different norms (O'Rourke 2011). Individuals who interact long-term in a new community select and combine new with old sets of features to reflect the multiple nature of their worlds as they interact with others in this new context – so a speaker of Australian English will come to use *sidewalk* in place of *footpath* if they live in the United States for a long time and *motorway* in place of *freeway* if they live in England for a long time. They are unlikely, however, to replace all features. Chambers (1992) tracked six Canadian children (aged 6 to 12 years at their time of arrival) from Canada to Britain and reported on changes in the children's speech patterns. None of the children fully acquired the speech patterns of their British peers.

Norms are difficult to describe as the selves who employ them are not identical; individual selves often differ in the degree to which they accommodate (both short and long term) based on their affinity with their past and present interlocutors and their new living contexts and the connections they make with the purposes of their communicative acts. Selves who want to engage in more meaningful conversations with individuals from different macro-contexts (such as additional language teachers) may adapt their ways of speaking (towards localized norms) quickly. Individual selves may also create individual norms in other ways, such as a routine of waiting longer between conversational turns to accommodate what self perceives to be the needs of particular sets of interlocutors. This might also be accompanied by other features such as speaking more slowly. These choices reflect self's sense of the norms, whether such selections are perceived as justified or not by others.

With increased contact between speakers with different repertoires, norms become weaker and less rigid. They may change (e.g., an elderly Italian migrant in Canada or Australia may choose to use features of Italian [variably combined with features of a regional code] as her only language while her daughter may choose a mixture of Italian and English). When many selves make new selections, new societal norms can develop (e.g., Canadians and Australians accept that Italian is a language spoken in their countries) (see Moore 2008). This itself can potentially contribute further new features to the reservoirs of others.

Elements of the varieties dimension

The thread of norms weaves through the five elements of the varieties dimension, from within or across which self selects to form a communicative act to reflect his or

her linguistic self at any moment. The elements within the dimension of varieties fall into three categories: spatial (macro- and micro-geopolitical), personal (physical and experiential) and temporal.

We consider below the nature of the features of each of the elements of the varieties dimension presented in Figure 3.3. The elements of the varieties dimension are used together with elements from the three other dimensions to deploy self's multiple identities at particular moments and for particular purposes. Although we present elements as separate and disconnected in the following sections, for both varieties and purposes all elements are drawn on in any communicative act.

Macro-geopolitical

The macro-geopolitical element includes transnational, national, regional and urban features. These are realized in spoken, signed or written modes and mediated through
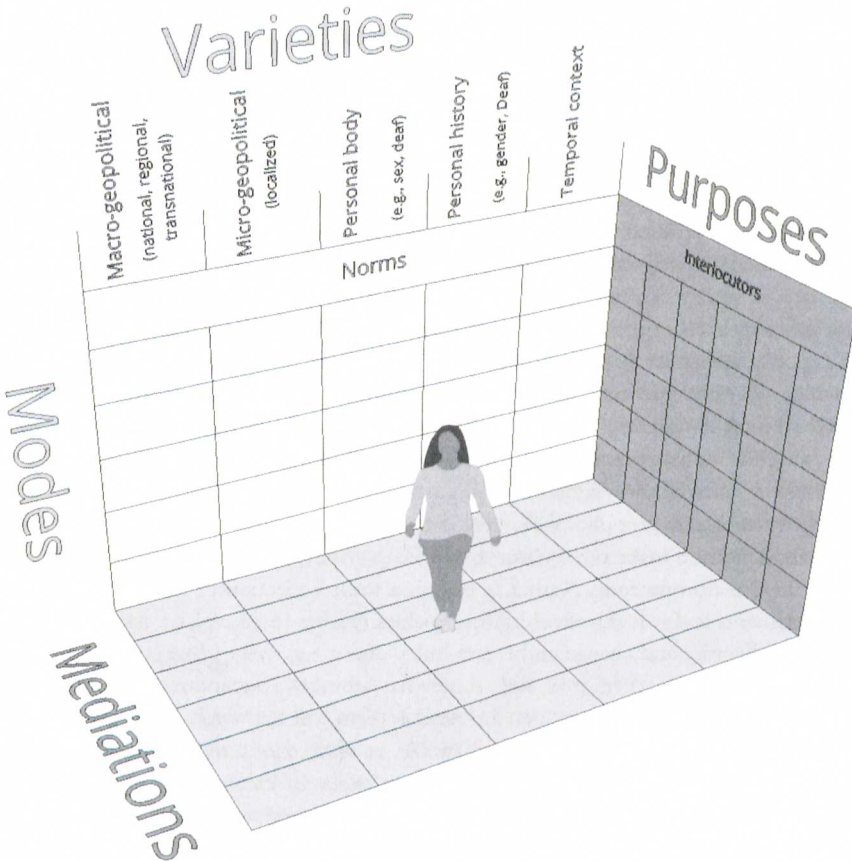
FIGURE 3.3 Elements in the varieties dimension.

multiple technologies. As the macro-geopolitical element includes features from more than one code, norms are often simultaneously conflicting and complementary. Selves may use different regional and national features in their communicative acts for varying purposes (to convey affinity with an interlocutor or to convey distance from others). Myers-Scotton's (1993) research in East Africa aptly illustrates the differing uses of the national language, Swahili, as well as local and ethnic languages and mixes thereof in daily interaction and how these macro-geopolitical varieties are used to achieve different purposes in daily interactions.

The most recognized of the elements under the label macro-geopolitical is what is often referred to as a national language (but see the work of Heller 2008 on challenges to the significance of nation states in a globalizing world). Each nation lays claim to one or more codes. Nations with longer histories within an assumed unifying cultural frame such as Britain, France or Germany began the standardization process long before nations such as Australia and New Zealand were inhabited by speakers of English.[4] In countries with colonial histories such as Australia, this norm may be made manifest in less comprehensively codified ways. In Australia for example, the states differ in their views on whether 'colour' is to be spelled with or without a 'u' and, until recently, in their handwriting norms (MCEETYA 1989).

National varieties develop through a process that includes the codification and marketing of some features over others (see Milroy and Milroy 1985; Locher and Strassler 2008). The codification involved in the standardization process entails that dictionaries and grammars are typically presented with these selected features. The marketing involved in the creation of a standard also means that the TV broadcasts and other materials used by language teachers are presented in this idealized code. As a consequence of such marketing, norms develop as selves interact with books, media and with other speakers of the standard, including teachers. During interactions with others, selves notice and select features to deploy in contexts; often, but not always, in contexts in which selves have noticed such features being used (e.g., when a child in Australia uses the North American /zi:/ heard on the television rather than the Australian /zed/ in reciting the alphabet in a school activity) (see also Chambers 2009).

Teachers, curriculum designers and language policy makers engage in choices about and between macro-geopolitical features every time they select textbooks or listening materials. They also make other choices. Although writers attempt to delineate standard codes, there is no one code. Rather, a code is a loose collection of features across different elements and it is this diversity that enables change to take place. Many teachers downplay diversity and change and create 'rules' about e.g., *May I have* … versus *Can I have.* … Similarly, teachers may seek somewhat arbitrary conventions to explain the relation between examples such as the modal verbs *will* and *shall*. Such micro-level choices reflect a view that the standard should be devoid of ambiguity and variation (see also Lippi-Green 1997 for a discussion of the effects of standardization on language attitudes). It also creates a view that national, regional and urban codes are discrete codes rather than sets of interacting features.

This norming creates other issues as macro-geopolitical standards are not always replicated in additional language classrooms. In such classrooms, learners (selves) will

have features that differentiate their communicative repertoires and their deployment from macro-geopolitical codes, to greater or lesser degrees precisely because their life histories do not reflect the monolingual norms that underpin most orientations to standardization.

Applied linguists interested in language assessment and testing are also heavily involved in selecting appropriate examples of national and transnational codes. While many nations have been successful in marketing their codes nationally, only a handful of nations have been successful in marketing their national codes internationally. British and American English have attained such status in many countries where English is taught as a foreign language. Mandarin (and in particular the Beijing dialect) (Xiong and Grandin 2010), French and Spanish have also achieved this status internationally. Paffey (2012) provides a particularly good discussion of the standardization and globalization of Spanish.

While citizens of nations born in a country often have little choice about many aspects of their national codes, in our increasingly global world, the choices are much more diverse and blended. Within the nation, selves travel to different regions and select features from those regions for short- and long-term purposes. Outside the nation, other macro-geopolitical codes have norms associated with them, both in the features that are used to represent the code and in the uses that are made of it. With travel and migration, these norms become less fixed and change takes place in both the features that are selected and in their use. The norms also travel with the users, providing contexts where other selves can notice and select new features, leading to use of pan-regional forms, and the spread of lexical features such as *elevator* (in addition to *lift*) and *cookie* (in addition to *biscuit*) in Australian English or *computer* in addition to *Rechner* in German.

When learners of additional languages engage in the learning of languages spoken in regions from outside the nation, transnational iterations of national codes emerge. Because transnational learners are often meta-linguistically aware of the different national codes and their features and the effects those language choices may have on their future lives, they may resist learning one national code in favour of another. (See for example O'Rourke and Ramallo's 2011 discussion of shifts in forms and functions of Irish and Galician that are associated with increases in the presence of additional language learners among the speakers of those two codes).

Micro-geopolitical

Speakers situate themselves not only in terms of macro-geopolitical contexts but also in more localized, micro-geopolitical ones. The relations between the two elements in the dimension of varieties are ones of overlap, as the features for national codes are not lost in localized contexts but adapted, often in subtle ways. These adaptations may be work-related and due to the need for specific lexical items in different fields (hence the existence of dictionaries of linguistics, medical dictionaries and dictionaries for those working in information technology).

An important micro-political context is the home as features are typically first noticed and selected from this domain – or indeed imposed: *Say 'please' when you talk to Grandma!* Micro-geopolitical norms are also developed as individuals engage in daily communicative acts such as when a self notices the use of recurring features by parents and other family members and norms these as vernacular 'familial' forms (for example, the terms for body parts or toilet functions or terms of address for grand-parents). Day-care is another early domain where additional features are first noticed and selected and these features are often of the vernacular kind. In both of these micro-geopolitical contexts, the codes that are spoken can vary from one interlocutor to the next, creating norms for the usage of particular features with particular types of interlocutors (grandparents use some features; siblings and friends use others and parents often fall in between).

Micro-geopolitical contexts can be large or small. In a school, selves may distin-guish between being on the school grounds or in particular contexts within the school: the staffroom, the classroom, a classroom with a teacher in it, a classroom with a particular teacher in it – with each micro-context affecting how selves select and combine features in their communicative acts. Jenny Cheshire's (1982) research with students in Reading, England provides a good illustration of differing language use in and out of the classroom and the work of Yates et al. (2010) documents the sophisticated divisions in playground space between groups in a strongly multilingual/multicultural setting.

As an important micro-political domain, the school brings together selves from different micro-political contexts, and in doing so often brings codes associated with those other contexts into a common space. Individual selves deploy features asso-ciated with different national and regional codes, and have different abilities in each. The school is an important central element for engaging with diversity and an important place for understanding Multiplicity and equipping selves with meta awareness tools to describe this diversity in a learning environment that can be either caring (so encouraging the exploration of this diversity) or forbidding (so suppressing such diversity).

Schools are also important for one other reason. Because the micro-geopolitical contexts are localized, they differ from one school to another. As no two schools are alike, they bring together different groups of teachers and students, who have differ-ent norms from which students and teachers can notice, select and combine features to create their own micro-geopolitical contexts. Differing norms may be reflected in terms of address. A teacher may be addressed by her students as *Mrs Smith* in one school but at another school the same teacher may be addressed as *Mary*. In some schoolyards, it may be acceptable to use codes other than the macro-geopolitical ones; in others it may not be. In all schools however, there is likely to be diversity. For example, Chinese students living in Anglo-dominant nations may select a Chinese code for use in the schoolyard and an English code for use in the classroom; other students may select features of vernacular English in both contexts (rejecting the use of a Chinese code); whereas the teacher's pet may reject the use of the local Chinese code and the vernacular English code and use feature sets associated with the

macro-geopolitical national standard. In other instances, choices occur within the classroom as illustrated in Li Wei's (2011b) vivid account of the different ways in which students employ Mandarin, Cantonese and English in five British Chinese Saturday schools.

Personhood

The previous two elements refer to the context of the interaction in relation to features associated with national, transnational, regional, local and situational codes. Other elements within the dimension of varieties are connected with personhood. These relate to our physical being as well as our personal histories. The latter create and are created through our beliefs: religious, ethnic, social, or other and affect how we (wish to) present ourselves to others.

All users are restricted by their personhood. A hearing student may have no access to signed codes. A deaf student may have a spoken code that is profoundly different from that of his hearing peers. A deaf student with little contact with the Deaf community will have a profoundly different personal history from a Deaf student who interacts on a regular basis with members of the Deaf community. The two may use different amounts of sign language and potentially different signs based on their personal histories. Their movement and even their expectations about the communicative acts that they can produce and how they receive communicative acts might also differ (McKee 2005; Burns et al. 2001).

Other personal body features, such as the age and sex of the speaker, as well as features of personal histories affect selves' access or ability to select and combine features to portray different aspects of self. A 5-year-old will not tell jokes in the same way as an adult, who will have a greater and more sophisticated command of lexical and structural ambiguity.

As with macro- and micro-geopolitical varieties, there are also occasions where aspects of personhood are in conflict. For example, I may have the personal body of an 80-year-old but my personal history means that I prefer to act like a 40-year-old, and deploy linguistic and non-linguistic features to enact that personhood. In the following sections, we outline the two elements of personhood (personal body and personal history) and how they are both connected and disconnected, and how individuals enact different aspects of self.

Personal body

The element, personal body, includes inherent properties of self. The personal body property of age will often identify a self (accurately or not) as very young, young, middle-aged or very old. The size and shape of the vocal tract will identify the age of many a telephone caller to their interlocutor. As a 15-year-old, one of the authors worked in a telephone fund-raising venture and was continually challenged with questions about her age. Features of age are also communicated in face-to-face interactions through non-linguistic symbols, for example, lines on our face, hair

having particular colours and parts of our bodies appearing 'bent' or less flexible (although these interpretations can be shaped by interventions such as cosmetic surgery and influenced by our health).

Personal body is deeply associated with norms formed as selves notice features that have been selected by particular types of users. A young adolescent male will select typical feature sets for communicative effect: hair cuts, ways of walking, and the use of particular phrases and words normed for that boyhood in that context. Alternatively, he may actively not select or deploy such feature sets depending on personal histories and how he wishes to reflect his linguistic self at that given moment in time. In some instances, features of personal body cannot be altered. Australian Aboriginals, for example, are sometimes perceived as having features of their personal body in conflict with other features of their identity when they are judged by some to be too 'white' in their skin colouring (see Holland 1996).

Personal body also affects how interlocutors perceive communicative acts. If you are a baby, a pointing action may be interpreted as signalling excitement, but if you are older, the same pointing action may be interpreted as rude. These incongruencies also apply to linguistic features. A person of Chinese or Vietnamese physical appearance who speaks fluent English with a broad Australian accent can be perceived as having a personal body in conflict with his or her personal history (see Tan 2006). This often results in such individuals being asked *But where are you really from?* However, these incongruencies can be used by self for opposite purposes (e.g., to rebuke a racial taunt by an interlocutor). A well-known and successful Vietnamese–Australian comedian, writer and actor, Anh Do has used this ambiguity to carve out a career in which he deliberately adopts a very colloquial style of Australian English.

Personal histories

The personal histories of speakers shape the features that they use and their life experiences shape their communicative acts. Our personal histories include early life experiences and the features associated with them. Young children have fewer life experiences and fewer features that they can draw out of their communicative repertoire. Additional language learners may also have fewer life experiences in their additional language and thus fewer features in their additional language they can draw out of elements of their communicative repertoire. We consider the elaboration of repertoires in Chapter 7.

Personal histories draw on features which have been noticed and selected by self for various reasons – to signal commonality, but also to be used to manifest rejection (e.g., through irony or parody). The frequency of deployment of certain features (e.g., those associated with gender) is the result of noticing and selecting or rejecting linguistic input over the course of one's personal history. As self ages, self's personal history expands and self develops contacts with a wider range of interlocutors. In the early years, the significant others are primarily family members, but from the advent of schooling, this extends to others in peer and friendship groups. Friends have diverse communicative repertoires from which self may notice and select features. In

one's mid years, workmates will add further features. These interlocutors have communicative repertoires that differ from that of self and from which self may notice and select additional features. Self will also draw on encounters with the communicative repertoires of significant others (with whom self might only have a casual acquaintance) to create different linguistic selves. Features in their repertoires may be noticed and some will be selected by self to represent him/herself at various moments, e.g., to indicate their 'feminine', 'spiritual', 'harmonious' or 'buff' side.

Our personal history offers us a palette of the features we can select and choices about which and how many of these features we select and how we combine them and the particular contexts in which we choose to do so. These issues have been the site of extensive research in the field of Sociolinguistics. Significant encounters with other selves form the basis of gendered identities as features are selected to highlight our sexuality or to disguise or transform it (McIlvenny 2002). Self can desire to create or to disguise his or her ethnicity. In Haddix's (2012) research entitled 'Talkin' in the company of my sistas', she explores the purposeful use of silence, topic avoidance, and the non-use of African-American features by Black female pre-service teachers in a predominantly white teacher training programme in the USA and these pre-service teachers' desires to avoid sounding overly Black in certain contexts. Decisions about when and how to speak are based on personal history and the micro and macro contexts in which self is located (see also Höller 2013 for an example of how a Palestinian-born photographer constructs photographs to simultaneously highlight and disguise both familiar and unfamiliar aspects of Palestinian [and other] experiences).

Our personal histories provide us with features for purposeful choices. This helps to explain why one person may wish to embrace features associated with social class while another may actively try to disown it. This explains why some individuals may sound, write or draw as if they are 'stereotypical' members of a particular group while others may sound, write or draw as if they have no connection with the people among whom they were born and grew up. Our personal histories are also, at times, bound up in ways of understanding the deployment of 'otherness'. We return to this point in Chapter 4.

Temporal context

Selves interact with different interlocutors at different times. The temporal element enables selves to access different and changing norms and to select and combine features into their communicative repertoires in different temporal contexts. This temporal element connects with macro-geopolitical elements for the selection of national and regional features appropriate to that particular time and place (for examples of changing Australian media language in the twentieth and twenty-first century, see Price 2008). It draws on the micro-geopolitical norms and elements, which self has noticed in the changing language behaviour in schools and other institutions (*when I was a student in this school we spoke English but students now speak Bahasa Malaysia at this school*).[5] It connects with elements of personal body to enable self to sound one's age and with personal history to reflect that self does not feel or act his or her age. The

temporal element is normed as life-stages, which are seen as context specific with different selves seeing old age and maturity through different lenses. Wagner's (2012) real-time study provides a good example of how features change with life-stages in her study of the use of vernacular features of 13 American adolescents over a six-month period, which transcended their final year of schooling and the months thereafter.

The codes available to self under the temporal element include linguistic and non-linguistic features observed during self's own life-span (which includes observations about, for example, the way grandma acted and spoke). Features of temporal context also include features in historical documents read by self or reported to self by others, as well as features observed in digital media. Temporal context could be the result of experiences through having heard Shakespearean English being spoken on stage and knowing that anything in that kind of English evokes that temporal context (even when Baz Luhrmann directs Romeo and Juliet as a film based in Los Angeles in recent times).

When self has minimal exposure to prior communicative acts (from which to notice and select features), he or she can access only a limited set of features of that particular code. Schools often use re-enactments to engage in content learning, which require self to engage with the temporal element (e.g., in a role play of early settlers in America as a means of understanding early American history). Such role plays may be particularly difficult for additional language learners if such students do not have access to an array of features within varieties to situate themselves in that particular time and place. Additional language learners may also have similar difficulty with access to temporal elements (why for example when uttering the phrase *We are not amused!* speakers often select with it particular sound features of a hyper-formal older variety of macro-geopolitical British English to give the phrase a sense of otherness).

Sociolinguistics as framed by Multiplicity

Sociolinguistics has been defined as both 'the study of social life through linguistics' and the study of 'language and its social contexts' (Coupland and Jaworski 1997: 1). The former focuses on how societies use codes in context: the latter focuses on how speakers adapt codes to social context. In each case, typically only selected aspects of language are looked at. We attempt to address some of that selectivity in the way that we frame the relations within and between dimensions in our frame-work but fully realize that many aspects of the sociolinguistic literature are left relatively uncovered in this discussion. Our purpose is not to repeat the excellent surveys of the field (e.g., Wodak et al.'s 2011 edited compendium) but rather to draw on insights into how this social patterning is reflected in the construction of a communicative repertoire. In this way, we hope to be able to frame Sociolinguistics in ways that are more usefully employed by those in Applied Linguistics and in Language Education.

As a field of study, much of the literature in Sociolinguistics has tended to make generalizations based on shared behaviour and researchers have gone to great lengths

to do so. Early research focused on the interacting effects of age, gender, social class and ethnicity (Labov 1966; Wolfram 1969). Other explorations of difference have delved deeply into additional types of social variables. Payne (1980), for example, focused on both how children of parents born outside the community and how those who arrive in the community at an early age acquire the sound patterns of their new communities. While social variables such as these explain much of the linguistic behaviour of the broader reservoir, it is still the case that some selves are similar and others are not. Why for example do only some but not all of the individuals, whose parents were born elsewhere, in Payne's (1980) study differ from other Philadelphians? In a later study of sixth-graders in Ohio, Thomas (1996) showed that neither friends nor parents provide a complete explanation for the features the children in the study used.

Others have appealed to social ambition for explanations. Sociolinguists such as Ellen Douglas-Cowie (1978), Crawford Feagin (1979) and Kirk Hazen (2002) drew on the notion of social ambition to explain their observations about individual differences in communities in Ireland and the United States. Although social ambition provides a strong explanation of difference in their studies, one might also ask the question, why is it that these selves who have social ambition consistently show evidence of some vernacular use but not always in the same way?

Other attempts at explaining sociolinguistic variation have drawn on the importance of current group membership. In studies of social networks, those central to the network often differ from those who are on the periphery, as in Labov's (1973) study of the members of a New York gang, where those who were more standard in their linguistic behaviour were often seen to be on the outer fringes of the gang and referred to as 'lames'. Cheshire (1982: 104) relayed a similar account of two relative 'non-members', Smithy and Alec, who were infrequently named as members of the adolescent peer group in Reading in England, and who differed from the core members in their less frequent use of non-standard vernacular features such as non-standard third person–s and negative concord. One might also ask why these, and not all, features of their repertoires patterned in this same way.

Explanations of difference have also appealed to notions of multiple group membership (see Bucholtz 1999; Rampton 1995). The notion of multiple memberships is complicated as the features that individuals draw on need not be from current networks or current communities of practice. Wolfram and Thomas (2002) contend that individuals have 'idiosyncratic histories' that preclude all variation from being the result of current group memberships. Labov (2001, based on Hindle 1980) postulated that Carol Meyer, a middle-aged speaker, who was recorded over a period of a day, drew on features she was likely to have learned in her 'formative years'. Such findings suggest that a pool of resources is stored within the dimensions of the communicative repertoire based on features that have been noticed and stored by interlocutors with whom self has engaged at some point in the past. Yet, as discussed below, any attempt at explaining linguistic behaviour based solely on current group or past memberships is unlikely to account for all linguistic behaviour.

Wolfram and Thomas (2002: 161) note that while 'it is often assumed, tacitly if not explicitly, that the individual and the group are one and the same', there is substantial evidence that this is not the case. Wolfram and Thomas refer to the latter view as the 'homogeneity assumption' and state that individuals who do not fit the pattern are labelled as 'exceptions' yet as they themselves note, the features that their 11 elderly African-American participants deployed in the interviews differed as much as they were similar. More recently, Guy (2013), in an attempt to understand how social variables combine to create sociolects for 20 speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, argues that although social variables account for much of the current understanding of social variation, there are other 'more multidimensional' factors at play. This leaves Guy to postulate the need for a broader conceptual framework for understanding both why speakers make the linguistic choices they do and the social influences which affect use and perception.

Our conceptual view focuses on the individual rather than the groups with which he or she is affiliated. While we recognize that any self will notice and select features from his or her context and will use features based on norms to convey different purposes to his or her interlocutors, we see the social context as background for understanding the ways that individual selves gain access to and deploy their communicative resources. The framework of Multiplicity seeks to elaborate a way of understanding how selves draw on features from within the elements of varieties to create flexible and individualized communicative repertoires – a perspective that is available within Sociolinguistics, but not one that is highlighted. In many instances, individuals who fall outside the norm are delegated to a footnote or discarded entirely and left as unanalysed recordings in an office cupboard because of some unique aspect of their background or their language. Quite subtle differences are often noticed by interlocutors, as in the case reported in Chambers (2009) of Mr J from Toronto, whose wife remarked at the end of the recording: *I think he has just a shade of an American accent of some kind or other. … I feel he doesn't talk the same way I do.* When selves have access to more than one macro-geopolitical set of features, individual differences are often noticeable. One New Zealand–born Vietnamese student of ours used definite articles in ways that differed from her New Zealand peers when writing her university essays and this difference affected the way others perceived her writing (including her thesis markers). Language educators cannot afford to ignore difference. Individuals are the key locus of language education activity, which means that connecting Applied Linguistics and Language Education must engage with the individual aspects of the notion of self.

The study of individuals and their style-shifting, which we consider under the dimension of purposes in Chapter 4, has made considerable strides in understanding how elements within the communicative repertoire can be 'stylized' for different purposes (for example, playfulness and othering). In these studies, Coupland (2001) and others have gone to some lengths to show how these features relate to purposes and interlocutors. Chapter 4 considers the final dimension of that communicative repertoire, the dimension of purposes in order to understand the individual's communicative choices and present the final part of our comprehensive framework for understanding self's communicative acts.

Notes

1 Multiple elements of modes and mediations could also (and do regularly) appear in any particular communicative act (e.g., sound and the human body and analogue technologies when a teacher writes an example on a whiteboard while saying the example aloud).

2 We do not see norms as deterministic. The term 'point of reference' is just that – something that is a shared known. Other influences lead to the norm being used for purposes of either inclusion or exclusion.

3 This makes sense as attention to phonetic details of each interlocutor would require excessive amounts of processing and would necessarily detract from self's primary goal of effective communication.

4 Note that we do not intend to imply homogeneity or lack of resistance. We refer more to a general shared reference (despite contention about the nature, validity or shared relevance of such references).

5 For a discussion of some of these changes and the reasons for them, see Gill (2007).

4

UNDERSTANDING PURPOSES

In the past 40 years, theories of discourse have shifted from perspectives that see texts as factual objects to theories that view texts as ideological in nature. While theoretical insights often build on what went before, they do so through different lenses. Our lens on discourse, which reflects a view of discourse as the underlying purpose, is presented as the fourth and final dimension of the communicative repertoire, the dimension of purposes. This dimension sees discourse, as Canagarajah (1999: 30) does, as the layers within and behind texts. It is this layering that gives any communicative act one or more purposes. For us, purposes are the essence of discourse and their multi-layered and dynamic character is an essential aspect of any communicative act.

Layering takes place as a result of a view of communicative acts as encompassing both Hymes' (1972b) minimal unit of analysis, the speech act, as well as his broader interactive frame, the speech event. Both need to be 'in play' when self is selecting, combining and deploying features from the elements of the communicative repertoire. The communicative act, like a speech event, is necessarily one that engages with an interlocutor. The relational character of purposes requires self to continually 'read' interlocutor(s) (the thread within the dimension of purposes) to confirm that self's purposes are being achieved and to make changes if something is perceived to be working differently than intended. This chapter introduces the elements within the dimension of purposes and focuses on how self weaves together features within the elements of this dimension with features in elements within the other three dimensions in the deployment of communicative acts.

Purposes as a dimension

Purposes may be conveyed linguistically or otherwise (e.g., in an Anglo cultural context, a simple finger movement to signal the command *Come here*). Because the dimension of purposes can involve multiple layers, even the beckoning movement of

a finger may be both a request to come and a request to do so discreetly. Purposes may be given more or less prominence. For example, the slow moving beckoning motion of the finger while communicating to the interlocutor to be extra quiet when approaching the interlocutor may also suggest some level of emotional consternation (perhaps anger).

Because the dimension of purposes is inherently related to the dimension of varieties, self will select features from all of the elements of both dimensions to deploy a communicative act that is rich and multiple. This gives selves the ability to tell jokes, exaggerate and even tell (white) lies within the same communicative act. Choices are based on features that self has noticed and selected during (or as a result of reflection on) prior interactions with others. Additional language learners, who may have access to only a limited number of features, may employ fewer features because they do not have command over the range needed to distinguish between slightly differing purposes or they may employ diverse features to convey similar purposes because they have less command of the relationships between purposes and forms. Over time, the different use of resources may develop into stable new norms as in the use of title + first name by self in attempts to blend informality and respect in contexts as diverse as talk shows (Dr Phil on American TV) and supervisor–student interactions (e.g., *I'd like to talk to Dr Donna*).

Purposes are linked to varieties and the norms that thread through the dimension of varieties. Norms can only be effectively engaged with when their purposes are clearly understood. A lack of knowledge about whether, where or how selves share norms creates difficulties for all selves and is evident whenever students need to complete school assignments such as *What I did in my summer holidays*. It is not the norm to tell your teacher (who you have only just met) your intimate experiences, or to tell a story to a teacher before understanding their expectations, purposes or interests. It is much easier to complete the assignment if it is worded: *Tell me an ordinary story about yourself that happened on an average (perhaps boring) day during your holiday. Try to make your story as engaging but realistic as possible. At the end of the writing task, we will see how many similarities you and your classmates have mentioned in your individual stories and how you have written about these events.* However, the monolingual/monocultural basis of most institutions (see Blackledge 2000; Blommaert et al. 2005; Marzocchi 2005) leads to expectations that such meanings are shared and do not need to be unpacked or explained to those who are expected to use them, irrespective of whether those who have to make use of these relationships between purposes and varieties are less experienced (younger) people from within the culture or those coming to the culture with different experiences. In some contexts, not unpacking the expectations can be associated with deliberate attempts to obliterate alternative meanings (Wiley 2000). When drawing on varieties to convey a particular purpose, self will also select a temporal context in which to resource a communicative act. The temporal context will affect the selection and combination of other feature sets: the type of macro-geopolitical features of English that is selected (for example, Old English for the Chaucer self); the selection of features of the micro-geopolitical variety (the terms of address used to refer to a secondary school teacher); and the

selection of features that reference personhood (how to sound one's actual age). When the temporal context does not support other elements within the dimension of varieties, purposes are fuzzy. Such incongruencies can distract the interlocutor from the content embedded within the communicative act (*if I say something in a variety of English that is perceived as older than expected, my interlocutor may pay more attention to my code and less attention to the content embedded within the message*).

The inherent connection between the dimension of varieties and the dimension of purposes is made manifest by the multiple interconnections created as self draws on all elements within these two dimensions to create rich and powerful communicative acts. For example, the way self conveys intent is realized through the selection of one macro-geopolitical set of features over another (English rather than French). Intent may also be made manifest in self's selection of micro-geopolitical features such as terms of address (*Dr Nicholas, can I see you for a minute, please?*). In contexts where other address terms have been normed, the use of a more formal term signals othering, alerting the interlocutor to additional layers of intent. Self may select and combine (temporary or enduring) aspects of personal body (a cough as a reminder that a particular request is mitigated by feelings of unwellness). Purpose may also be expressed through perceived views about shared personal histories (*We women need to stick together!*). It will also draw on temporal features (the use of twenty-first- rather than sixteenth-century English). Thus the features within the dimension of purposes draw on elements from varieties in order for self to best achieve his/her intent.

Because the features within the elements of purposes co-occur, it is possible for features within elements from different dimensions to have both similar and different effects, i.e., they may reinforce a primary purpose or add layers of alternative interpretation. A single purpose can be manifested in multiple ways. For example, the communicative act of bullying may be realized through an argumentative text, an evaluative commentary embedded within a text, the activity by which the message is delivered (through texting) and the tone in which it is delivered (name-calling). Similarly, the communicative act of a request may be made manifest through the structure of the request (*I was wondering if it would be possible for you to be able to. … *), the activity (a phone call rather than a text message), and the key (smiling or speaking sternly). Features of key may convey the urgency or sincerity of the act, as well as a host of other manners and styles.

Alternatively, an array of different interpretations may be available in the same communicative act. For example, Air New Zealand recently presented its flight safety procedures through the characters in the movie, *The Hobbit*. The macro-text was presented as a list of safety instructions to follow in case of emergency. However, embedded within the procedures were jokes (micro-texts in this context) and references to the movie to connect with the audience and keep their attention. The key was informal to indicate that the mock scene, while conveying an important message, should not arouse fear and these different features together enabled a sense of otherness so that the macro-text could be interpreted at multiple levels simultaneously.

Selves often employ subtle features to convey necessary conversational ambiguity and overlap (e.g., in responses to questions such as *Does this dress make me look fat?* or

in the presumptions embedded in both asking and answering the oft-cited question, *When did you stop beating your wife?*). When selves have access to multiple similar codes, they may use features that are identical in two codes, leaving open which of the two varieties is being selected at any particular moment. Woolard (1998) uses the term bivalency to refer to the use of such features by Spanish comedians who alternate between two 'Spanish' codes, Castilian and Catalan and who use the ambiguity to appeal to multiple audiences at different levels. Rampton (1995: 280) uses the term 'crossing' to refer to a different phenomenon – the use of features that are selected from outside one's social or ethnic group. In describing the speech patterns of three groups of British youth, Rampton found that students crossed codes in order to 'move across social and ethnic boundaries' for a range of purposes (as a sign of membership, disdain or respect). Bucholtz (1999) also reports a case in a school where features of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) are used in parts of narrative to convey to the audience that the narrator is a certain 'type' of white male. In all instances, elements and features within the dimension of varieties are selected and deployed for specific purposes.

Interlocutors as the thread within purposes

The thread that goes through the dimension of purposes is interlocutors. In an ideal world, self seeks to design his or her communicative acts in such a way that these acts have the greatest success (see Berger 2005; Mazzone 2013 for discussion). Regardless of where success is understood to be on continua between aspects such as complete clarity and total opaqueness or complete empathy and complete confrontation, seeking such success requires self to make an assessment of each interlocutor (e.g., their background knowledge, their mood, their desire to communicate). Because varieties and purposes are inherently connected, when communicating with interlocutors who are known to self, self may draw on perceived shared norms in ways that are often too subtle to be read by other interlocutors (as when a teenager replies to a parent's question *How was your day?* with a single unmarked grunt). In some households, the above exchange would be interpreted as a two-part adjacency pair. The parent's intent is to acknowledge presence and get some form of a response, however minimal, and therefore the teenager's communicative act is considered to be a meaningful one and interpreted perhaps as: *Today was an ordinary day. I want to go to my room now and unwind. In order to save face I would rather you didn't ask me anything further but I would appreciate it if you would get me something to eat later as you usually do.* When the interlocutors share fewer features, the dimension of purposes needs to be much more explicit and the communicative acts framed in other ways that are sensitive to the interlocutor. We illustrate below under each of the elements within the dimension of purposes how self's perceptions of interlocutors are central to purposes as they control how any particular communicative act is structured and resourced to best achieve the communicative intent.

Purposes can shift rapidly within any communicative act as self both assesses and reacts to his or her interlocutor – e.g., *they look confused; they didn't get that that was a*

joke; I need them to smile more. These types of selections are important for language teachers, who promote student risk-taking and exploration while simultaneously engaging in classroom management.

Although communicative acts are inherently interactive, in this volume we have given priority to understanding communicative acts of self as a first step in helping us to better understand the communicative acts of the other and the complexities of self–other relationships.[1]

Elements of the purposes dimension

Within the dimension of purposes there are five elements: macro-text, micro-text, activity, key and otherness. These are identified in Figure 4.1. As previously, for clarity of presentation, we have masked the elements from the other three dimensions.
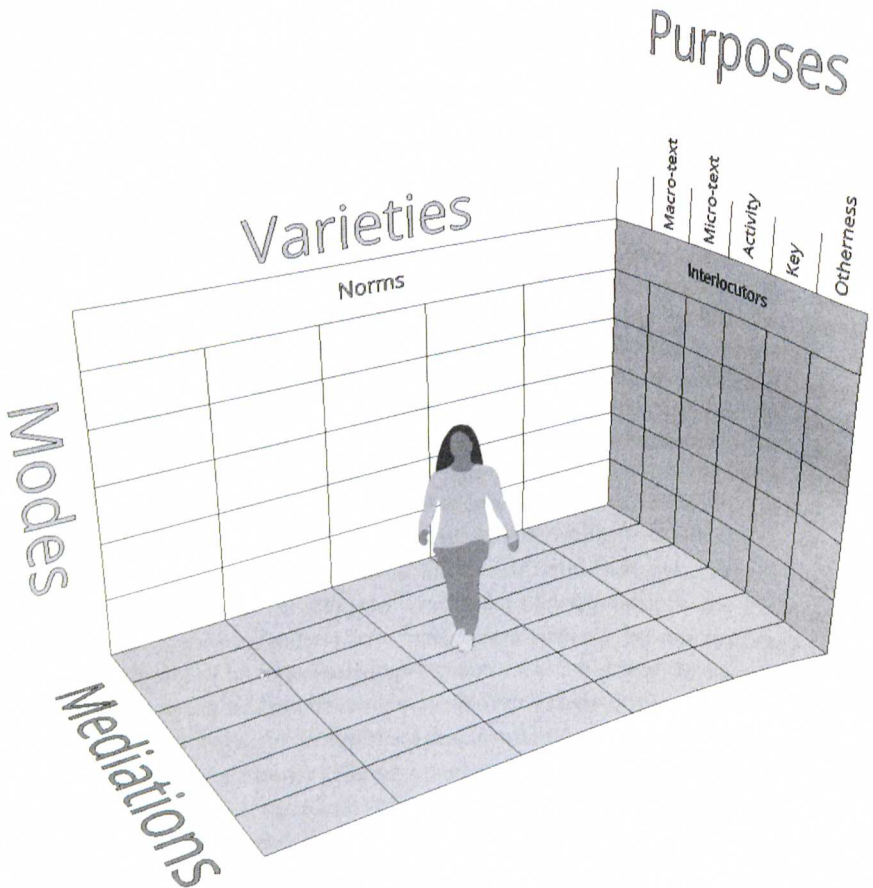
FIGURE 4.1 Elements in the purposes dimension.

From our perspective, the first two elements within the dimension of purposes, macro- and micro-text, provide central resources for the manifestation of the ideology of purpose(s). For example, when we choose to tell a story about an event or describe that event we reflect a purposeful selection of a macro-text. When we choose to comment on what we will do (e.g., *Let me give you some background before I answer that question*) we reflect a purposeful selection of a micro-text. The element of activity has also embedded within it this same purposeful relationship as different activities are selected for different purposes. For example, I might choose to text rather than phone because I am in a hurry. Otherness, the final element within the dimension of purposes, focuses on the features of the communicative act signalling multiple perspectives in or on that act or on self.

Macro-text

Our first element within the fourth dimension of purposes is macro-text. This element has features such as genres and other text types (e.g., debate). Although there is no single set of defined macro-texts or features, there are at least two well-established traditions, systemic-functional linguistics (Martin and Rose 2008) and the rhetorical-literary approach (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010), that offer insights into capturing features within this element. The structure of any macro-text can vary. A 'to-do' list can consist of a list of points on a scribbled note or it can consist of a five-page typed document. A macro-text can be non-interactive (an essay) or interactive (a role play, a conversation, a wiki). (The extent to which a text is made interactive or non-interactive would depend on the prominence given by self to the thread within the dimension of mediations and the nature of the activity, e.g., a lecture delivered over the radio or a public lecture with questions and answers at the end or a television broadcast followed by an online chat session).

While purposes of macro-texts are typically conveyed through linguistic means, non-linguistic means may also be possible in some instances. Roth-Gordon (2012) discusses ways in which linguistic and non-linguistic features are inter-woven in signalling racial identity. An alternative example exists in recently developed opportunities to 'dance your Ph.D.' that are an instance of how prototypically linguistic communicative acts can be achieved non-linguistically.

The linguistic and non-linguistic features within the element macro-text may vary in length. A macro-text may consist of a two-hour lecture on the anatomy of mammals or be as short as a word or two. Although it is likely that a closing would form part of a larger interactive exchange, it is possible to imagine self walking up to a friend at a bus stop and simply saying *see ya* as the friend at that moment steps onto a departing bus. Other elements within modes such as movement and spatial orientation as well as elements within mediations (such as human body in a hug or a handshake) also contribute to shaping the macro-text.

Macro-texts constrain the shape of the communicative acts, both providing and limiting options for realizing self's intent. The selected features are used to reflect self's sense of the dominant purpose of the communicative act. This shaping is based

on noticing, selecting and storing features from prior interactions that have been associated with elements within the dimensions of varieties, modes and mediations. In a written macro-text, self will select feature sets which convey images of different sorts (letters, sentences, paragraphs). Self will also select and combine features from elements with the dimension of purposes to deploy particular text types and within the dimension of varieties to situate the macro- and micro-geopolitical features of the text.

Selves from different contexts select and combine features to create macro-texts in different ways. An older Australian Aboriginal male from the Western Desert may tell a story to a younger member of the community for purposes that are specific to that context, e.g., to engage him with the history of the local land (see Klapproth 2004). The features selected draw on personhood and reflect personal histories of place and what it means to be, for example, Warlpiri.

From a more global perspective, features of certain macro-geopolitical codes may be incongruent with others. In some contexts, it is important to end an argument with a point, in other places, to start with it. In some regions, it is important to embellish your points with repetition (see Barbara Johnstone's 1983 early account of Arab writers of English), in others to say things only once. Silva (2012) provides a comprehensive overview of multiple aspects of L2 writing, including rhetorical structure that illustrates some of these differences. Additional language learners who are variably familiar with Anglo norms may resort to filling macro-texts with features reflecting other macro-geopolitical norms because they believe that these features reflect similar purposes in their two codes. This often leads to unsuccessful communicative acts, for example, commencing a letter to an Australian Ph.D. supervisor with *My dear*. International students may also deliberately resist newly offered norms, as in a refusal to address a supervisor by a first name in order to show what they consider appropriate respect (see Thomas 1983 for discussion of sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failure).

Similar incongruencies may apply to macro-texts and micro-geopolitical norms. Students new to the institution are unfamiliar with the norms of the micro-geopolitical context of the faculty or department. This is why postgraduate students who have completed a degree or diploma in the one institution typically have fewer difficulties in structuring a macro-text required by that institution than students new to the same institution. So, writing tasks for additional language learners are difficult on multiple fronts: the learners are unfamiliar with the norms of the macro-geopolitical context (e.g., structuring written assignments for English-speaking universities) and the micro-political norms of the institution (micro-geopolitical context). That is often why these learners ask questions about line spacing, referencing style, the use of the first person, etc. In situations such as these, learners can be uncertain about the purposes of various features. Other more substantive uncertainties include the meaning of terms such as 'Abstract' and how to know that, in some contexts, the summarizing connotations of 'Abstract' are to be given priority over the reporting aspects. In uncertainty, details of reasoning are (and should be) pursued to understand purposes.

Micro-text

The micro-text is any text embedded within the macro-text. The purpose of the micro-text is to elaborate or support self's intentions. Micro-texts are part of all macro-texts and vary because interlocutors differ. Self does not communicate with a stranger in the same way that self communicates with a friend. In the macro-text of a 'recipe', the basic ingredients and procedures remain constant. However the text can vary in length and complexity. For example, when one sibling wishes to provide the recipe for 'Mom's chocolate cake' to the other, the purpose is to communicate only as much information as required. If both siblings had watched 'Mom' bake such a cake on multiple occasions by mixing all ingredients together and baking it in a moderate oven, the recipe may consist of only the title and a simple list of ingredients. Self may, however, be compelled by norms of the macro-text to add other micro-text details at the end of the list of ingredients such as 'mix and bake' for no other reason than to complete the communicative act in a way that aligns with an available external norm. The 'same' recipe given to a stranger would have the same macro-text, but contain a micro-text with much more detailed procedures, based on both norms of what is expected in a recipe and also what is required to make the communicative act effective (e.g., the guest is known to have very little baking experience). The amount and type of detail within micro-texts are also restricted by the norms of the macro-geopolitical context. For example, written details about cooking are particularly scant amongst Cree speakers, perhaps because of the culture's traditional focus on learning by doing. The elaboration of details is also constrained by the norms of the micro-geopolitical context. Details are often equally scant in recipes intended for professional chefs because of what is assumed to be shared knowledge.

Micro-texts may be included to make purposes explicit that might not be obvious in intercultural contexts. An academic might include in an email message to a student the words *This is not a command* to give prominence as to the intent of the text of an email (e.g., *this is to be interpreted as a suggestion or an intellectual exploration and to encourage further discussion and/or dissent*).

The use of micro-texts to convey self's perspective about the content within the macro-text is most notable in narratives, where tellers often provide evaluative commentary (for example, the narrator may add *No one paid attention to him because he was always making up stories* as in the fairy tale 'The boy who cried wolf'). The extent to which such commentary is added into the text varies according to personhood, but also according to macro-geopolitical context. In New Zealand, Maori narratives are known for minimal evaluative commentary and the absence of an explicitly stated resolution or coda (Holmes 1998). Maori narratives also differ in non-linguistic ways, such as in when and how to laugh. Holmes and her colleagues have also shown how micro-geopolitical contexts such as workplaces have an effect on micro-text features of story-telling (Holmes et al. 2011).

Activity

Activities create the outer shape in which a communicative act is embedded or the communicative context in which such acts are realized. They equate to Hymes' (1972b) concept of socially contextualized speech situations, which for Hymes, includes both linguistic and non-linguistic acts. We use the label activity rather than speech situations because we are interested not only in the setting but also what is done in that setting and the purposes for doing so.[2] The label activity also allows us to draw connections between this element and the concept of activity central to Language Education. Activities are diverse and include watching YouTube, playing interactive video games, writing an assignment, doing housework, or even answering a phone or presenting a seminar. Reading (e.g., a novel) and writing (e.g., a poem) would also be considered as separate activities that select and combine different modes, and mediations (if the poem were written by hand or on a computer). They may well draw on different features within varieties (a poem is structured differently in its iambic beat). Each activity is purposeful. While some activities are essentially non-linguistic in nature (doing housework), they can have within them diverse macro-texts that have multiple communicative purposes (*I have done such a good job to show you how clean a room should be; I've not dusted under your shoes as I am being underpaid; I have left your dishes unwashed because you should do them*).

Self must select and combine elements from the dimension of varieties to achieve his or her purpose. The activity of answering the phone in Japanese or French differs from the activity of answering the door, as different lexical items are selected in both activities (speakers of Japanese select *moshi moshi* to answer the phone at any point in the day but *konnichiwa* [or another expression depending in part on the time of day] when greeting someone at the door). Similarly in French, *Allo oui* is used if the activity is on the phone but *Bonjour* or *Bonsoir* if the activity is conducted in person. The above examples serve to identify that the communicative acts of conducting a conversation on the phone and in face-to-face interactions are different types of activity, with different selections and combinations of features.

Activities that intersect with different elements of the dimension of mediations also differ in their ways of doing. Online activities have features that differ from similar language use in face-to-face interaction. There is no greeting or farewell on Facebook as the interlocutors are known and the activity is seen as ongoing. There is ambiguity about the use of these features in SMS messages. The codes that are used in online activities may also differ – not only in spelling conventions, but also in the availability of other resources such as emoticons. Many of these issues are discussed in Chapter 6 when we consider additional language literacies.

Key

Embedded within the fourth dimension is the element key, an important construct in many frameworks with relevance for communication. Halliday (2004), for example, uses key as a general term that unites a variety of systems within the interpersonal

component of his grammar. Hymes (1972 and earlier) engaged with the same concept. He defined key as 'the tone, manner or spirit in which an act is done' (1972b: 62). In all of the above, key is made manifest through either or both non-linguistic (a wink) or linguistic (a change in genre or style) features. In Hymes' approach, key is related to the speech situation but in our framework, the focus is on self's selection and deployment of features to convey the mood, tone, style or manner of his or her communicative act.

Key can be influenced by attention to speech (Labov 1972), situation or context (Cheshire 1982) as well as dynamic selections based on assessments of how to communicate with one's interlocutor at any moment in time (Bell 1984, 1997).[3] Key is not a constant. It can vary as self perceives a need to reassure, to lighten the mood or to apologize, etc. Allan Bell's theory of audience design contends that speakers mould their linguistic behaviour in response to their assessment of all participants (the addressee, the eavesdroppers). Certain speaker choices (which Bell refers to as responsive style) affect the key of the communicative act (making it serious, light-hearted, tentative or rebellious, etc.).[4]

Key has an important role in the selection and combining of other elements, particularly from those of varieties, to achieve self's purpose(s). Hymes (1972b) remarked that features of key may even supersede other aspects of communication, making their meaning superfluous as when an intonation pattern can complement or override meanings conventionally associated with the words used. A good example of this is the purposeful flat intonation pattern of Pakistani English speakers to signal politeness (and their interlocutors' misinterpretation of those patterns, see Gumperz 1982 for details).[5] Sometimes non-linguistic means are used to signal a change in key when the usual linguistic means have failed. When The Speaker of the Australian parliament stands (after fruitlessly calling out *Order!*), it is a signal for all members of the House of Representatives to become silent and for all members to be seated. The broad purpose is the same, but the selection of a different mode (movement rather than sound) signals a change in key.

In some multilingual contexts one set of macro-geopolitical features (e.g., Indian English) is selected in formal contexts, and another (Hindi) is chosen for informal contexts (Si 2011). In other instances, key may be branded. Cameron (2000) reports on how the call operators in British service encounters are given training in intonation, voice quality and the overall organization of their discourse to create a certain type of key which is best seen by management as achieving their goals to be perceived in a particular way. The latter example can be seen as a combination of key and otherness, described in the next section.

The ability to use multiple features and to blend them in interesting and creative ways for different purposes (playfulness) is an important part of key. Key affects how self deploys macro-geopolitical features (the language choice in a job interview) or deploys tone to signal a change in the nature of the interaction (*we are no longer arguing about this, but reconciling*) or a change in interlocutor (*I am now talking to my grandfather*). Susan Gal's (1979) observations of language use in Oberwart, a small town on the Austrian/Hungarian border, provide detailed, powerful illustrations of

how users select and combine formal and informal styles of both German and Hungarian to reflect seriousness, playfulness and many other variations in key.

Key is tied in important ways to personal body and personal histories. Age-appropriate language use from both self and towards self is often reflected in this element. In such contexts, in order to show respect, a certain degree of formality or a particular style is appropriate (e.g., when talking to elders in a community). The key (and the features associated with that key) is an important part of facework. The appropriate type of what Goffman (1967) refers to as 'deference' and 'demeanour' can only be managed effectively through the appropriate use of key.

Otherness

The final element under purposes is otherness. Otherness involves the marking of a display of either a shift of self or a shift in the context of the communicative act. It takes into consideration Li Wei and Wu's (2009: 196) concept of 'creativity' as 'the ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of behaviour, including the use of language … ', which Li Wei (2011a: 1223) elaborates as about 'pushing and breaking the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging'. Our view also draws on Bell's (1984, 1997) 'initiative style', which he refers to as creative ways of speaking 'infusing the flavour of one setting into a different context' (Bell 1999: 524) and in doing so, the discourse is seen as shaping the context rather than responding to it by reaching for features from within and across communities. The features can be from beyond self's own community (see Rampton 1995 on crossing), or they can consist of stereotypical features from within one's own community (see Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1997) and as in the example below.

In the following exchange two teenager speakers of standard Newfoundland English had been asked to record their conversations over several days. At one point in one of the conversations, the two teenagers decide to engage in the purposeful selection of features stereotypical of their own macro-geopolitical variety.

B: [inaudible]
A: like [clears throat] I can't hear ya [loud voice]
B: I said let's talk like newfs so the professors will know what newfs sound like [loud voice]
A: yes boy. I told ya. right on buddy
B: let's go fish down the wharf
     [hysterical laughter]

In this excerpt the teenagers deploy stereotyped lexical items [*boy, buddy, fish, wharf*] and expressions [*yes boy, I told ya, down the* …] together with a broad range of exaggerated phonetic features characteristic of what these teenagers perceive to be the stereotyped Newfoundland dialect. In this excerpt, the key is distinctly different (first marked by Speaker B's suggestion to engage in this othering behaviour in

a voice so quiet that it is not audible on the tape). Although Speaker A clearly understands the intent of the message, the audible clearing of her throat and louder amplitude both serve to signal a shift away from primary voice. The intent behind this display of otherness is to engage additional interlocutors (the professors who will be listening to the tape) in their conversation and, in order to ensure that these professors attend to this shift, the teenagers label the display (what *newfs* sound like; using the label *newf* rather than the more standard form *Newfie*, see King and Clarke 2002). The amplitude decreases once the shift in context has been established: at which point the two speakers each contribute to a number of examples of stereotyped features of Newfoundland English followed by hysterical bouts of laughter which signal the end of their display of otherness. Although some of these feature sets are a regular part of these teenagers' primary voice (see Jaspers 2011b for a discussion of primary voice), their co-occurrence together with a combination of accentuated phonetic features is unusual. Separately the features are present in their primary speech but they are unlikely (if ever) to co-occur in the primary voice of these speakers.

Such uses of otherness, like Rampton's notion of *crossing*, are seen as 'liminal'; marked as 'outside of the normal' and reflect greater risk taking (Rampton 1995: 19–20). In this instance they are punctuated in the discourse by non-linguistic features, such as laughter, throat clearing and variations in amplitude. As such, we see displays of otherness as a form of appropriation, which can be represented through a broad range of communicative features, linguistic and non-linguistic.

In the case of plurilinguals, individuals may insert the flavour of one setting into another through a selecting and combining of features from one variety into another. Bell (1997) gives as an example the case where a bilingual switches language to make a point. In other instances, features within the element of otherness may combine with features within the element of personhood, as when additional language learners with low levels of English proficiency temporarily attempt to speak English on public transport to fit in with 'the other'. Otherness is central to many plurilingual contexts. Interpreters deploy their other voice when they report on what others are saying (rather than what they themselves think or might say). Teachers deploy their other voice when they switch languages between activities (*I'm switching to French because I am starting the class*); and students engage in their other voice (when they are attempting to differentiate their L1 and L2 selves) when they participate in role plays and other language activities.

Otherness takes multiple forms and has multiple functions. The forms may draw on elements from varieties including macro-geopolitical codes (as when self imitates a speaker of language *x* or a speaker of dialect *y*), micro-geopolitical codes (as when self imitates features as belonging to ways of speaking in particular contexts such as 'at school; at university; at work'); personhood (as when self imitates the way a young person or older person talks; or when self imitates features of ethnicity) or temporal space (as when self imitates how others spoke in the 'good old days'). In similar ways, otherness may apply to elements within the dimension of purposes: to macro-texts (*what Johnnie's essays typically look like*); to micro-texts (*how Carmen*

typically starts a conversation); to key (*how Wan sounds so overly formal when she speaks*); and to activity (*how Ahmed answers the phone*). Otherness can also be displayed in elements of mediations (*what Mom and Dad do when they use Facebook*). In such instances, the features sets may be louder than normal, a greater number of features of a particular type may co-occur; or the features themselves may be modified to accentuate particular aspects of them. Deployments of otherness are deeply embedded in school contexts, where features that have been noticed and stored are used to mimic appropriateness and inappropriateness and how one sits with respect to various norms (for examples, see Jaspers 2011a,b). These features sets may be both multiple and overlapping. In school contexts, the appropriation of features often relates to other elements such as personhood (*you sound like a girl*) or temporality (*that sounds like something my grandmother would say*) and may even be used as a form of verbal abuse. In other instances, otherness can involve a sense of two selves being similarly present. For example, second generation Lebanese–Australian males need to make decisions about whether, when and how to use *mate* or *habiib* in English and Arabic conversations (Tabar 2007). In some contexts, all choices might be seen as risk-taking ones as the choice of one label may be perceived as a feature of a specific type of personhood.

The above discussion has introduced the fourth dimension of the communicative repertoire. This dimension motivates an agentive self to achieve different purposes through combinations of different varieties, modes and mediations in a dynamic reading of the interaction, the context and the interlocutors. Communicative acts draw on all resources by combining and weaving them in interesting and creative ways according to both self's intentions and the ways in which those intentions are negotiated. We now consider how our views fit within the wider views of discourse.

Views of discourse in relation to Multiplicity

Because of the emphases that we have, models of discourse both overlap with and complement our ways of thinking. The range of communicative resources we engage with differs from those of others who describe communication within the constraints of a single language or code or within a single mode (see Chapter 2). Our view is also different in its focus on self rather than society (see Chapter 3). Although context will affect the resources that are drawn on and how they are combined, we focus on the choices available to self and the selections that self makes and thus on self's Multiplicity within his or her repertoire and his or her purposes reflected in this Multiplicity. This is important in Language Education as self needs to be aware of his or her choices and take control of them whether they are small static contributions that self writes on a discussion board via digital technology or larger and more dynamic interactions. As noted in Weiss and Wodak (2003: 13), discourse covers a number of meanings derived from smaller, static units to more abstract, complex and dynamic entities and we see learners as needing to have access to all of these resources. Below we consider the ways that researchers have approached discourse and how these ways of thinking relate to our framework.

An early attempt to theorize purpose came from Searle. Searle (1989) was interested in categorizing verbs into different functions, the most well-known being the performative where the act of speaking conveys the act of doing, e.g., *I promise*. For Searle, these different bits of language served different purposes and were considered to be part of discourse. Although our framework is very different, the central nature of purpose is a key ingredient in both his and our perspectives.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) work centred on the notion of politeness as a universal with three variables of importance: social distance (D), the relative ranking of the participants (R) and the relative power that each of the participants holds (P). In other words, they provided an early attempt to frame relationships between self and other and provided a framework for understanding these relationships.[6] For Brown and Levinson, all discourse is adapted to meet social needs and this construct is an important contributor to our model. In discussing politeness, Brown and Levinson opened up discourse to include different levels of formality, which is important for understanding the element of key and types of interlocutors, a vital thread in understanding purposes. Their theoretical framework was also important for Language Education as it developed concurrently with communicative language teaching and it contributed to a focus on politeness and pragmatics in language teaching. Yet, Brown and Levinson, like Searle, restricted their analysis to examples judged according to written norms and therefore restricted it to only one element of mode. They also restricted their view of discourse to three key variables rather than exploring the full range of the communicative repertoire.

Discourse was constructed as a marginally larger entity in Grice's (1975) work, which used examples of two-part adjacency pairs to create an argument that the language of natural logic and natural language are similar. Grice's views opened up new ways of thinking about why selves do what they do and the choices that they make on the basis of principles such as 'make your contribution only such as is required'. His examples were slightly more informal, but again they were only marginally contextualized and based around standard written norms of the spoken mode.

The dynamic and layered nature of talk was highlighted in the work of conversational analysis. Conversational analysis (CA), in the 1970s, embraced another mode of discourse, spoken talk-in-interaction. Because of its focus on informal language, CA broke free from prescriptive standard written forms of a particular language (most frequently English) and provided a benchmark for the analysis of the multiple and overlapping layers within spoken texts (Sacks et al. 1974). Conversational analysis is responsible for two important shifts in the 'discourse' of discourse: first, the view that every element in discourse is worthy of investigation, including silence, laughter, hesitation markers and second, the view that elements within talk (such as adjacency pairs and turn-taking and the many and diverse functions implied and impeded therein) are structured and rule-governed and worthy of study for their contribution to communication in their own right. Under CA, there is a greater emphasis on contextualized discourse and a view that codes are not separate from their users, a key notion embedded within our view of communication. CA takes a view of discourse as involving social interactions and social actors and the structures that lie within

(see Liddicoat 2007). Within CA, participants not only produce orderly discourse but adapt to it. For example, pauses may serve as a signal to the interlocutor that self is facing a dilemma as a result of conflicting rules of language behaviour, which his or her interlocutor might take up in the form of a question. Yet, CA as a view of discourse is constrained like others before it. Given CA's focus on talk-in-interaction, it has not, until recently, considered written discourses or spoken texts that are more monologic in form. We look forward to further contributions in this field.

Other views of discourse (see Halliday 2004; Martin and Rose 2002) focus on texts as macro-structures that are designed around purposes (to argue, to narrate, to illustrate, etc). We align with an understanding of the significance of such units, but see some of the relationships between them and purpose differently. Work within the systemic-functional framework, reflected in Halliday's perspectives, reverses the relationship that we see between discourse and text. In Halliday's frames, socially controlled purposes shape (and are shaped by) macro-structures, which results in discourse(s) (Christie 1999). In our view, macro-structures are seen as important because the feature sets within the communicative repertoire shape self's discourse. Yet self selects and combines features (with various degrees of prominence) for his or her purposes and is therefore only partially constrained by the available feature sets. Self is also free to redeploy prior selections. This will depend on how the initial deployments have been perceived by others and thus decisions are shaped by the social worlds (how self [and others] construe[s] the norms embedded within the varieties and how they relate to their intent) (see Johnstone 2002 for an overview of the different positions available).

Other views of discourse restrict their starting point to one type of macro-text: the narrative. Narratives engage with linguistic and non-linguistic acts in multimodal ways. Narratives freely allow their producers to engage with multiple modes: sound but also image, spatial orientation and movement, both when one self is narrating and when the narrative is constructed interactively by more than one participant. Narratives, as a type of discourse not only include linguistic structure but they also include, as Toolan (2001) acknowledges, the addressee. These and other macro-texts are purposeful, as their very essence requires them to have a purpose (e.g., for narratives to be deemed reportable, Labov and Waletzky 1997). Even though macro-texts such as narrative are possibly widely enough distributed to be regarded as universal, the realization of any macro-text requires deployment of features from the macro-geopolitical element of varieties in order to conform with the relevant norms. These inter-relationships are, we believe, an important part of all text types and contribute to their flexibility.

Other views of discourse take as their point of departure social behaviour. An early scholar of particular importance is Erving Goffman, a sociologist, whose work from 1950 to 1981 considered facework, ritual and performance. Our alignment with this way of thinking is in the bringing of personal perspectives to the interaction and reading not only 'meaning', but also the stance of the interaction. We take from this the view that communicative acts are constructed and re-constructed in multiple ways both within and between interactions. Goffman was interested in the ways

individuals and societies interact, both verbally and non-verbally. His focus was on the discourse of 'talk' and the reasons why individuals express their talk in particular ways. For Goffman, every individual has his/her own 'line' (Goffman 1967: 5) through which they express their view of the situation and evaluate the lines of others. Lines help individuals to construct their own 'face', which Goffman claims is their self-image; an image constructed from social attributes 'on loan' from society. This perspective has been particularly significant in shaping our understanding of the operation of the dimension of purposes. While engaging in different forms of talk, self continually encounters threats to face. Individuals, because of the uncertainties of interaction and our fundamental inability to be in the mind/place of the interlocutor, are constantly engaged in facework. This assumes attempts by all individuals to adopt defensive orientations to saving one's own face and adapting protective orientations to save the face of others (Goffman 1967: 12). This can involve restricting talk to topics one knows about, to apologizing when making mistakes, and both asking and answering questions (Goffman 1981: 5), all communicative acts which have a very specific purpose. Goffman's work provides a theoretical starting point for under-standing self and others within a societal context. It is also a theoretical framework that has more recently been applied to the study of teacher–student interactions, and is of relevance to Language Education when considering how teachers engage with students in classroom contexts where face is of vital importance.

The emphasis on the social is extended in critical discourse analysis (CDA). This perspective has brought into play the social layering of uses of language and led lin-guists to question not only the functions of codes, but also their forms. We align with this in recognizing that discourse is not always 'co-operative' and in understanding that there can be conflicting purposes – not only for interpersonal communication but also in relations between the individual and wider social context(s). This per-spective allows researchers in Language Education and Applied Linguistics to question existing literacies and language use and provides a way into understanding Multi-plicity in the classroom: for example, why L1 use exists despite attempts to ban it from ESL/EFL classrooms. Critical discourse analysis developed in the early 1990s as a framework to describe language as a social practice where both talk and text are seen as a combination of text and discursive and social practices. Fairclough (1995) used Halliday's (1973) functionalist framework to argue that texts have three func-tions: an ideational role, referring to the experiences of the speakers, an interpersonal role, referring to the interaction between the speaker and the addressee, and a textual role, as signalled by the linguistic cues which help to create a cohesive and coherent flow of ideas. Seen through this lens, texts are permeated by values and belief systems and analysed to understand dimensions of power and inequality. The aim of CDA was to uncover the power structure and ideologies embedded in and through lan-guage (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 8). To uncouple discourse, CDA would argue that we need to see context (other spaces) as not simply a backdrop to text but as embedded within it (Keenoy and Oswick 2003: 139–40). Through CDA we can see the ways in which inequality is 'enacted, reproduced and resisted' in both text and talk (van Dijk 2008). Critical discourse analysis also goes one step further. As a form

of dissident research, it provides a means for understanding, exposing and potentially ultimately resisting social inequality. In CDA, discourse is broadened to not only include the text, but also the critical analysis of the assumptions implicit and explicit in the texts and the ideology behind them.

The view that CDA reinforces is of the multiple elements of and influences on any particular moment of communicative behaviour. Consequently, texts, in CDA, can be seen as having embedded within them, the author's positions, views, history and expectations. It is this perspective on the ultimate positioning (or ambiguities in such positioning) that is the focus of CDA. We share this assumption. However, what we attempt to do is provide a principled comprehensive framework for understanding the resources (and combinations of resources) that selves use in their multi-layered communicative acts. In this volume we frame discourse from the viewpoint of self and how he or she wishes to frame him/herself at a particular point for a particular purpose, while acknowledging as discussed previously that this is but one side of the picture. We see discourse as a set of resources for self to construct purposeful communicative acts through Multiplicity (the interconnections and combination deployed by self) as part of self's engagement in a communicative relationship. To create such acts, self must create effective connections between the features, elements and dimensions of the communicative repertoire. The Multiplicity (the selecting and combining of the features within the dimensions) reflects self's intended purpose (the meaning that we have chosen to associate with the term discourse). Our focus is on how self can deploy features from his or her communicative repertoire to convey different purposes, which include attempts to be powerful, attempts to maintain face, and attempts to keep the status quo as well as attempts to use or abandon combinations stored within self's Multiplicity. In this perspective, there is a need to engage within the space of the communicative repertoire rather than analyse it from the outside. We attempt to show how self connects elements for different purposes in enacting different selves. Notions of power relate to the negotiation of societal norms that surround self and so require an elaboration of the nature of relationships between self and interlocutors that acknowledges how each is shaped by their prior experiences and cultural contexts. Our focus is on the self – at the moment as one player in a communicative relationship and how that player engages with societal norms and negotiates amongst them. We are seeking to identify the resources available to such a player and how they can be creatively and purposefully combined, deployed and potentially re-enacted. For us, discourse draws on the varied features that different models of discourse have focused on and is the purposeful deployment of that range of linguistic and non-linguistic resources in different modes of communication. Discourse is mediated by self and through others, and is both interactional and monologic in nature. It may be made manifest in more or less structured texts. Each is affected by norms which resource the varieties described in Chapter 3. All forms, to be fully communicative, need to convey purpose. The different dimensions and elements that we have described in this and the previous two chapters add together to offer a framework on Multiplicity that is presented in Figure 4.2.
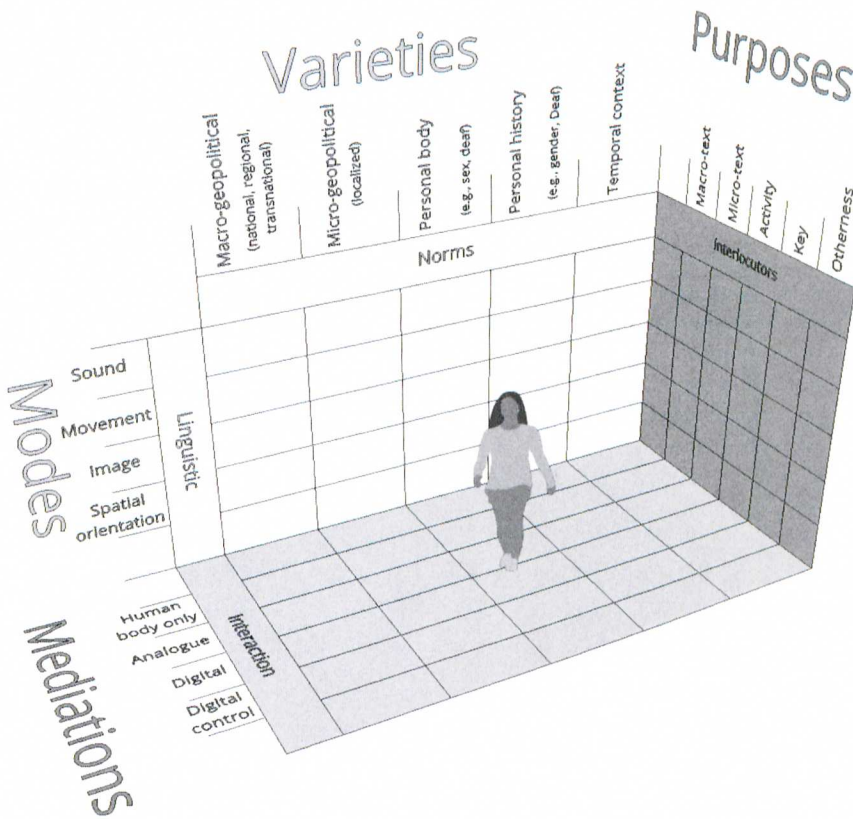
FIGURE 4.2 Dimensions, elements and threads of communicative repertoire.

Conclusion to Part I

The complexities of the interactions between the various elements and dimensions mean that most research into Applied Linguistics or Language Education begins with partial perspectives. In Part B we explore three central areas linked to supporting the positive development of plurilingualism: research into additional language acquisition, additional language literacies and work on plurilingualism. We will show how those fields have developed and the issues that they have covered. Having presented the work in those fields, each from within its internal perspective, we use the framework of Multiplicity to explore how they relate to and sometimes appear to overlap with one another, but also how their construction as separate fields has led to the creation of boundaries between the fields, which we see as hindering forward momentum, within each field and across boundaries.

Notes

1 We have therefore not explored the interactive construction of meaning and interpretation. See Jopling (2000) for a discussion of some of these and other complexities of self.

2 We have placed speech situation features within the micro-geopolitical element of the varieties dimension.

3 For an overview of these and other ways the label style has been used in the literature, see Biber and Conrad (2009).

4 Hymes (1989) defined 'means of speech' as including both features of styles and the styles themselves. In our model the two are separate. The features are deployed from the dimension of modes, the styles from the element of key within the dimension of purposes.

5 An illustration of a Pakistani interaction and the associated intonation pattern is presented in Gumperz's (1979) video, *Cross-Talk* that was produced as a documentary by the BBC.

6 The importance of relationships has been explored elsewhere. Spencer-Oatey's (2000) conceptualization has made the notion of rapport central to her thinking.

PART II
Understanding Applied Linguistics

5

ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

This chapter explores issues in the acquisition of additional languages. We understand acquisition to be the processes that self goes through in seeking to expand, understand and control Multiplicity. From the perspectives of both researchers and teachers, the process of acquiring an additional language is intriguing, yet complex and riddled with competing labels and concepts. Understanding what lies beneath the surface has significant practical implications, offering insights into how human beings 'make' a new language, what knowledge they take from other places and experiences, how they relate to the world(s) around them and how emotional experiences connect with the workings of the brain. Understanding what lies beneath the surface also shows what learners bring with them to engage with teachers and teaching. Researchers in both Applied Linguistics and Language Education share interests with teachers in wanting to understand the effects of teaching on both the overall acquisition process and on specific points within the process such as the different kinds of interaction (including feedback) between teachers and learners.

Because of these multiple (and overlapping) interests, key concepts have been interpreted in quite different ways in the literature. Seemingly simple concepts can be quite complex. For example, when is an 'emotion' a 'cognitive' phenomenon that is experienced in the brain and when is it a 'social' process experienced in what learners do and engage with? What are the consequences of these two positions? If emotions are 'simply' chemical reactions in the brain, does this mean that teachers can afford to overlook them? If emotions are social experiences, in what ways do they connect with the quality or effectiveness of the learning experience? Is it possible for aspects important in one perspective to be related to aspects important in the other perspective? This becomes even more important when we consider terms that are used in the literature without explicit discussion of their meaning, such as 'second' in second language acquisition. When does it matter whether the language that is being looked at is the learner's first experience working with a new language rather than

engagement with a subsequent additional language? By extension, is success in acquiring one additional language of any relevance in acquiring another? How do we know any of this when language acquisition takes place in contexts in which there is no 'instruction' involved? Indeed, what do we mean by 'instruction' in the context of 'additional' as opposed to 'first' language acquisition?

As the previous paragraphs suggest, 'additional language acquisition' is a highly contested area. As a consequence, different writers refer to different things when using the same term. Being clear about what labels are used and what meaning they have is an important part of clarifying a theoretical position. To illustrate this, we point out some of the tensions that have been associated with each of the words in the 'label' for this field.

Without wishing to add to terminological debates, we use the term 'additional' rather than 'second' to acknowledge the diversity of places in language learning sequences that can be occupied by studies in 'SLA'. In using this term, we are trying to acknowledge in a more inclusive way the many different language acquisition histories of the learners we are studying. We are not proposing a sharp theoretical distinction between 'second' and 'additional' languages. Rather, we are acknowledging that some 'additional' languages may well be second, third or fourth languages and that in that acquisition history, some of the languages may not have had or been acquired in both spoken and written forms. We are also seeking to avoid an ambiguity in 'second' where it appears to ignore context by not, for example, acknowledging potential differences between 'second' and 'foreign' languages or between instructed and non-instructed contexts (see Csizér and Dörnyei 2005).

'Language' has not been systematically challenged as a term to the same extent as 'second', yet it is not uncontroversial. The use of the term 'language' differentiates the field of study from the acquisition of a second 'dialect'. This issue has embedded within it the question we pointed to in Chapter 1 of whether the two are in fact sufficiently different to need to distinguish between them (see Siegel 2010). There are also issues connected with notions of power. This is also evident in acquisition research where some have argued that the learner's language (interlanguage) does not possess appropriate features that enable it to be characterized as a 'language' (Eckman 1981; Liceras 1996).[1] Positions in relation to what interlanguage means matter enormously for some theoretical stances, but not necessarily for others (Meisel 1997). Other issues relate to views of the nature of language itself. A key issue has been how social context is acknowledged in definitions of language. The question of context has gone hand-in-hand with the particular model of language that is in focus. An exclusively abstract mental model of language abstracts away from the role of the context in which the learner is acquiring and using or reduces that role to a secondary position (Thomas 2004). In contrast, a sociolinguistic model of language identifies context as a crucial element of both what language is and how it is used (Tarone 2007). The view of language that has tended to characterize this field has been associated with the sound rather than the image element of mode (see Ortega 2012). While there have been studies of writing, often their primary purpose has been to gather data about acquisition from written tasks. We address this relationship in

Chapter 6 to open up perspectives on the acquisition of a more comprehensive range of elements of Multiplicity.

Turning to the last of the three words, 'acquisition' has been challenged for the implication that it ignores what goes on in classrooms (i.e., that it is different from ideas such as 'learning'), for the implication that it only occurs within the person doing the acquiring (and therefore ignores other mediating people or tools) and for the implication that it focuses only on what happens when learners are immersed in an environment that makes the use of the additional language essential. Our use of the term 'acquisition' does not imply any position in relation to the debates about 'acquisition' that were inspired by Krashen's (1976) distinction between learning (in taught environments) and acquisition (in environments without a formal educational purpose). We use the word 'acquisition' as the unmarked term because our own position is that there are crucial shared characteristics between the processes that occur in contexts labelled 'acquisition' contexts and in those labelled 'learning' contexts, but also for similar reasons of convenience: acquisition is now generally taken as a term with relevance for both taught and other environments.

Each of the above labels have embedded within them particular positions. For those engaged in Language Education, additional language acquisition is a crucial field of study, but given the complexities of the area, many of the concepts need to be thought about carefully so that language educators can form their own views of how they want to position themselves. In this chapter we outline both the different theoretical positions within the broad field of additional language acquisition and the relationships between them so that we can position the field with respect to both Language Education and our own particular view. We show where language educators need to make choices about their position and where choices in relation to one issue shape or limit the choices that can be made in relation to other issues.

Since terms are contested, few terms are neutral. We therefore have to be explicit about our own use of terms. As we noted in Chapter 1, we use the word 'learner' for the person who is going through the process of acquisition. We use this term simply because it is grammatically simpler than some of the options such as 'the person/self who is going through the process of language development', less ambiguous than other options such as 'the acquirer' (buying the additional language?) and because it is convenient – the term is one that most people can intuitively understand at some level.[2]

Important tensions

In presenting the various theoretical perspectives on additional language acquisition, the literature, with its focus on 'the how' rather than 'the what' has been concerned with three areas:

Language acquisition processes
Language(s) and cognition
Language(s) and social world(s)

Broadly, the different perspectives on the language acquisition processes can be captured by understanding their relationships to cognitive and social influences (Batstone 2010; Seedhouse et al. 2010; Atkinson 2011; Swain et al. 2011). If we focus on the broad categories of 'cognitive' and 'social', four possible perspectives emerge. One possibility, diagrammed in Figure 5.1 is that the relationship between social and cognitive influences is oppositional – explanations have to be either social or cognitive (e.g., Preston 1989; Long and Doughty 2003).

A second possibility (Figure 5.2) views the two areas as both contributing, but contributing in different ways to different parts of the overall process (e.g., Meisel et al. 1981; Lantolf 2006).

The third perspective diagrammed in Figure 5.3 is that the social and cognitive worlds are sometimes distinct and sometimes overlapping (e.g., Larsen–Freeman 2007).

The fourth possibility (Figure 5.4) is that rather than 'social' or 'cognitive' influences, a third factor, which we label the 'X factor' also contributes to what is occurring and how it occurs.

As part of our discussions in this chapter we will explore each of these relationships and ask whether there is a need for an 'X factor' or whether understanding the world of additional language acquisition as shaped by cognitive and social influences is sufficient.

An important element in these discussions is an understanding of how various researchers' positions have been interpreted by the field. Some writers have been positioned quite differently by others from the way that they would describe themselves. For example, Meisel et al. (1981) are often positioned as examples of
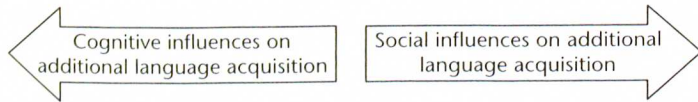
FIGURE 5.1 One perspective on additional language acquisition.
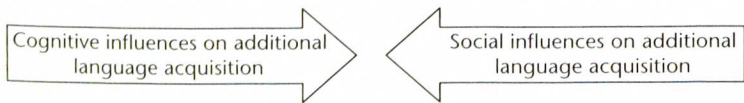
FIGURE 5.2 A second perspective on additional language acquisition.
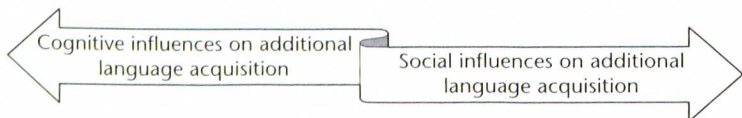
FIGURE 5.3 A third perspective on additional language acquisition.
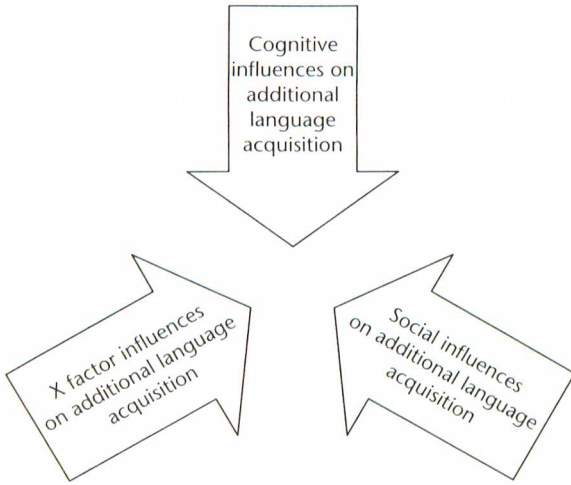
FIGURE 5.4 A fourth perspective on additional language acquisition.

a psycholinguistic (cognitive) approach (see Ellis 1994; Towell and Hawkins 1994), quite overlooking that their original model argued for both cognitive and social influences. Alternatively, Lantolf's (2000, 2006) work on activity and socio-cultural theory is positioned as part of the 'social' turn (Block 2003) in research into additional language acquisition without acknowledging that central to this position is an understanding of both 'mediation' and 'internalization' (Lantolf 2006: 68), the latter of which is clearly 'cognitive' and the former of which can be both 'cognitive' and 'social'. To better understand these positionings, we need to consider the historical context that led to it. In the following section we provide a brief overview of some major aspects of the history of the field that includes stories of how the major contributors to the field relate to one another and to competing, conflicting and complementary views of language acquisition. We connect their stories to the major tensions in the field and the socio-historical contexts that shaped them.

Historical context

The late 1960s and early 1970s was a time of massive social unrest, enormous concern with inequitable social structures, in the United States argument surrounding the legal mandating of bilingual education and on the other side of the Atlantic, issues surrounding the inclusion of England into the European Economic Community. It was also the time of the Peace Corps, emerging widespread travel by young people and the more widespread discovery by the 'west' of the 'east'. Formal studies of how additional languages were acquired began in this contested and dynamic context. Important insights were being gained into the uneven distribution of economic and cultural power as well as into the nature of learning and mental functioning. These insights helped both frame and divide the field of additional language acquisition.

Changes in theories of language

Three language-related revolutions occurred in this period, all influenced, in full or in part, by the work of Noam Chomsky or alternatives to it. The first revolution took place in theoretical linguistics. Chomsky's perspectives on the systematic construction of language created the need for more theoretically based descriptions of grammar, and the field exploded into a fury of development in competing theories of language as discrete systems (Huck and Goldsmith 1996; Newmeyer 1996).[3] Chomsky's theoretical position on the need for grammatical models in language acquisition was instrumental in positing the need for descriptions of grammatical models for additional language acquisition. This created a culture of theory-building and testing, resulting in the elaboration of numerous theories, some of which are used today in theoretical accounts of additional language acquisition.

Changes in theories of cognition

The second revolution was ushered in through competing perspectives on cognition: those arguing for the influence of experiences and skill on task performance (often represented by Skinner's [1957] approach to behaviourism) and those who argued for the new perspective of the language learner as a creator of knowledge or mental representations of the world (often represented by Chomsky's [1959] review and critique of Skinner's [1957] book entitled *Verbal Behavior*).

Chomsky's revolution in the area of cognition introduced the notion of language as a mental system. This revolution commenced in the United States, where Noam Chomsky's work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology significantly weakened behaviourism (crudely translated as 'rote learning') as a model of the learning process and created a focus on the systematic mental construction of language. From within the mental constructivist model, a debate arose about whether that mental system was innate and language-specific (an innatist perspective) or whether it could be created by use of general information processing strategies (an interactionist perspective, as Corder [1975] among others named it).[4] Central to this latter debate was the distinction between Chomsky's and Roger Brown's views on language and first language acquisition. In relation to language acquisition, Chomsky's innatist position requires researchers to focus on how language is represented in the mind/brain and to claim that core elements of linguistic knowledge must be part of the human genetic code. Consequently, Chomsky's questions include 'what are the core elements of language and how do learners access them?'

Brown's position is that important parts of first language acquisition are some form of analysis of what happens in regular interaction. For Brown, the question is 'how do learners obtain and systematize linguistic knowledge from the world around them?' At Harvard University Brown's (1973b) research concentrated on studies of three young children acquiring English as their first language. Brown acknowledged and enthusiastically accepted the notion of language and language learning as mental and as constructed by the child. However, he made a clear distinction between his

work and Chomsky's claims (Brown 1973b: 19). He explicitly rejected the assumptions about the language-specific and innate 'Language Acquisition Device' that Chomsky had proposed (ibid.: 236).

Brown's contribution thus made explicit the distinction between two positions: the idea of a mental approach to language on the one hand and the issue of any possible innate and language-specific (hence universal) grammar on the other. Brown (1973b) and his Harvard colleague, Courtney Cazden (1968), contributed crucial criteria for first language acquisition.[5] They focused attention on the mental 'creative construction' process while also exploring whether mental processes were influenced by features of the environment such as frequency of input, interlocutor reinforcement and adult re-modelling of grammatical structures that children had produced. Understanding interaction with the environment requires a rich view of context. Lois Bloom, whose Ph.D. was supervised by William Labov, introduced the idea of a relationship between rich context and the child's language building. Later, Bloom et al. (1974) explored ways in which these relationships operated, for example, the role of imitation. Their approach considered how cognition combines with social factors such as interaction to shape language acquisition.

Brown's interactionist position suggests that language is not substantially different from many other kinds of information processed by the brain, a position also advocated by Slobin (1973, 1993). From Brown's perspective, the interactions that the learner engages in are essential companions to cognitive processes.

Failure to distinguish between Brown's and Chomsky's positions has created blind spots in subsequent discussions of cognitive perspectives (Firth and Wagner 1997, 1998, 2007 and related articles). In these discussions, potential relationships between cognitive and social influences on additional language acquisition were not considered because 'cognition' was equated with an innatist perspective and often, a rejection of that position was simultaneously interpreted as a rejection of a cognitive one. The issue was one of insufficient clarity in labelling. 'Cognitive' was, and is, not a sufficiently differentiated label.

Changes in views of the relationship between language and social context

A third simultaneous revolution set about to reinforce an understanding of relations between language and social context absent in Chomsky's views of language. This revolution emerged differently in the United Kingdom and in the United States. In the United States it emerged with the arguments of Hymes (1971a) about the need to acknowledge the role of context and the role of language use, and the early work of both Labov (1964, 1966, 1969) and Hymes (1971a) on dimensions of competence other than grammatical (see Chapter 8). This thinking led to the development of the notion of communicative competence and the notion of a verbal repertoire. This opened up a range of new research endeavours within the field of additional language acquisition. These include applications of Labov's early work on variable rules, which argued for the need to provide a theoretical account of variation within

and across communities, and applications of Hymes' key concepts to areas in additional language acquisition, such as language competencies, language identities and the role of context. This focus on language as a social phenomenon had strong connections in the United States with the study of multilingualism through the work of Haugen (1953) and Weinreich (1953) (see Koerner 1991) and with Anthropology and Sociology (see Hannerz 1973; Palmer 1974; Fishman et al. 1977). In the United Kingdom, the connections with Language Education and with issues of literacy and social stratification were stronger and were particularly articulated in the work of Halliday (1971, 1978a).

The emergence of theoretical perspectives within additional language acquisition research

Up to this point, the discussion on revolutions has focused on linguistic, cognitive and social aspects of first languages and first language acquisition. Additional language acquisition as a field is conventionally recognized as having arisen in the late 1960s and early 1970s when relationships to new ways of theorizing marked another kind of revolution and the beginning of the recognition of a distinct field. Nevertheless, many of these ideas can be found in earlier works. Thus, an early study by Tomb (1925) noted that children could easily learn a new language while adults experienced great difficulties with the same task, but a theorized formulation of this had to await Lenneberg's (1964) proposal for a neurologically based, critical period hypothesis related to language. Similarly, where an early work by Stengel (1939) used Freudian psychoanalytic theory to introduce ideas related to the culture shock associated with living in a new language environment, integration of this idea into a recognizable field of enquiry had to wait until Schumann (1975) for a more explicit theorization. In parallel relationships in the area of teaching, Gatenby's (1948a,b) call for approaches to second language teaching that would embed principles of second language acquisition was left unattended for 20 years until numerous researchers started to look at the process of additional language acquisition in new ways.

The theorizing began with the work of a number of researchers, such as Corder (1967), Clyne (1968), Ravem (1968), Cook (1969), Nemser (1971), Richards (1971), Selinker (1972) and Adjemian (1976). All developed perspectives on additional language acquisition that took account of changes in understandings of language, cognition and social context. These differing perspectives created space to connect language acquisition with the two broad theoretical revolutions, one in the area of cognition and the other in the area of language and social context. As one example, comparing children's acquisition of French as a first and second language. Lightbown's work showed that the order of acquisition of form–meaning relationships observed in first language acquisition did not occur in additional language acquisition since the cognitive-developmental constraints that limited the meanings that could be made by children acquiring their first language did not apply to the children acquiring their second language.

Two research studies that occurred in different parts of the globe brought an explicitly cognitive view into additional language acquisition research. In the first study, in Britain, at both the University of Edinburgh and the University of Essex Ravem (1968) offered additional evidence of mental creation in operation. Ravem's case study research documented the similarities between first and second language acquisition and the lack of first language influence in the developmental sequence. In the United States, Dulay and Burt's (1972, 1973, 1974a,b,c) research connected Brown's ideas about first language acquisition with quantitative empirical data about additional language acquisition. Dulay, who had studied in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University and Burt whose studies had been in the Linguistics Department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, adopted Brown's (1973a: 98) view of 'creative construction' (in which Brown separated the issue of creation from innateness), but unlike Brown, Burt and Dulay retained references to innate structures and capacities (Dulay and Burt 1977). Their writings offered substantive evidence for the creation of the interlanguage system through the mental construction of the learner; and strong evidence that this mental construction was not based on the transfer of first language patterns. Their findings shifted the focus of the field of additional language acquisition in the United States from approaches based on behaviourist habit formation to an approach based on the (mental) creative construction processes of the learner.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, social views of language acquisition did not influence additional language acquisition research on the North American continent and in Europe in the same way.

In North America, Cazden et al. (1975) attempted to integrate sociolinguistic and cognitive perspectives by exploring both developmental sequences using a combination of frameworks derived from Brown's first language acquisition studies and detailed documentation of the life histories of their six learners: two children; two adolescents and two adults. Researchers such as Richards (1972: 164) explicitly argued for the need to develop a sociolinguistic dimension of the account of SLA:

> ... the acquisition of a new language by an immigrant group is always a developmental creative process. In the case of a non-standard immigrant interlanguage we have to account for the generation of a subsystem of rules which are at the same time linguistic and social in origin.

In West Germany, the Australian sociolinguist and bilingualism researcher, Michael Clyne (Clyne 1968) was the first to explicitly frame substantial amounts of additional language acquisition data in sociolinguistic terms. His research with migrant workers in Germany argued for a relationship between additional language acquisition and pidginization, as well as pointing to how social context could be invoked as an explanation for both processes. This perspective went on to significantly shape the nature of German additional language acquisition research and to open up debates about the relationship between social and cognitive influences. In order for this

relationship to be explored, it is first necessary to explore alternative theoretical positions in both the cognitive and the social domains.

Theories on offer

Options within a cognitive perspective

In current debates about cognitive perspectives on additional language acquisition, the lines of enquiry in different places that follow a rough sequence have largely disappeared. The separate lines of thinking have come to overlap in important ways so that similar themes are increasingly addressed from within different frameworks. Cognitive perspectives are varied and between them there is vigorous debate. Brown's wider interactionist position on cognition continues to shape substantial bodies of research and theorizing through acknowledgement of environmental, cultural and interactional influences. Ellis and Robinson (2008: 3) have argued

> Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is about language, communication, and cognition. They are mutually inextricable. … Cognition, consciousness, experience, embodiment, brain, self, and human interaction, society, culture, and history are all inextricably intertwined in rich, complex, and dynamic ways in language.

One way to capture the different positions is to diagram the prominent perspectives in the field (see Figure 5.5). Although the different positions engage with one another on a number of shared themes, they differ in others. One difference is the degree to which they engage with the concepts of interactionism and innatism described in the previous section.

The interactionist perspective in 'Sociocultural Theory' (SCT) gives the environment and interaction central roles in additional language learning. It has been
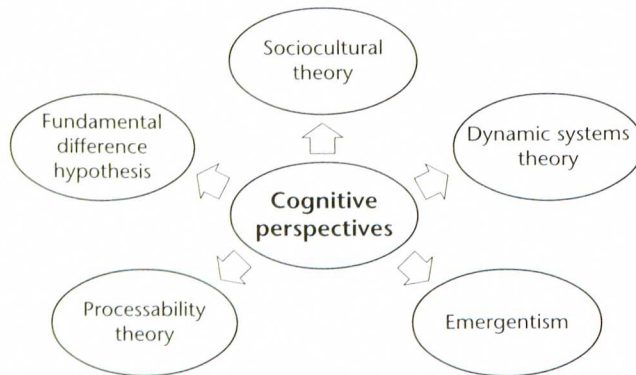
FIGURE 5.5 Cognitive perspectives on additional language acquisition.

elaborated by Lantolf (2007: 31), who presents one of the key arguments of the position as:

> … specifically human mental activity arises as a result of the internalization of social relationships, culturally organized activity and symbolic and physical artifacts, in particular language

and then goes on to elaborate consequences for praxis (Lantolf and Poehner 2011: 12) as being [6]

> … concerned with much more than a description of human psychology because the kind of understanding [Vygotsky] sought was one that illuminated the processes of the mind's development, specifically the social and cultural means though which individuals come to master thought. [7]

Frameworks such as this offer a perspective on the learner and encourage teachers to reflect on the resources that learners bring to the acquisition task. These frameworks encourage a view of the learner as a whole person and consider learner–teacher interaction as central. They also offer a broad view of language, encompassing areas such as gesture, metaphor and narrative that we adopt in this work, and an even wider view of the potential language activities of the learner. Although this framework is appealing to teachers of advanced learners, who are seen as needing 'more' than vocabulary and grammar, it would be a dangerous over-simplification to assume that this means that beginning learners engage only in the learning and use of grammar and vocabulary. We point to some of the ways that this can be explored in Chapter 8. A further appeal of this theoretical position is the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZDP) with its focus on the way in which learners are enabled to do more through sustained interaction with skilled and knowledgeable others. The concept of the ZDP encourages language educators to explore 'non-linear' views of language acquisition. Within this framework, it is possible for acquisition to move in many (any?) directions. This framework contradicts older views that additional language learning is necessarily sequenced in a single and comprehensive linear order, a potential interpretation of other cognitive perspectives. One of the issues that this position has to address is whether everything is equally learnable from the beginning and how to explain observed similarities between learners despite quite disparate learning experiences.

A second 'interactionist' position is offered by de Bot, Lowie and Verspoor (2007a, b) in their 'Dynamic Systems Theory' (DST) approach. De Bot et al. (2007a, b) describe the fundamental characteristic of this approach as follows:

> Dynamic systems are characterized by what is called COMPLETE INTERCONNECTEDNESS: all variables are interrelated, and therefore changes in one variable will have an impact on all other variables that are part of the system.

In commenting on the relationship between their position and the sociocultural theory approach of Lantolf, de Bot et al. note (2007b: 51):

> In a DST perspective, the cognitive system interacts with the environment (social and cultural) and development results from an interaction of characteristics of the cognitive system as represented in the head and the environment. Lantolf's formulation … seems to make the environment the sole source of development. In a dynamic system the reorganization in internal knowledge is also seen as contributing to development.

As this comment suggests, Dynamic Systems Theory makes explicit the competition between (or complementarity of) different dimensions of the learner's world. While everything connects, the nature of the interconnection is not explicit and an explicit role is assigned to an 'internal' cognitive system that may well function according to principles that do not directly reflect the modelling of the 'outside' world. These interconnecting links are crucial to language educators, however, since the focus of DST is still at the theory-development stage, there is yet little practical engagement with its consequences for Language Education. Our framework takes as its premise a view of interconnectivity, and presents a way of showing how this can be structured.

In frameworks such as 'Emergentism', Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2006: 581) have argued:

> … genes and environment are locked in a complex chain of steps overtime and … cannot be conceived of as variables that make mutually independent contributions to development.

Emergentism has links with interactionist cognitive accounts that have been labelled 'connectionist'. Connectionist models assume that language is not processed in only one area of the human brain. The models of neural networks used in connectionist studies presume that different parts of the brain's capacity are utilized simultaneously as learners analyze and represent the additional language. Connectionist models also, therefore, connect with approaches such as exemplar theory in Sociolinguistics. These views provide ways of exploring how different aspects of a situation (e.g., who said something as well as what was said) are linked in memory. The same framework builds in elements of skill-building theory and hence includes the ideas of practice and frequency that could well be linked to the development of automaticity. Connectionist frameworks also create space for ideas that derive from the relationships between declarative and procedural knowledge to help explain how learners progress from a more halting command of a language feature toward more fluent use and also to help understand how learners might convert teachers' explanations into actions – some of which points are also included in Dynamic Systems Theory. While we do not delve into memory in our framework, one of the key areas of potential of the model for language educators is as a way of increasing meta awareness for both learners and teachers.

Emergentism shares some of Sociocultural Theory's perspectives on the multiplicity of contextualized influences on learning. It also shares views on the non-linearity of acquisition. Its underlying perspectives (see the references to chaos/complexity theory in Larsen-Freeman 1997) suggest tensions between these influences whereas Sociocultural Theory tends to emphasize the ways in which multiple influences work together. Both Emergentism and Sociocultural Theory have provided evidence of acquisition pathways that are not straight, but Emergentism is more inclined to suggest that responses to learners can only pick up part of what learners are working on (at any particular point). Emergentism's references to frequency and use allow scope for the exploration of practice and similarly for consideration of collocations and learned chunks, which may also be part of the development of fluency. While the name of the theory highlights the beginnings of processes, attention to practice and development over time create space for understanding processes of stabilization and possible mastery of the additional language. Our framework provides for a way of understanding which features are selected and combined, and why they are reused as learned chunks within the space of Multiplicity.

Another cognitive approach, but one that that pays much less overt attention to the social domain is Pienemann's (1998, 2005) Processability Theory (PT). This approach attempts to elaborate 'a universal hierarchy of processing resources which can be related to the requirements of specific procedural skills needed for the T[arget] L[anguage]' (Pienemann 2005: 3). The processing resources constrain the options that learners have to 'avoid structures that have not yet been acquired' (ibid.: 48) as they seek ways to 'develop a range of solutions to developmental problems.' (ibid.: 49).[8] Pienemann and his colleagues provide examples of how learners increase in their degree of variation from one another as their interlanguages progress from one stage to the next. For Pienemann, the process of additional language acquisition can be likened to an opened-up Japanese fan such that there is much more similarity between learners in early stages (the narrow end of the fan), but much greater difference in later stages. Pienemann uses his framework to make predictions about the nature and extent of this variation. The work of Processability Theory is to test these predictions with diverse learners acquiring multiple languages in different contexts. While we do not engage in debate about the nature of developmental processes, we do provide a framework for understanding their dimensions.

A key appeal of the Processability approach is that it offers insight into the steps that learners go through in their acquisition of an additional language. This framework is the most explicit in its capacity to answer the question 'what is the order of learning?' but this may be at the cost of acknowledgement of the potential influence of other aspects of the learners' experiences in the more interactionist positions discussed earlier. However, an advantage of the focus on the emergence of morphological and syntactic features has been the production of various tools such as Rapid Profile and Automatic Profiling that can be used with learners to assess where they are up to. The focus on morphology and syntax in a relatively narrow sense also creates a perception that the model only deals with the beginning of the processes of acquisition and, therefore, may have less to say about, e.g., the pragmatic and written needs of more advanced learners.

A fifth cognitive perspective explicitly engages with evolving innatist theories of language. In his updated formulation of the 'Fundamental Difference Hypothesis' Bley-Vroman argues (2009: 178) that

> Addressing the logical problem of foreign language learning requires, in short, postulating an acquisition system that does not work reliably and does not converge. ... At this level, the theory is not predictive or deterministic; that is, it cannot say for sure what grammar will be arrived at given the input.

One consequence of this position (ibid.: 179) is that because

> [t]he (narrow) linguistic theory of foreign language learning is only part of the full picture of foreign language learning ... [and] ... is neither reliable nor convergent and hence cannot be fully predictive of outcome, it leaves a natural place for factors that go beyond the narrowly linguistic. In this way, it has the potential to fit in well with the rich research programs underway in other areas of L2 studies.

The trend of recent work within this tradition offers new ways of considering the relationship between the innatist and the interactionist cognitive position and, in consequence, ways of re-defining some of the ideological distance between 'cognitive' and 'social' approaches. Work within a minimalist approach, as Bley-Vroman (2009) has pointed out, fundamentally re-defines the relationship between 'innatist' and 'interactionist' positions so that they are now, potentially, much more compatible with one another.

So, while the contribution of this particular theoretical position may be uncertain in light of its rapidly changing status, it provides a clear theoretical basis for considering how teaching may play a central role in additional language acquisition. If a fundamental difference between first and additional language acquisition is accepted, it is no longer possible to believe that an additional language can be acquired without support. Teaching is, therefore, a key element of additional language acquisition. The key questions become, from what point (age?) and in what ways should this support be offered? This framing opens up another connection with more social perspectives.

Options within a social perspective

Whereas cognitive approaches had a fairly centralized beginning point that later diversified and then wove new connections, social approaches have quite different starting points. Additional language acquisition research that takes account of social context can be grouped in six different categories (see Figure 5.6).

In the following discussions, we begin with approaches where the focus is more on language itself (and some environmental influences). We then proceed through approaches that involve more explicit attention to the interlanguage users and their interactional choices and end with approaches where the focus is predominantly on
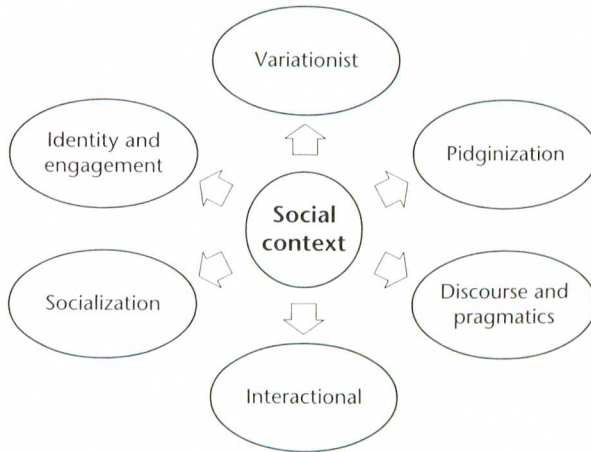
FIGURE 5.6 Social perspectives on additional language acquisition.

the people, with much less explicit attention to the language that they are producing. For this reason, we begin with variationist approaches and conclude with approaches exploring identity and engagement.

Variationist approaches

Methodological advances in sociolinguistic research influenced additional language scholars on the European continent. In Sweden, in his investigation of developmental sequences, Kenneth Hyltenstam (1977) employed implicational scaling techniques derived from sociolinguistic research and Labov's (1966) ideas of variable rules and grammar to analyse negation patterns in Swedish from learners of different language backgrounds. He showed important similarities between the interlanguages of learners, who had different patterns in their first languages. Hyltenstam's study was a pivotal alternative to Dulay and Burt's studies in that he both offered clear evidence of the absence of first language influence and at the same time provided a means of consistently charting the progress of development in the same language domain (negation).

Early Labovian perspectives such as the work of Dickerson (1975), Gatbonton (1978), Wolfram (1985) and Tarone (1988) offered accounts of systematic variation within interlanguages with particular attention to how linguistic context influenced interlanguage features such as how the presence of some sounds influenced the way in which other sounds were included in speech. Sometimes (e.g., Beebe 1980) researchers showed the variation in the linguistic context interacted with other features such as attention. According to Tarone (2007: 842):

> A growing amount of empirical evidence has been produced in the last decade that shows Level 1 variation, that is, the impact of social factors such as

interlocutor, task, purpose, interactional norms, and setting on L2 learners' use of variable forms of Grammar 2.

Later Labovian perspectives in additional language acquisition, now labelled as variationist, were picked up by Bayley and Preston (1996). A thrust of their work was to widen the range of sociolinguistic variables that were considered.

Preston (1989: 273) noted:

> The misunderstanding of sociolinguistics as the field which simply describes the variables in language use for different sexes, classes, genres, media, and so on … fails to capture, however, the dynamic role of identity, interaction, language status, and even media components in linguistic evolution. Those factors play a role in both long-term (historical) and short-term (language acquisition) settings.

Work in Bayley and Preston (1996) discussed social concepts such as ethnicity and gender, but researchers did not examine these concepts fully, in either additional language acquisition or in Language Education, until work started to emerge on identity and engagement. Preston's comments signalled some of the shifts that were occurring in socially contextualized approaches to additional language acquisition. These changes were occurring simultaneously in the field of Sociolinguistics.

Pidginization and creolization

Variationist techniques are picked up in different contexts in other studies in Europe. In Germany, Clyne's (1968) comparison of pidgin and interlanguage features in the German of migrant workers led to the development of the Heidelberg Pidgin German group founded by Wolfgang Klein and Norbert Dittmar (1979). This group used variationist techniques from Sociolinguistics to track and explain the development of the interlanguage as a process of moving from most pidgin-like forms to least pidgin-like. In reaction to this exclusively sociolinguistically framed approach, Meisel and his colleagues (Meisel et al. 1981) sought to develop an alternative explanation of German interlanguage features. Included in this explanation was a view of the importance of both a cognitive process (using Slobin's 1973 interactionist operating principles, e.g., 'pay attention to the ends of words' or 'avoid exceptions') and a process of (non)-socialization – which in this case was a combination of learners' attitudes toward the additional language community and the attitudes and behaviours of members of the additional language community toward and in relation to the learners. Despite its critics,[9] the framework that Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann provided remains a significant one. Embedded within this view was the establishment of a framework in which cognitive and social factors operate simultaneously.

A sociolinguistic perspective closer to the discussions in Germany emerged in the work of John Schumann. After moving from Harvard University where he had been working with Courtney Cazden to the University of California at Los Angeles, John

Schumann focused on the extent to which external social factors and their psycho-logical correlates relate to features of additional language acquisition, including how these factors account for the lack of acquisition by Schumann's participant, Alberto. Schumann (1978) labelled Alberto's approach to acquisition the 'pidginization process'. Attention to social factors makes a vital contribution to an understanding of power, identity and aspects of additional language acquisition. These factors are of increasing importance in light of the needs of some refugee populations (see Bigelow 2010a,b, and Chapter 6 for further details). Roger Andersen also focused on Pidgi-nization. Roger Andersen began at the University of Texas with variationist studies of Spanish, bringing with him a strong connection with Hispanic communities. Using statistical techniques from studies of creolization and de-creolization, Andersen (1981) explored the extent to which the process of additional language acquisition paralleled de-pidginization as a way of capturing both systematicity and variability in the dif-ferent processes. The research from the latter two scholars was linked with the work of Michael Clyne through their mutual interest in pidgin and creole languages as objects of sociolinguistic enquiry (Hymes 1971b). This research tradition, which engaged with additional language acquisition under conditions of limited input, also contributed to work with refugee learners, which we discuss in the next chapter (see Bigelow 2010a,b). Other potential connections remain unexplored. For example, recent volumes considering the initial acquisition of an additional language based on minimal exposure do not include pidginization perspectives (i.e., Indefrey and Gullberg 2010) and the lack of connection between the fields has been commented on by Sprouse (2010) and Lefebvre et al. (2006: 1), who noted:

> In the 1970s there was a fruitful dialogue between [additional language acquisi-tion researchers and creolists] … The dialogue ceased for a couple of decades …

Work such as that which appeared in Lefebvre et al.'s (2006) volume and more recent work (Plag 2011) are rebuilding this relationship, with Plag (2011) reversing the direction of the claim to argue that additional language acquisition processes explain the nature of creole languages.

Discourse and pragmatic studies

Evelyn Hatch, and her colleagues and students at the University of California, Los Angeles, were some of the earliest researchers in the field of discourse in additional language acquisition. They built on the bilingual studies of Werner Leopold and began to explore different dimensions of 'the social'. Hatch (1978) as well as Hatch and Wagner-Gough (1976) explored the relationship between the conversational structuring of language and the process of output modification – with implicit claims that when children established topics for adults to comment on, this created a joint 'vertical' construction of utterances by the learner and the interlocutor which mod-elled the ultimate shape of a grammatical utterance (the 'horizontal' structure). This work continued with Charlene Sato's (1988) Ph.D. research (undertaken with Roger

Andersen at UCLA) in which she showed that the social and cognitive maturity of learners interacted with discourse features such that for her adolescent (10 and 12 years of age) learners, the progression from 'vertical' utterances to 'horizontal' utterances did not occur. She commented (1988: 391) that 'it appears doubtful that conversational interaction is sufficient for learners to develop the full range of morphosyntactic structures comprising the L2 system'. Studies such as Sato's created a link between the early discourse studies of Hatch and the more differentiated research programme that emerged in interactional studies. At around the same time, the field developed into two strands, the interactional strand described below and interlanguage pragmatics. The first of these strands focuses on the capacity of interaction to offer acquisitional opportunities to learners. We turn first to the work that focuses on the social meanings of particular conversational moves and the experiences of learners in the process of gaining control of some of those meanings.

Interlanguage pragmatics explores how learners acquire cultural insights and a linguistic repertoire to communicate effectively within the target culture (Rose and Kasper 2001; Schauer 2009). This area offers much to language educators seeking ways to create clearer models of what learners need to be able to do. Initially, this work did not model the acquisition process (see Bardovi-Harlig 1999), but studies such as Achiba (2003) built longitudinal acquisition perspectives into the field. As it has developed, this field has shifted from a static view of what learners need to master to a more dynamic one of how learners go about achieving their goals in interaction, a point central to our model of Multiplicity. Conversation Analysis is one method by which interlanguage pragmatic research is undertaken that engages with the dynamics of interaction. Kasper (2006: 83) points out that

> … conversation analysis (CA) represents one of several perspectives on L2 learning as a social practice. Although such approaches are not mutually compatible in all respects, they have in common a view of L2 learning as socially constituted in and through interaction in situated activities.

In this contribution, Kasper highlights the reduced emphasis on the individual through a more micro-conversational approach, which emphasized the mutual construction of language as a co-operative activity between two speakers. She contrasts this position with the individualist focus of much cognitive research. The CA approach also contrasts with some of the earlier assumptions in 'speech act' approaches to interlanguage pragmatics that suggested that it was the learner alone who shaped the way in which communication was achieved. Through frameworks such as CA, interlanguage pragmatics and interactional studies have come together to explore how learners and others work together to shape additional language acquisition.

Interactional studies

As Plonsky and Gass (2011: 326) have argued 'there is perhaps no topic in the field of SLA that matches the volume, longevity, and impact of [interaction research]'.

Equally, there is no area among the social perspectives within which there is such great diversity. This area is also of great interest in Language Education as its basic claim is that teacher and student interaction can make a difference in additional language learning.

Hatch's early work on discourse-influenced aspects of interlanguage construction formed a backdrop to Long's (1980, 1983) more participant-oriented work on the role of negotiation in additional language acquisition. Long's work showed that when the learner signalled that s/he did not understand, native speakers consistently adjusted their speech to make comprehension possible. Under Long's supervision, Pica's (1982, 1983) work on grammatical morpheme production in naturalistic, mixed and classroom contexts provided evidence that classroom teaching could promote additional language acquisition. Under Pica's supervision, Doughty's (1988, 1991) work on the acquisition of relative clauses in instructional settings led to further evidence that instruction benefits acquisition, but it also provided evidence that challenging learners to aim for the 'most difficult' rather than the next easiest could have benefits. The still unresolved issue was how to define an appropriate pedagogic goal for learners.

These works connected with studies such as Gass (1997) as well as Gass and Varonis (1985). These later studies built up a framework for understanding how negotiated input could lead to learner language knowledge. Swain's (1985) output hypothesis shifted the focus from the input that the learner might receive to the benefits for the learner of having their additional language output pushed as far as it could be. Gass et al.'s (2011) overview, which explores the nature of the relationship between interaction and additional language acquisition in both instructed and uninstructed environments, added further insights. Their study focuses on learners working in pairs and looked at negotiation for meaning, 'language-related episodes' (where the students explicitly talk about language) and 'recasts' (where the teacher models back to the student the correct form of what the student had just said incorrectly). They demonstrated that there was a significant influence of task on interactional behaviour yet a consistency in interactional behaviour across settings by the same learners. In what appears to be a contrast, Tavakoli and Foster (2008) showed that learners who appeared to be quite similar on many measures, performed quite differently on the same task according to whether they were studying in London or Tehran.

Nevertheless, as Gass and Mackey (2006: 3) argue:

> … through input and interaction with interlocutors, language learners have opportunities to notice differences between their own formulations of the target language and the language of their conversational partners. They also receive feedback which both modifies the linguistic input they receive and pushes them to modify their output during conversation.

Synthesizing the research outcomes for conversational interaction approaches, Mackey and Goo (2007: 446) argue that

> ... interaction facilitates the acquisition of lexis and grammar to a great extent, with interaction having a stronger immediate effect on lexis, and a delayed and durable effect on grammar. ...

Mackey and Goo also point out areas that need more exploration: the role of different feedback types and the effects of different kinds of output. Both are important for Language Education.

Studies of language socialization

Poole (1992) was among the first to make a contribution in this area. She explored dimensions of classroom interaction between white, female teachers of English in an American university and demonstrated how

> ... the language choices [of the teachers] signify cultural meanings consistent with other novice-expert settings in white middle class American society. ... [such that] ... the teacher scripts ... [represent] ... the *voice* of a social role.
>
> *(1992: 611)*

Watson-Gegeo (2004: 332) elaborated an argument for language socialization 'based on the recognition that cognition originates in social interaction and is shaped by cultural and socio-political processes'. Reflections on the field have been offered by Zuengler and Cole (2005) and by Zuengler (2011). Bronson and Watson-Gegeo (2008: 51) illustrate the direction of this research by presenting examples such as a Japanese learner of English who discovered the existence of multiple versions of English and then made choices to align herself mainly with a British variety but also to 'subvert and create a sort of "my English" and style'.

This direction of research has been furthered by Patsy Duff. Duff and Talmy (2011: 97) point out that 'learners are agents who may contest or transform as well as accommodate practices others attempt to induct them into'. This significant shift into considering both 'teacher' and 'learner' sides of the learning–teaching relationship opens up ways for understanding not only how learners are brought into new cultures, but also how they may resist such processes. This perspective has particular implications for Language Education when considering the multiple, potential and potentially conflicted relationships between teachers and learners and we hope that our framework will provide some ways into exploring these relationships.

Identity and engagement studies

This diverse area encompasses work such as early studies of learner motivation (Lambert and Gardner 1972), in which discussions of the differences between integrative motivation (the desire to become part of the target language culture) and instrumental motivation (learning a language for reasons such as passing a test) were opened up as a research area. Bonny Norton's critiques of motivation as a construct

and her arguments that learners' investment is the key issue also opened up new perspectives on learners' engagement in their own learning (Norton 2010). In turn, this opened up issues of links between identity and motivation that were later taken up in different ways by others (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009). This approach also includes the work of writers such as Aneta Pavlenko, who have done significant work on the personal narratives of learners (Pavlenko 2001). While this group of studies pays more attention to the learner than to the learner's language (see Yates et al. 2010), it offers much to considerations of the macro-view of the language teacher and of the language learner and we believe our framework offers the possibility of a better understanding of learners' intentions and how teachers can engage with them.

Labels, theories and connections in Applied Linguistics and Language Education

In the previous sections we have predominantly focused on perspectives from Applied Linguistics. We now turn to perspectives from Language Education in relation to the themes that we have identified so that we can identify points of connection and points of slippage both between the fields and between the expectations of teachers and what the positions offer.

For the last 30 to 40 years, teachers have been told that they need to make learners the centre of their teaching. In coming to research, both teachers and researchers in the field of Language Education have a necessary concern with teaching and learning. An exclusive applied linguistic focus on the learner creates a tension between Language Education and Applied Linguistics.

Applied Linguistics has been very good at developing views of learners, learner processes and learner dilemmas (Doughty and Williams 1998). What is needed is a bridge that connects these perspectives with teachers and institutional dilemmas, one which takes into account both learners and teachers. Some attempts to do this have achieved wide appeal by reducing the dilemma to oppositional labels – 'communication' rather than 'grammar' (see the discussion in Savignon 2003) or 'acquisition' rather than 'learning' (see the discussion in Schmidt 1990). The area of additional language acquisition has attempted to be more nuanced than this (see Lightbown 2003). However, meeting the needs of answerable research questions while addressing the requirements of engaging with the whole learner requires careful negotiation.

Language Education asks the following inter-related questions:

What do learners bring with them (their repertoires)?
What are learners doing and how are they doing it?
Where are learners going (their life trajectories and goals)?
What role(s) do others play in how the learners progress in the acquisition process?

The inter-relationships between these questions and their answers are crucial to Language Education frameworks. For Applied Linguistics to engage with the

Language Education field, applied linguists need to position themselves in relation to all four questions – even though they do not have to attempt to answer all four.

Language Education defines the range of what is brought with learners very widely. Their repertoires are regarded as the totality of the learners' prior experiences. Applied Linguistic perspectives on additional language acquisition generally have a narrower perspective, no matter what orientation they reflect. Research into innatist perspectives on cognition continues to grapple with the underlying issues of language representation. It is most closely linked with a view of languages as discrete systems. While there have been many experimental studies (see studies reported in White 2003 and the journal, *Second Language Research*), there has been little wholesale take-up of this perspective in classrooms. In contrast, work from an interactionist perspective has found a close connection with classrooms and the questions of 'what are learners doing?' and 'what roles do others play in how learners progress?' The diverse interactionist perspectives do not see themselves as 'one' and so offer strongly different views about the relationship between what learners and others are doing. While their broad perspectives on interaction connect with a fundamental characteristic of teaching, their general focus on languages as discrete systems even though those systems are connected with social interaction means that what is offered is necessarily partial. As part of the issue of learner trajectories, some work in Sociocultural Theory is now connecting with the issue of how new ways of thinking emerge in an additional language through exploration of what gestures reveal about learners' thinking processes. The focus on mediation (e.g., the role of the teacher) in supporting learners' attempts to complete increasingly challenging tasks sits easily with Language Education goals. While this approach has appeal because of the apparent flexibility in responding to learners, its responsive characteristic sits less comfortably with institutional requirements for plans and syllabuses. Dynamic Systems Theory perspectives ask questions about 'how do learners make connections between diverse aspects of the wider learning context?' Such perspectives fit with the diverse view of learners and learning that characterize Language Education, but face some of the same challenges as Sociocultural Theory. Processability Theory makes strong claims about the sequence in which learners can engage with what the teacher has to offer and has had a sustained history of identifying markers of progress in student learning and helping teachers to define feasible targets for teaching.

The different social strands within additional language research have moved in different directions so that establishing the connections is increasingly challenging. Within the area of social perspectives, work on pidgins and creoles lost its connections with additional language acquisition research and formed its own field. It has yet to renew that connection though work with the increasing numbers of learners whose interlanguage systems are fragile because of disrupted learning experiences. This offers potential for rich co-operation not only in research but also in teaching. Much of the work in social perspectives of additional language acquisition has moved into the area of classroom interaction and discussions of the role of teacher input (VanPatten et al. 2004) and teacher feedback (see Ellis 2010). Other work has focused on the local and non-standard varieties of English in the classroom, and has relabelled

itself as Sociolinguistics. The work of others, such as Pavlenko's (2001, 2004) research on L2 self and Bonny Norton's (1997, 2010) work on the negotiation of identity, fits well with the holistic view of learners that characterizes Language Education. The plethora of studies in these fields is of particular interest for those working within the field of Language Education, with their commitment to building positive relationships in learning and connecting language learning processes with personal growth.

We contend that Multiplicity offers a way of exploring learners' ways of thinking about doing and being in ways that make explicit connections with some of these wider issues that Language Educators prioritize. With a view of acquisition as involving the processes of expanding, understanding and controlling Multiplicity, there is a framework for mutual engagement between the larger frameworks of Language Education and the more focused endeavours of Applied Linguistics.

Making connections

Others in additional language acquisition have successfully framed issues from the perspective of the teacher (see Gibbons 1991, 2003; Nunan 1995; Harmer 2007). These approaches reflect attempts to engage with the theoretical and professional worlds of teachers framed by explicit and implicit pedagogies of empowerment (Apple et al. 2009, Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 2009). From these theoretical perspectives, the process of language teaching is not reduced to just a focus on the language, but is and must be connected with the life-purposes of the learners. We explore this more fully in Chapter 8 when we consider the role of meta awareness raising and how it can be explored using the framework of Multiplicity.

A core dilemma is how to include contextualized views of learners' life-purposes. In the work of additional language socialization this can extend from total integration with an assumed target community to planned attempts to subvert the norms of that community (see also Bolton and Kachru 2006).

Contributions to connections with views of the learner have come in various ways in Language Education. From a strongly cognitive perspective, Peter Robinson has been a consistent contributor to debates about the role of aptitude and task design in instructed language acquisition (see Robinson 2001, 2005). From a different cognitive perspective, Pienemann (1984) documented strong relationships between what it is possible to teach and the stage of the learners' interlanguage development in German and subsequently in a wide range of other languages. When embedded within a wider view of a communicative repertoire, approaches such as this offer powerful answers to questions about which aspects of the acquisition process learners engage with earlier and where some of the specific challenges lie.

From her current sociocultural perspective, Merrill Swain (see Swain et al. 2011) has contributed to many important debates, where the core focus of her work has been instructed additional language acquisition. Others such as Patsy Lightbown have embedded a connection between Applied Linguistics and Language Education in understanding instructed language development (Lightbown 2003; Lightbown and Spada 2013). As part of this research Spada and Lightbown (1993) used Pienemann's

theory to focus on English questions but extended this approach by including issues of accuracy and feedback. We provide an alternative through the view of Multiplicity.

Lyster (2007) has elaborated not only on the use that both teachers and learners make of recasts as part of feedback on learners' grammatical errors (Lyster and Ranta 1997, Lyster and Izquierdo 2009) but has also continued the Canadian tradition of looking at language learning in bilingual education (Harley et al. 1990) with a focus on balancing content and language learning (Lyster 2007).

The defining feature of these works is that they have attempted to bridge the two fields by looking not only at the learner, but at the learners' acquisition in relation to the teachers' approaches and actions. Long (1990) argues that a position such as 'focus on form' (Long 1991) is useful because it embeds attention to language in the communicative purposes of the learner. The view of a focus on form can be challenged as being too closely connected with a view of language as a discrete system. However, if the meaning that is at the core of this focusing approach is widened to what is achieved in the deployment of communicative acts as we have defined them, then that challenge can be overcome. Such an approach would mean that the area of additional language acquisition research would need to widen its focus. In Chapter 8 we explore how greater attention to elements of the modes dimension and more systematic engagement with a wider range of the elements of the varieties dimension would be consistent with such an approach. The range of additional language acquisition studies covers most of the elements of varieties with the exception of temporal context, but the research is dominated by investigations that engage with the macro-geopolitical element. A more consistent and planned series of investigations of the micro-geopolitical element and a wider focus on the elements of personhood would provide a more substantial knowledge base to connect with Language Education frames. A similar widening would be required for the elements of the purposes dimension. The area of interlanguage pragmatics has done substantial work in the area of macro-, but more frequently micro-texts and with some features of the element of key. Activity needs more detailed exploration. Otherness has had some intriguing studies, but it is under-theorized and lacking in systematic study of how learners go about negotiating this element. The central issue (see Chapter 8) that can be framed through Multiplicity is 'what does the learner seek to achieve and what resources are required to achieve those goals?' This is, in one way, no more than the central question of additional language acquisition research, but the Multiplicity frame provides both a wider frame for it and a more consistent way of characterizing that frame.

The different 'cognitive' and 'social' debates within the field of Applied Linguistics do not offer unified views of themselves yet alone offer unified views of potential relationships with other fields such as Language Education. The diverse positions within both the group of cognitive and the group of social perspectives provide conflicting and sometimes unclear clues for bridges with Language Education. For us, a potential 'X' factor for understanding additional language acquisition is the issue of how Language Education perspectives interpret the life-purposes of their learners and

how they see their responsibilities in relation to both the learners and the societies in which they are embedded (see also Larsen-Freeman and Freeman 2008). We address this issue in the later chapters of this book.

Notes

1 Liceras (2010) notes that she later changed her view.
2 An alternative label might have been 'developer', which has the advantage of being neutral in the 'acquisition/learning' distinction and implying a high level of control of the environment, but we have opted not to use this term as a result of its lack of currency in this field.
3 The theoretical developments took slightly different courses in Europe and the US. In particular the views of functional linguistics in the United Kingdom meant that theoretical connections between social and cognitive influences developed different shapes.
4 Some commentators (Pinker 2002) have seen parallels between distributed processing models of connectionism (Rumelhart and McLelland 1986) and behaviourism, but this has been strongly rejected by others (Elman et al. 1997).
5 In Brown and Cazden's work, the framework for 'acquisition' was one of 'mastery'. Their purpose was to establish when particular features became stable and 'adult-like' in the language of children. This approach to defining acquisition was carried over into much early additional language acquisition research (see Andersen 1977). Meisel et al. (1981) challenged this approach and proposed an alternative 'emergence' criterion for acquisition to capture features as they began to be used by learners.
6 The dynamic interplay between theory and practice where each is informed by and informs the other – to be distinguished from 'practice' where things are done without the relationship to theory.
7 Lantolf and Becker (2009) offer an excellent overview of studies in this area.
8 This approach is a significant shift from some of the assumptions that framed the work of Meisel et al. (1981).
9 Hudson (1993) argued that errors in statistical techniques made Meisel et al.'s claims about the relationship between linguistic variation and sociopsychological features invalid. Pienemann et al.'s (1993) response emphasized that the basis of the multi-dimensional model was an analysis of linguistic distributional features that did not depend on the statistical analysis of the sociopsychological features.

6

ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LITERACIES

Introduction

This chapter takes as its focus additional language literacies and how literacies are developed and deployed. The label 'additional language literacies' has embedded within it many of the same issues as in Chapter 5. Labels such as 'additional' and 'language' have already been explored at length, and the tensions surrounding them are equally important here, in part due to the parallel historical developments of the two areas of activity. The label 'literacy' has also been problematized but debates about this particular label have been less strident in the area of plurilingualism than in studies of monolingual literacy (see Street 1984, 2005 in relation to 'first' language literacies and Martin-Jones and Jones 2000 for multilingual literacies).

Within its narrowest framing, literacy is understood as the autonomous skills of recognizing and producing well-shaped words, sentences and texts. Within its broadest framing, it includes (or perhaps represents) varied ideologies and power relations that include understanding why and how the more narrowly defined feature sets of literacy are used and how those ways of use reflect or influence participation in communities (see Moje et al. 2009). The wider concept of literacy has also been elaborated according to the literacy events and literacy practices in which people engage (see Bartlett 2003 and Street 2005 with their references to Hymes 1972a and Heath 1982). The tensions between these wider and narrower frames connect not only with notions of text and discourse discussed in Chapter 4, but are the source of profound debates about the beginning points, processes and goals of literacy instruction.

Traditionally, literacy involves individuals engaged in reading or writing but increasingly, particularly via the use of digital technologies as mediating elements, a wide range of elements within the dimension of modes are incorporated in what had been considered to be the domain of writing. These include combinations with

sound that at one point in time had been deemed in fundamental contrast to 'literacy' (see Kral 2009, 2012).

Hornberger (1990: 213) defines biliteracy as 'any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing'. Hornberger's definition leaves open the option of including all other modes and a full range of mediations in relation to the image mode. Our view is similar. We define literacy as the deployment of a particular type of communicative act where one particular element of modes, image, has been prioritized. Images are central because all writing systems prioritize images of various types. The images may be in the form of alphabetic letters (French, Russian, Chinese *pinyin*), *abjads* (Arabic), *abugidas* (Khmer), syllabaries (Inuktitut, Japanese *hiragana* or *katakana*), featural systems (Korean) or characters (Chinese characters and Japanese *kanji*) (Daniels 2000). Each image has associated with it different spatial orientations (e.g., the size and shape of the letter *B* on a lined page or the positioning of upper and lower case *Q/q* in relation to the line). As literacy involves both the process of reading/writing and the product of reading/writing, an engagement with the process of writing involves more than just the element of image. It involves movement mediated by the human body, movement via the human body and analogue technologies (e.g., a pen), and increasingly, movement via the human body together with digital technologies (the use of a computer screen to type in different types of scripts or to incorporate different types of images that may or may not be moving and sometimes also sound). For literacy to be enacted, features within the element of image are related to elements of sound (when thinking, and when reading aloud or differently when dictating into speech recognition software).

These combinations of features from different elements in modes are combined with features from various elements of mediations. In the process, many images can change form. Images associated with writing with a pen may be different from those written on a screen, in turn differing according to the font and/or style used. As literacy develops, self selects and combines multiple images in the different mediations to form sentences and paragraphs and texts, and stores and reselects them for further communicative acts.

However, in order for a written communicative act to be complete, for self to be regarded as literate, self must draw on more than the physical and technological elements. Self must also acquire an ability to structure macro-texts and the micro-texts therein in ways that intersect with the points of reference that their audience(s) have, usually involving meta awareness. While some of these points of reference may be drawn from within the element of sound (by comparing writing with speaking), much of this knowledge must relate to the element of image (utterances do not appear the same as sentences; an upper case letter does not look the same as a lower case letter). Being regarded as literate involves meta awareness of other elements within purposes, including the key and activity. Much of this can be achieved by noticing features in the sound stream and combining these with features within the element of image but incongruencies occur (e.g., in the case of key, formal/informal conventions need to be learned [one can talk informally to one's boss but generally not write in the same way]).

Other aspects of the communicative repertoire have only recently begun to be considered in literacy. Globalization is affecting macro-geopolitical ways of writing and what can be noticed and selected. In increasingly diverse globalized contexts when should a young child in a mainstream English classroom be taught to write a Mother's Day card with the image *Mum* or the image *Mom*, or with an entirely different image (*Mutti, Maman*)? Globalization is also having effects on micro-geopolitical ways of writing with greater, and more diverse use of images (not only) in digital contexts. Emoticons for laughter now transcend traditional macro-political boundaries. The following visual representations, e.g., *hahaha* and *hehehe* are used to represent different intensities of laughter by Facebook writers whether they are writers of Arabic, Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Indonesia, Vietnamese or English. An understanding of temporal context is an additional, important part of what it means to be literate. Indian English writers are sometimes perceived to be in a different temporal context (out-dated) and overly formal (key) when they write in English. This can affect how such individuals are perceived, and can be an important influence on activities such as job applications. A final issue with respect to literacy, is reflected in the connections between the elements of otherness and personhood, an important part of postcolonial writing and the portrayal of a self which writes in ways that reflect who he or she is, or wants to be, as distinct from and not bound by colonial imagery (Suleri 1992).

While within its narrow framing, literacy is the capacity to read and/or write, within its broader framing, it is the capacity to engage in specific social and cultural behaviours across any of many different domains. Freire and Macedo (1987) coined the expression *Reading the word and the world* to capture the wide range of knowledge that is brought to bear on literate behaviour and, therefore, the range of domains that can be included in definitions of 'literacy'. In recognition of this insight, in this chapter we explore elements of learners' communicative repertoires that contribute to and shape the development or deployment of literacies in an additional language. But first we need to outline four broad tensions within the field of literacy so that we can place our position within it.

Important tensions

The first tension addresses whether reading and writing are skills that primarily involve letter and word decoding (based on an analysis of their printed shapes and or the sound stream that normally accompanies initial encounters with written images) or, if not, what credence should be given to other life experiences in making sense of text. The second tension explores whether processes of making or interpreting text differ according to the nature of the writing system in the particular language and the nature of the culturally shaped text organization. In the third, the debates seek to identify the relationships in the goal of literacy instruction between enabling people to behave in accordance with established norms and enabling people to critique or change those norms. In the fourth, the tensions focus on the pedagogic consequences of the earlier positions.

Tension 1

The first of the tensions is a tri-partite one involving (i) how complex it is to derive sound from the written image; (ii) how to understand relationships between languages if their writing systems have differing degrees of transparency and (iii) the relationship between such differences and the ease or difficulty of learning to read in another language. The first aspect relates mainly to lexical recognition. This refers to the significance of the transparency or consistency in the relationship between the spelling or shape of the written image and the way it is pronounced. Languages such as Italian are examples of writing systems with a single and consistent relationship between a letter and its pronunciation. The character-based versions of the writing systems for languages such as Chinese or Japanese present a different issue since the shape of the character-based writing systems in these two languages gives very few (but not no) clues as to how the character should be pronounced (see Joshi and Aaron 2006). Generally speaking, languages with shallow orthographies (such as Italian) are regarded as easier ones in which to learn to read, i.e., children become fluent readers faster (Ehri 2005). In relation to additional language literacies, perspectives on narrower aspects of literacy inform exploration of relationships between the particular writing systems of different macro-geopolitical varieties and the consequences for learning and teaching of the extent to which they match (e.g., roman alphabet and roman alphabet) or look very different (e.g., an alphabetic system and a character-based system) (see Koda 2005 and Tarone et al. 2009 for contrasting views of the consequences of differences). In terms of developing an additional language literacy, the focus of the discussion at this narrower level is on the potential benefits or constraints for the development of the additional language literacy that may arise from the (mis)match (see Li et al. 2012).

Tension 2

The second tension relates to overall text structure and its implication for relationships between readers and writers (Hinds 1987). Hinds argues that in some cultures (e.g., those associated with English) it is the writer's responsibility to do the work to help the reader understand whereas in other cultures (e.g., Japanese) the writer shows the reader respect by avoiding being too explicit and in cultures such as Chinese writers are in an interim position, shifting closer to the English point of reference. While no claims are made about the relative difficulty of one kind of writing and another, the suggestion is that the change of cultural orientation between the two writing stances (in either direction) requires considerable effort.

Tension 3

A third tension picks up on the word/world distinction in Freire and Macedo's (1987) book title. Here the issue is whether reading beyond the word level (particularly) is primarily a matter of bottom-up interpretation of images on the page or a top-down interpretation of the text as a whole based on previous experiences of the

world. As Bernhardt (2011) points out, reading is a complex interaction of both perspectives, influenced also by the learner's level of proficiency in each language involved. The challenge in addressing additional language literacies and for the varied people who engage with them is understanding what influences that interaction and whether the interaction is the same for everyone. The wider understandings of literacy incorporate issues such as culture-based rhetorical patterns (Connor 2004; Connor et al. 2008 going back to Kaplan 1966 and also reader–writer relationships, see Hinds 1987) (see Leki 1991). In other words, the texts, the discourse of the texts that are engaged with, the contexts in which they are deployed, and issues of power that are embedded within them all influence the challenge of reading larger texts (some of these issues have been briefly explored in Chapter 4). These issues require engagement with the cultural assumptions of literacy and what these imply for what both interpreters and makers bring to texts and what each assumes about their respective other. Indeed, if pushed to the logical extension of Web 2.0 technologies, even the distinction between text maker and text interpreter begins to break down because of the capacity to jointly shape the communicative act(s) (Mills 2011).

Tension 4

The fourth and final tension (also a tripartite one) is the relationship between the development of literacy and various uses of spoken language, particularly in relation to educational contexts. Three issues are central here – the first is the way in which development of control and awareness of the spoken language feeds into development of the writing system (see Heath 1983; Wells 1990; Tong et al. 2008). The second is how the sophistication of this speaking–writing relationship in the first language influences the development of additional language literacy for various purposes (Cummins 1981, 2012). The third is whether the advent of the digital world has fundamentally altered understandings of what it means to be literate (Lankshear and Knobel 2011). The resolution of all these issues links back to the tensions involved in Freire and Macedo's (1987) word/world relationship, but the implications of the resolution are profound for educational systems. Choosing a narrower view of literacy and of the relationship between command of a particular language and reading/writing ability legitimates a view of additional language education that ignores learners' first/earlier languages. Choosing other views requires educational institutions to engage with much more diverse ways of seeing the world and implementing programmes that engage with and further develop not only those learners' earlier languages and cultures (see Bekerman and Geisen 2012) but also much more open-ended understandings of what may be a legitimate communicative act (Larson 2008; Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010). Such wider understandings extend further into the word/world distinction when it is recognized that for some people learning to read/write in an additional language is the first opportunity that they have had to engage with reading and writing in any language (van de Craats et al. 2006; Tarone et al. 2009).

Historical contexts

The major divisions in relating literacy and plurilingualism follow two distinct strands in history; one framed as contrastive rhetoric and whole text approaches; the other framed as second/additional language literacy approaches. In exploring these different histories we show some of the ways in which these two approaches complement each other and explore how the framework of Multiplicity helps to clarify those relationships.

The development of contrastive rhetoric studies and whole text approaches

This tradition engages most significantly with the final three tensions as its focus is on macro- and micro-texts on the assumption that learners have already gained control of smaller features such as spelling and image shaping. Initial work on additional language literacies began at the same time as work on additional language acquisition, but despite what initially looks like a very similar contrastive approach, the two areas have had quite different trajectories. The general framing of the world at the time when studies of additional language literacies began assumed a reasonably stable level of national identity, a view of languages as discrete systems, and did not highlight individual plurilingualism. By and large literacy was associated with education in a relatively unproblematized way. While differences between literate traditions might lead to learning challenges, these differences tended to be based on traditions where individuals would be regarded as competent in at least one way of speaking and writing with the associated pattern(s) of thinking. This was a time when English-speaking economies sought to build relationships with other nations and their cultural traditions in the name of international education (Vestal 1994). The engagements with literacy were therefore largely regulated by the state and literacy in language *x* was seen as offering the potential for mutual benefit. While it was essential to teach additional languages and literacies to people coming to a new country for tertiary level studies, this teaching was largely in voluntary contexts to learners who were already literate in at least one language and who had some prior experience of, use of, and literacy in, the additional language. In large measure such studies shaped approaches to English for academic purposes. The learners were generally seen as representatives of a particular culture and therefore, initially, as users of one macro-geopolitical variety who were engaging with institutions for a limited range of purposes. From this relatively stable perspective of literate adults, it was possible to attempt to map out learners' rhetorical structures as if they too were relatively stable and accessed as discrete wholes by the learners. In the technological context of the time, texts were dominantly written since multimodality had not been seriously foregrounded. Literacy analysis and learning therefore focused on the image element of mode even if sound was employed for commentary on or explanation of the text and even though there was an emerging awareness of film (image plus movement) as text. Dominantly texts were seen as mediated by the human body in combination with various analogue technologies.

Central to the establishment of the field was the work of Kaplan (1966, 1967). His initial work on 'Cultural Thought Patterns' defined the area as engaging with how 'foreign students' (1966: 1) could be brought to engage with ways in which American university students thought (and therefore wrote). This general position explored what was meant by logic and initiated discussions of how different cultures expressed their logic. Based on an analysis of the writing in English of some 600 university students from different linguistic/cultural backgrounds, Kaplan outlined in a diagram (ibid.: 15) his now classic view of five different patterns of thinking as reflected in writing. The pattern for English was presented as a straight line; the pattern for 'Semitic' as a series of parallel zig-zags; the pattern for 'Oriental' as a circular pathway from outside to the centre and the pattern for 'Romance' as a single line but containing a series of digressions (ibid.: 12) away from a straight line.[1] The final pattern was for Russian, which was similar to the pattern for Romance but described as containing a series of 'parenthetical amplifications' (ibid.: 14) that had a less obvious connection with what was assumed to be the key point. This view reflects a perception of macro-text as a constraint rather than as an enabling resource and, consistent with that, sees no obvious relationship between many other elements within the communicative repertoire, such as personhood and key.

Kaplan's approach reflects the sense of a stable repertoire of macro-texts that characterizes both systemic-functional linguistic approaches and the rhetorical literary approaches that we mentioned in Chapter 4. Even though those two approaches are quite distinct in their underpinning assumptions and how they define the features of macro-texts, each seeks to identify a selection of rhetorical organizations that effectively constrain the ways in which writers' texts/meanings will be understood.

Clues to the importance of this work can be found in the introduction to the first issue of the *Journal of Second Language Writing*, which appeared in print in 1992. Two of the articles in the issue drew attention to biliteracy and its connection with first language composition.[2] Santos discussed process approaches to writing in first language composition, which took as their focus providing learners with ways of finding their voice. He addressed the potential conflict between this recent approach and Kaplan and others' work on text and rhetorical structure, but noted that such approaches were unlikely to become dominant in 'ESL' writing because of pragmatic assumptions about the need to conform to dominant rhetorical patterns that characterized 'ESL' writing. Santos (1992: 8ff) bemoaned the pragmatism of ESL writing teaching but saw a blurring of the distinction between ESL learners and other minority groups in remedial L1 writing programmes as a potentially constructive context for the exploration of the creativity of the other. Although Santos called for a greater commitment to ideology in 'ESL' writing, he provided no framework to integrate the kinds of critical ideology that he was calling for. We would argue that otherness as one of the elements of our framework in the purposes dimension provides exactly this constructive and flexible option. In contrast, Carson (1992) in her exploration of becoming literate in Japan and several Chinese-speaking contexts documented how multiple elements of modes and purposes, together with aspects of the elements of personhood contributed (differently) to what it means to be literate in those contexts.

From this basis, she elaborated an argument about how the differing experiences with literacy in an L1 might influence approaches to literacy in English in the process of becoming pluriliterate. Carson argued that near universal literacy in Japan would lead to assumptions of success in ESL literacy, but variable literacy levels in China would lead to more variable expectations among Chinese learners. Alternatively, more shared views between Japanese and Chinese cultures of the relationship between the individual and the group might lead to members of both groups being reluctant to articulate individual positions. A similarly shared focus on attention to understanding the meaning of words (Carson 1992: 56) might constrain their attempts to engage in activities such as arguing with other authors. These early perspectives also reflected a fragmented view of biliteracy (see Grosjean 1985) rather than one where the potential within the learner's Multiplicity could be exploited.

In a review of 'second' language writing Silva and Leki (2004: 5) pointed to another aspect of writing teaching, the practice of controlled composition, in which various texts were presented as models and where the purpose of writing was to practise grammatical control at the sentence level. Their review also suggests that some of Santos' (1992) pessimism about the potential lack of contribution of process approaches to additional language writing pedagogy was unfounded. In highlighting the contribution of this approach, Silva and Leki (2004: 6) outlined ways in which what we would categorize as personhood, otherness, activity and key can be brought into writing in an additional language in ways that suggest that a reading of discourse as purpose can intersect in creative ways with a view of macro-texts. They proceeded to discuss ways in which L2 writing researchers could draw on both Applied Linguistics and composition studies, but one feature of the detailed articulation of disciplinary differences and similarities that they identified is the lack of a clear view of the 'whole' that the different traditions need to engage with. Matsuda (1998, 2003) offers a rich source of different perspectives on the features of additional language writing, but is forced to restrict his discussion to a list of alternative perspectives rather than having a frame that permits perspectives to be put in relation to one another. We contend that a clearer focus on the communicative repertoire and the potential for creativity that such a focus offers would assist in this endeavour.

One of the benefits of an approach that embraces Multiplicity is that it would permit relationships between the sound and image modes to be more readily juxtaposed. A more difficult issue to address in the rhetorical tradition is the issue of how rhetorical organizational patterns develop. Elliott (1990) has explored some aspects of the development of rhetorical structures in an additional language context, pointing to the different approaches of two adolescent Lebanese students to the task of writing and how they reflect different assumptions about whether learning to write in a second language builds on prior knowledge or requires the learner to 'begin again'.[3] Hyland (2007) discusses possible pedagogical approaches to such work. Nevertheless, a very recent review of scholarship in additional language writing (Silva and Paiz 2013) does not list a single study that explores learners' macro-text development (although Silva and Paiz [2012] record a slightly greater emphasis on learner activities). Tardy's (2006) review of some 60 studies into genre-based writing studies

reveals that previously established textual practices, knowledge of structures and experience with talking about them all influence the course of development of new macro-texts. Her analysis highlights the multifaceted nature of writing and the process of negotiating its development, including a strong focus on the individual. Tardy points to the difficulty of finding a clear basis for comparing and distinguishing first and additional language literacy; although she highlights the different role that oral interaction plays and notes that additional literacy learners have less (powerful) recourse to this type of interaction.

Presumably in part because of the lack of a clearly articulated view of what development within a particular text structure might look like and how the development of different macro-texts might influence one another, more recent research in this tradition has tended to explore how specific features of texts or text making emerge. Plagiarism, citation and other writing behaviours are frequent areas of attention (Bloch 2012; Hu and Lei 2012; Weigle and Parker 2012), but so is work on aspects of micro-text organization (Chang and Schleppegrell 2011; del Saz Rubio 2011). Work on these topics has tended to highlight variation according to issues of personhood and aspects associated with macro-geopolitical norms in articulating a less static view of the shape of texts by exploring the creative ways in which individual learners work within or around the constraints of both macro- and micro-texts.

In contrast to approaches that focused on texts as wholes, in the early 2000s more attention began to be given to the learning characteristics and needs of a group of learners who had been present in many larger studies of additional language acquisition (Cazden et al. 1975; Clahsen et al. 1983; Perdue 1993a, 1993b), but whose literacy had not been the explicit focus.

The development of additional language literacy studies

This series of studies simultaneously problematizes the fourth tension (educational approaches) and the first tension about narrower or wider approaches with a consequence that the second tension (the role of relationships between writing systems) is also of great significance. Globalization, and in particular, the arrival of refugees to wealthier countries had a profound effect on views about literacy and their pedagogical consequences. After 1975, countries such as the United States, Australia, France and Canada came into contact with greater plurilingualism and contrasting types of literacies in dealing with Hmong populations who had substantial needs for literacy development in the new language but who also had a limited L1 written literacy base. However, despite some in-depth studies (Huebner 1983), their overall profile and particularly their literacy learning did not become a central issue in language policy (see McKay and Weinstein-Shr 1993) nor was it a high profile area of research. Yet despite the lack of profile, early and continuing traditions of such activity were present in Australia (Kalantzis 1987; Hood 1990; Huntley 1992; Jackson 1994; McPherson 1997). A parallel history had developed in the Netherlands (Kurvers and van der Zouw 1990; Kurvers 2002). There was a long history of attempts to create interest in the issue in the United States (August and Shanahan 2006).

Soon after 1975, a growing engagement with issues connected with Africa, the Middle East and southern Asia, with postcolonial studies more generally, and with refugee populations in particular began to appear in Applied Linguistics. This intellectual focus coincided with the articulation of the Brandt line (Brandt 1980) to identify the global north/south divide and to propose more inclusive approaches to global economic development that would seek to redress at least some of the effects of colonialism. It was followed shortly thereafter by a number of other world events: the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 associated with the end of the cold war, the rapid expansion of and removal of borders in the European Union and a series of wars and humanitarian disasters in various parts of Africa that resulted in both official refugee/migration programmes and unofficial refugee movements. The change in borders and a sense of the proximity increased pressure to seek refuge in Europe via any means possible as pressures mounted elsewhere. This brought substantial numbers of people from places such as Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan and Rwanda to countries such as Australia, the United States, Canada, France and the United Kingdom (see Bigelow 2010a,b for one example). In more recent times asylum seekers coming to wealthier countries without prior government approval have increased the sense of a lack of government control and have been associated with a stark contrast to the sense of managed calm that characterized the rise of whole text perspectives.

The inherent plurilingual and diverse nature of Africa (see Makoni and Meinhof 2003) became enmeshed in this sense of reduced control. Extended periods of war transplanted populations to new linguistic contexts and sometimes saw more than one generation of families born in refugee camps. In these camps, plurilinguals were from diverse contexts where different languages were spoken. This resulted in the use of unfamiliar lingua francas for daily interactions. The camps had provided food but little education, the result being refugees who were plurilingual but not yet able to write in any language when they arrived in their country of ultimate settlement. For many of the youth and adults in these groups, their third, fourth or even 'later' language was also the first language in which they would attempt to become fully literate. In addition, the priority of other needs such as settlement, trauma counselling, health and basic welfare forced a more holistic view of the learners themselves and their purposes for engaging with literacy. For many receiving countries and institutions, this was an issue that they had not previously encountered and was little resourced. This was often coupled with ill-defined and poorly supported language and educational policies (see van de Craats et al. 2006).

These learners, already confronted by extraordinarily traumatic issues associated with personhood were now confronted with interpreting new ways of doing and knowing. This included developing an awareness of modes which included not only sound, but also the element of movement (e.g., having to learn how to sit still [human body] but also major issues of mode as learners had to learn how to interpret subtle image differences for reading, learn spatial orientation cueing features and for writing, learn how to connect modes with mediations [e.g., hold a pencil; use a computer]). Under such circumstances, the connection between textual practices and other aspects of knowing and doing was repeatedly underlined. An additional layer

for many of these refugees was the urgency of attempting to make contact with family left behind or in other parts of the world. This need motivated an intense engagement with digital literacies without the prior experiences of print literacy that had been the norm in receiving countries. Suddenly, the issue of digital literacies as literacies in their own right was front and centre in the educational arena in contexts where they were being learned from scratch. These various issues meant that individual learners were at the centre of the learning issues. Unlike whole text approaches, where relative uniformity of learners was assumed, in additional language literacies, the variation between learners was foregrounded. One element of this variation was in their command of spoken versions of their additional language and gaps in research that would address their needs (see Moore et al. 2008; Tarone et al. 2009).

As a consequence of attempting to understand and respond to the diversity of learners, seven dimensions related to literacy needed to be addressed in both research and practice: 1) how learners (learn to) adjust to the cultural and social requirements of engaging with reading and writing; 2) the role of proficiency in non-written literacies in helping or hindering written literacy development; 3) the role of additional language proficiency in making sense of written images; 4) how learners (learn to) interpret images (whether written or other); 5) how learners form necessary relationships between their interpretations of images and the information they extract from the sound stream; 6) the relationship of digital literacy to print literacy and 7) how these various intersections influence educational achievement. Each of these is described below.

In brief, the findings paint a complex picture. Adjusting to the cultural and social requirements of literacy activities is a complex and challenging task, which progresses quite quickly in some circumstances (Kral 2012), but presents almost insurmountable obstacles in others (Collier 1992; McPherson 1997; Moore et al. 2008). As Kral (2009) describes, the changes involve substantial changes in worldview, relations to others and views of sources of knowledge. As Moore et al. (2008) report, some changes that appear to be relatively insignificant are in fact substantial – adults learning how to hold and control a pen or pencil. The activity of going to school reflects, for example, understandings of how life and institutions are organized in issues of punctuality and the ability to remain physically still but mentally engaged for extended periods of time.

Engagement with literacy with these learners required a view that proficiency in sound and movement-based literacies, but particularly sound-based literacies, is a way of opening up some entry to image-based literacies; but both teacher experience and research showed that these openings while necessary were often insufficient to provide the required phonemic awareness in the additional language (Tarone et al. 2009; Nicholas 2012) and the conflicting requirements between attention to the sound element of mode and sense of adult personhood meant that there was great uncertainty among teachers about how to get the balance right. The studies that were conducted revealed that meta awareness of the element of sound in one language is not sufficient for a meta awareness of the element of sound in an additional language. An additional issue was the extent of control of the additional language. Additional

language proficiency is a crucial ingredient in that learners need to develop sufficient control of an appropriate web of vocabulary to be able to progress from phonological awareness (awareness of features required for alliteration, rhythm and rhyme) to phonemic awareness (awareness of syllable boundaries and morpheme–phoneme relationships). The size of vocabulary is intimately connected with the capacity to create links that can be applied to the segmentation of the sound stream in ways that can match it to the organization of (at least alphabetic, but to a certain degree also non-alphabetic) writing systems (McBride-Chang et al. 2008 for first language data and Pan et al. 2011 for additional language contexts). Despite a growing awareness of the significance of reading in the development of both writing and speech, the role of visual processing was not clearly identified as a research issue. The relationship between visual processing and phonemic awareness has been acknowledged as a key learning issue in progressing toward greater control of literacy (see below). However, in the early stages of research into this issue, little attention was given to analysing the characteristics of a more comprehensive framework for visual/image analysis. Since then, there have been a number of developments. Drawing on more general approaches Itti and Koch (2001) identified some of the cognitive strategies that affect the interpretation of images. Recent work (Olive and Passerault 2012) suggests that awareness develops in the creation, editing and interpretation of written material. Jarodzka et al. (2010) have demonstrated that there is an important role for experience with styles of images in increasing skill in interpreting visual information. A series of studies has demonstrated that phonemic awareness is a key element in learning to decode written images – at least in alphabetic languages, but there is also evidence that this occurs in character-based languages (Lipka and Siegel 2012). Other studies have identified the role of morphological awareness (Lam et al. 2012). Many of the studies identify the importance of attention to features that while encoded in the sound mode, are most consistently (in our terms) presented as features of specific macro-geopolitical varieties in interactions with human body and analogue mediation. The information about the relationship between digital and other forms of mediation is more suggestive than clear. Kral (2009, 2012) provides some evidence of how in some communities digitally mediated literacies can offer an alternative to analogue-mediated literacies, suggesting that the two mediations might not necessarily be supportive, but Olive and Passerault (2012) identify contexts in which digital technologies could be used as pedagogic tools in the exploration of images particularly.

Finally, the issue of how these various intersections contribute to overall educational achievement is modelled only loosely, and here primarily in response to the framing of Cummins (1979, 1984) in relation to the notion of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. Cummins (2012) has articulated three principals reflecting this framework that together call for the acknowledgement and strengthening of first cultures, sustained development of first languages and deep engagement with print literacy in order to maximize opportunities for educational success. Work such as that of Cummins, Edelsky (2006) and Hornberger (2004), in their focus on school-based literacy, offers ways forward to integrate the two approaches that have often been dominated by adult literacy and the need to prepare refugees for the workplace.

Connecting the two approaches

While the prototypical students envisaged in the whole text approaches are associated with one type of learner, the refugees with disrupted education, and their resultant literacies, are associated with another. There are many different types of learners associated with each of these types of learners and their literacies can be quite varied. In Figure 6.1, we represent these two positions as a framing for literacies: powerful and fragile.

In cases of powerful literacies, there is less overt need for attention to factors beyond issues associated with raising meta awareness and engaging with additional language learning processes (see Chapter 8) in relation to features of literacy and literate behaviours. However, in cases of fragile literacies, there is need to attend to a much wider and more problematic range of features. While in cases of powerful literacies, the position is largely one of additive plurilingualism (see Chapter 7), in fragile literacies, there are high risks of subtractive plurilingualism. If successful interventions are to be made in cases of fragile literacies, then it is essential to deal with the full range of elements of the communicative repertoire, not only through awareness raising, but through targeted programmes that seek to develop control of the features that are involved.

What we term fragile literacies, others have referred to as less powerful. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) present a framework for modelling engagements with literacies in more than one language. In framing the distinction between more and less powerful literacies, they concentrate on four nested areas: development,

Powerful literacies

- Age and education-appropriate control of first language reading and writing across multiple mediations
- Age and education-appropriate control of first language reading and writing in at least one mediation

Fragile literacies

- Sophisticated control of first language oracy (First language is part of an oral culture)
- Limited control of first language oracy (First language is part of an oral culture)
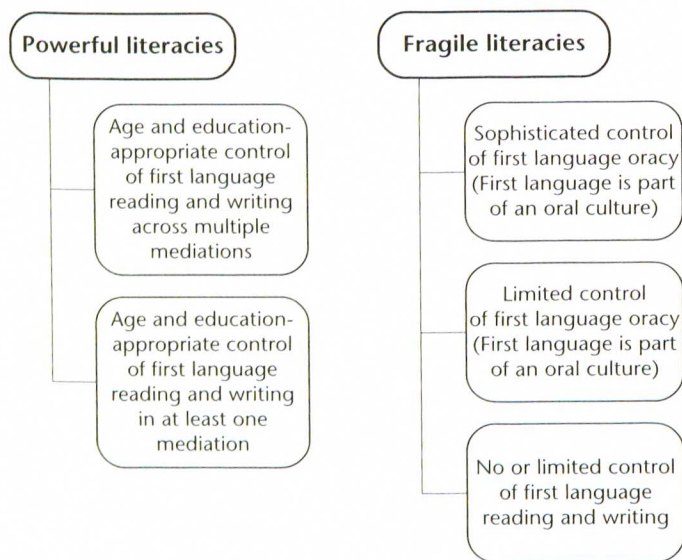- No or limited control of first language reading and writing

FIGURE 6.1 Powerful and fragile literacies.

content, media and context, starting with development as the most nested (ibid.: 99). Within each of these four areas they identify three continua. In all of these continua the first mentioned term is the less powerful. This allows Hornberger and her associates to engage with issues of literacy and empowerment in classroom contexts for transformative purposes. The intersecting and overlapping continua enable teachers, administrators and researchers to work with learners to develop command of practices that 'garner more power than others' (ibid.: 98).

An important consequence of this approach is that development is seen as embedded within a series of other relationships that have pedagogy as their focus. We see connections between this view and our view of Multiplicity, but given the different purposes of the two frameworks, the spaces have been labelled and configured differently. Both approaches have pedagogic advantages. Our model provides a framework for describing the resources that individuals have for communication and with appropriate mediation can be used to develop descriptions of what learners wish to have. This enables teachers and researchers to understand diverse individual perspectives within classroom contexts and to engage individual learners in empowering learning without assuming that each individual has the same goal. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) offer a framework for considering the relationships between particular practices and how teachers and their students collectively engage with learner empowerment.

Other researchers such as Freebody and Luke (1990: 7) have not explicitly engaged with the individual's communicative repertoire but have instead identified four roles for successful readers that are closely connected with features of our two social dimensions and how the tensions are embedded in the literature on literacy. They identify four roles: code breaker (see tension 1), text participant (see tension 2), text user (see tension 3) and text analyst (also see tension 3). They note that these four roles are as much an issue for learners as they are for language educators (see tension 4).

Both Hornberger's literacy lenses and Freebody and Luke's (1990) roles point to the need to consider whole contexts and to relate micro-level features to larger structures in systematic and critical ways. The New London Group's focus on multiliteracies (see contributions in Cope and Kalantzis 2000) has engaged not only with issues of multimodality in ways that connect with the insights of Hornberger as well as Freebody and Luke, but also with pedagogies that work to create awareness of the various aspects of the multiliteracies that learners and teachers are working with. The New London group present overt instruction as one of their primary goals and contend that such instruction can take many forms as it not the form but the intended scaffolding that is in focus. Our model of the communicative repertoire and the Multiplicity that is embedded within it provides a means of scaffolding the learner to focus on both aspects of their communicative experiences and aspects of themselves, both of which are important for presenting linguistic self. As we will outline in Chapter 8, our framework enables the critical framing necessary for learners to gain an understanding of their linguistic self within their own social contexts, as our model enables learners to both reflect on and reformulate their

communicative acts. Congruent with the New London Group's view, the potential for reformulation is central to our model as each communicative act is conditioned by contexts, which are both dynamic and momentary. Transforming communicative acts to reflect purposes is central to our aims. This involves a need for learners to critically reflect on the interpretations of meaning and how meaning is negotiated in context. As van Compernolle (2010: 450) argues, any responsive pedagogy must 'account for the social dynamics of language use in context'. While his focus is on the need to widen the type of situations and interactions learners have both 'in and beyond the classroom', including widening the range of texts and providing learners with a more central role in their language learning, our focus on literacies and their development reflect the goals presented in the situated practices of the New London Group: that learners must develop an ability to use modes in their appropriate forms and to be able to choose which combinations of features are most effective for any given situation from 'among all options available to all speakers' (van Compernolle 2010: 446).

Relationships between additional language acquisition and additional language literacies

Whether taking a broad or narrow view of literacy, additional language acquisition and additional language literacies are inherently connected. Ortega (2012) points to some of the differences that can be said to characterize the relationship between additional language acquisition and additional language literacies, while welcoming attempts to bridge those differences and offering ways forward. In the same spirit, we frame the relationship between two fields that contribute to the development of plurilingualism as more complementary than oppositional. As we commented in Chapter 5, we see additional language acquisition studies as having foregrounded the sound mode, but with growing attention to movement (and some attention to spatial orientation and image). We see additional language literacies as having foregrounded image and movement, but there is now an increasing attention to sound (with some attention to spatial orientation). We see additional language acquisition as having foregrounded the human body as mediator with some but uncertain engagement with analogue and digital technologies, more as contexts of use than as mediators in their full right whereas additional language literacies work has embraced a wider range of the elements of this dimension. We see both areas as engaging with the range of elements of varieties, although personhood and temporal context have a greater presence in additional language literacies than in additional language acquisition. Both areas deal with macro- and micro-texts though they are labelled differently (interlanguage pragmatics and text/genre studies respectively). Key is a variable element in both areas and otherness is growing as an aspect of both areas. It is our hope that the elaboration of Multiplicity will help both areas to refine their understanding of how their endeavours can complement one another.

Notes

1 See Kirkpatrick and Xu (2012) for an alternative perspective on Chinese rhetorical traditions.
2 Edelsky and Jilbert (1985) were among the earlier users of 'biliteracy', but the first use of the term in academic contexts appears to have been in a symposium in 1975 (see Bernal 1975). There was, however, a bilingual and biliteracy programme in Laredo, Texas that began in 1964 (see United States. Special Sub-Committee on Bilingual Education, 1967: 176).
3 Work such as Martin and Rothery (1981) has highlighted some of the aspects of such development in first language writing.

7

MULTIPLICITY AS WAYS OF THINKING AND DOING

A new perspective on plurilingualisms and multilingualisms

This chapter focuses on issues related to how selves engage with individual plurilingualism, resulting from engaging with two or more macro-geopolitical varieties. The dominant ways of framing the field build on notions of separate systems within (largely) societal frames and make use of terms such as bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism, bilinguality or polylingualism. Dominant issues include self's repertoire versus society's reservoirs; different types of plurilingual selves and how repertoires (and reservoirs) expand, shrink and are deployed. In exploring these issues, we consider how a view of reservoir, the individual communicative repertoire(s), and the multiplicity therein create a useful perspective for understanding the nature of the plurilingual self and how that self has the capacity to communicate with others.

Important tensions

Societal vs individual

The work of Ferguson (1959), Gumperz (1964a, 1964b) and Fishman (1967) established perspectives through which societal multilingualism could be understood as ordered, systematic and rich in resources. These works were central to later attempts to understand increasingly public displays of multilingualism as part of the reservoir available to members of communities (Coupland 2012). Continuing this trend, increasingly, research interests have highlighted terms such as 'translanguaging' (García 2009), 'linguistic landscapes' (Backhaus 2007) and many studies have documented the reservoirs associated with diverse populations (Clyne 2005; Li Wei 2011a; Duchêne and Heller 2012) and the challenges that engaging with that diversity presents for both researchers and policy makers (Le Page 1968; Bono and Melo-Pfeifer 2010). Current work in this area (e.g., García 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010;

Blommaert and Backus 2012) acknowledges the increasingly diverse and globalized world as well as creating a sense of this as normal, but also complex and changing. This perspective of the field is a societal one. The societal perspective is vitally important because it both makes resources available to individuals and either offers rewards or imposes sanctions (sometimes simultaneously) on individuals when they select and deploy particular resources. Institutions are vital agents in transmitting societal values to individuals. A key feature of most institutions in the industrialized world is that their practices are often monolingual and impose sanctions on those whose behaviours do not conform to their norms (Salomone 2012; Menken and Solorza 2014). Positions on translanguaging (García 2009) and translanguaging spaces (Li Wei 2011a) highlight multiple ways in which individuals select and deploy features from within the totality of resources available to them in powerful and empowering ways that often conflict with institutional norms. Multiplicity enables the individuals' deployment of their monolingual and plurilingual practices to be described. Multiplicity is thus broader than translanguaging. It acknowledges that individuals have the capacity to select and deploy features from within their communicative repertoire that are (sufficiently) consistent with perceptions of a singular macro-geopolitical variety (language) to satisfy the requirements of gatekeepers of monolingual norms and also have the capacity to creatively combine features from multiple sources to satisfy other needs.

While the translanguaging position offers a critique of the imposition of a narrow monolingual norm (see García and Sylvan 2011), the Multiplicity position enables engagement with that norm as one part of self's wider communicative repertoire.

One consequence of this position is that space re-emerges for use of the term 'language'. While 'language' is clearly not an adequate term to capture the totality of self's Multiplicity, when self comes to engage with particular (and particularly national) institutions that norm themselves in relation to a specific macro-geopolitical variety, it makes sense to refer to this variety with the common label, language (see Jørgensen 2008 for a similar argument) so that it is possible to identify all of the norms with which self is engaging.

Any individual's communicative repertoire necessarily interacts with both the communicative repertoires of other selves and the general reservoir of resources available to those selves. Individuals are seen as both distinctive and as part of the larger society, and as being both similar to and different from each other. Individual actions are not determined by societal frames but are nonetheless affected by them. Any view of multiple codes is necessarily bound up with attempts to understand relationships between societal and individual perspectives. Mackey (1962 [in Li Wei 2000: 26]), who was an early and powerful advocate for wider understandings of plurilingualism in a social context, identified some of the challenges that these understandings raise:

> An individual's use of two languages supposes the existence of two different language communities … since a closed community in which everyone is fluent in two languages could get along just as well with one language.

Mackey's central argument was that plurilinguals need reasons for maintaining their plurilingualism and these depend on how society and its institutions are organized. An important part of that understanding is how self engages with macro-geopolitical varieties as different points of reference, with different norms attached.

Just as we offered a focus on the individual self when opening up the communicative repertoire, we offer here a view of understanding self with respect to the literature on plurilingualism. We take the view of selves as having access to different reservoirs, developing different communicative repertoires and engaging with them in different ways. We contend that a focus on society rather than the individual obscures the locations and purposes of individual resources (although note how Blommaert and Backus [2012] use experiences embedded in societies as dimensions of analysis of individual repertoires of a plurilingual). The two-way division between individual resources and societal resources offers up other inconsistencies that we also believe should be disentangled in order to consider the multiple aspects of societal and individual framing.

One of these issues concerns the notion of reservoirs versus repertoires. Bernstein (1999: 159) takes as his point of departure the reservoir as the totality of all that is available to the community: 'the total of sets and its potential of the community as a whole'. We take the position that while this type of endless black hole may exist, each individual self has access to only part of that 'treasure', and each individual has access to slightly different and overlapping sets. No two individuals have exactly the same set of communicative resources. This is most obvious in instances of language shift, where within a single family each individual has had available to him or her access to different sets of resources and has noticed and stored different sets of feature options and selected and combined and stored them as their normal way of communicating (Clyne et al. 2002). In order to understand self and how he or she interacts with others, we need finer distinctions. This includes both general resources that are 'out there' in the global context and the reservoirs individuals have access to. We also need to understand how the communicative repertoire that each self possesses is different from the communicative repertoire of others that co-exist with self (friends, families, colleagues). We need a way of understanding how these individual repertoires and reservoirs relate to one another. We further need to unpack the repertoire of self into what is stored and deployed (done) from what is known about those resources and what is/can be done. In other words, describing individual plurilingualisms and societal multilingualisms is no simple feat. We focus in this volume on individual repertoires and how they can be understood as ways of doing and knowing. Such a framing can then be used for points of comparison for considering how repertoires (and possibly reservoirs) engage with one another. In Chapter 8, we show how some of this may be achieved through meta awareness raising. We leave issues of individual reservoirs and how they interact within and amongst themselves, and how they relate to the broader global reservoir for future consideration. Figure 7.1 illustrates the complexity of the resources available to self through and within the communicative repertoires of self and others and through the multiple and diverse global reservoir available to all.
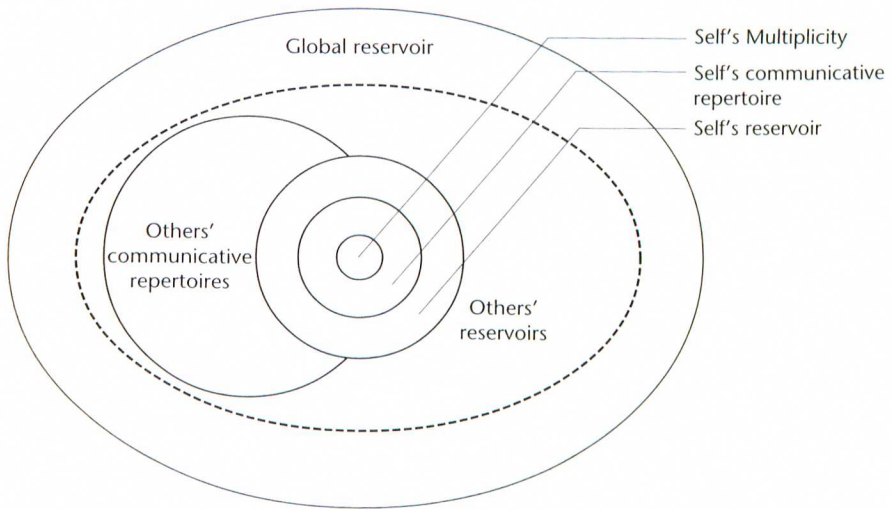
FIGURE 7.1 An overview of plurilingualisms and multilingualisms.

Labelling

Labels which blur

As others have noted, there are many labels used to describe the linguistic resources of individuals and societies in either a single or a dichotomous frame. Some labels are particularly ambiguous in their framing; conflating the multiple societal and individual resources into a single label. This prevents us from distinguishing patterns in the individual's repertoire from patterns available in the localized and global reservoirs (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000). Two such labels that conflate are bilingual/ism and multilingual/ism.[1]

These labels have embedded within them a blurring of a different sort. It is often unclear whether bilingualism refers to 'two' or 'two or more' languages and likewise whether multilingualism refers to 'two or more' or 'more than two' (Aronin and Hufeisen 2009). In other words, there are contexts where bilingualism and multilingualism are considered to be synonymous and others where they have distinctive meanings. Romaine (1985) and García (2009) used the term bilingualism as 'two or more' as did Haugen (1987) and Grosjean (1982). However, elsewhere, multilingualism has been explicitly contrasted with bilingualism, so that multilingualism is used to refer to 'more than two' languages (Todeva and Cenoz 2009). The latter is also the frame for journals such as the *International Journal of Multilingualism*, which publishes manuscripts that focus on more than two discrete systems. The division between bilingual and multilingual is further complicated in Skutnabb-Kangas' more recent work (Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2011), which has used the term multilingualism and included bilingualism within it in order to explicitly acknowledge that in many contexts neither the reservoir nor the individual repertoire are restricted to two languages.

This multiple framing of 'two' or 'more than two' is important not only for understanding the diversity within the repertoire (see Blommaert and Backus 2012), but also when engaging with issues surrounding the cognitive and/or social advantages individuals might gain from knowing two versus more than two languages, the importance of which researchers are yet to fully understand. As Kemp (2009: 24) concludes:

> Evidence from research now appears to indicate that the argument that bilingualism and multilingualism are the same ability, but with different numbers of languages, is not necessarily the case. As research proceeds in more depth, substantial differences between bilinguals and multilinguals appear to be emerging, just as differences between multilinguals are emerging.

As we do not wish to engage in the complexities embedded within the bi- versus multi- debate, we simply wish to note that these labels are too ambiguous. Hence, we will not make further use of them unless reporting work where a particular term is crucial to understanding its significance.

Labels which distinguish discrete systems

Various researchers have focused on the need to distinguish individual versus societal resources. The European Council, for example, uses the label plurilingual to describe individual resources and the term multilingual to describe societal ones (Beacco and Byram 2007). One reason for the attention to these issues is that nations or states which engage with one another use these labels as points of reference for identity and other purposes. In such contexts the issues of marking or minimizing otherness are foregrounded and naming languages as points of reference for identity is important. In a globalized world where population movements are increasing and languages are seen as points of reference, nations demand markers of assumed identity (for reasons that may be anything but noble) and use such labels for policy development and financial planning. In these contexts the naming of sometimes arbitrary sets of features as, e.g., French, Italian, Spanish or Farsi, Dari, Tajik, signals issues of importance not only at the societal level but also for individuals. In these circumstances, these labels are powerful enough to shape acknowledged individual identities and hence relationships between individuals and named codes as points of reference (e.g., she's French and speaks French; he's Vietnamese but doesn't speak Vietnamese). The naming practices are also central to the design and activities of educational institutions.

Views such as those above separate language into discrete systems and suggest that different linguistic selves are associated with different systems. For plurilinguals, this implies that they are, in Grosjean's (1985, 1989) terms, two individuals within one body. Grosjean has argued the opposite: that a speaker's plurilingualism should be seen as interconnected (e.g., two inter-related language systems) and consequently that there should be, in our terms, a single self that deploys plurilingual resources. But even Grosjean's rejection of the fractional (or monolingual) view of bilingualism in

favour of a holistic view still retains the notion of languages as discrete systems (see examples in Pavlenko 2011).

Other aspects embedded within this discrete view of language systems involve views of code-switching and code-mixing, which consider languages as discrete systems. Blom and Gumperz (1972) brought the study of code-switching into focus with their study of how speakers alternated between one variety of standard Norwegian (Bokmål) and a local dialect (Ranamål) where all speakers had full access to both varieties. Blom and Gumperz identified two forms of code switching both of which took language as a prime. The first was situational switching, where the move from one variety to another accompanied a change in relationships between the participants (e.g., a change from 'lecturing' to 'discussing'). The second was metaphorical switching that accompanied a change of topic (e.g., from something distant to something local) but did not involve any change in relationships between the participants. In both, there is a view that the two points of reference denote discrete systems. Much of the literature on code-switching and code-mixing maintains this distinction including frameworks such as Myer-Scotton's (1997) view of a Matrix language.

Labels which consider non-discrete systems

Other researchers have introduced language as non-discrete systems, and have introduced other labels to attend to issues, which we have included under our label Multiplicity. These researchers have taken a position that avoids viewing languages as discrete systems. Bakhtin (1979 in Russian, but in translation in English in 1986) used the terms 'polyphony' to capture elements or echoes of multiple other voices and 'heteroglossia' to emphasize the multiple varieties subsumed by any particular language (see also Park-Fuller 1986). The term 'heteroglossia' in particular is used increasingly to refer to issues that involve the selection of features associated with multiple norms of use (Bailey 2007).

Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) have proposed 'metrolingualism' to capture the varied and multiple ways in which more than one language, culture and identity can be used in intersection with one another. While many of these intersections are of prime concern for us, metrolingualism, as the authors themselves acknowledge, has associations with urban worlds, which for us is insufficiently inclusive.

Jørgensen (2008) and Jørgensen et al. (2011) argue for the advantages in using sets of features, which they label 'polylingualism' to frame the individual's plurilingual resources. Our position aligns with this approach in many ways. While we acknowledge that sets of feature options typically revolve around points of reference (typically labelled as language x, y, z), it is not the case that any self will consistently separate out such systems. Any self who has noticed and stored multiple points of reference (that may be labelled French, Spanish, English, Cantonese) will have sets of features associated with these, which overlap to varying degrees at different moments in time as each self deploys each communicative act. Jørgensen (2008) and Jørgensen et al. (2011) use this observation to call for an approach to sets of features at the individual level, but see no option other than to retain 'languages' as a term at the societal level.

Individuals notice and select different sets of feature options from their contexts in relation to particular purposes that may or may not be in accord with normed societal points of reference. These sets may equate with different languages, but often they include features which are communicative but not associated with specific standard points of reference (see Blommaert and Backus [2011] for a description of some of the diverse resources that are recruited). Our view of sets of features attempts to account for competing sets of features associated with multiple points of reference (L1, L2 … Ln) but also the ambiguity and blending inherent in communication (see Woolard 1998; Heller 2007) and writing and signing as selves notice, select and combine different sets for competing purposes.

This view has implications for the ways code-switching and code-mixing are considered. Auer (2007: 320) has argued that in code-switching studies where a 'language' cannot be a 'prime of linguistic analysis' there is a need for a change in framing. This is foreshadowed in Le Page (1968), where it was pointed out that it isn't clear when underlying systems are genuinely and systematically different and by Hasselmo (1970) who described 'marginal passages', where it is not clear that two different languages are involved. Gumperz (1967) made a similar observation about individuals in communities who end up in extended contact with one another, and find themselves using sets of features that are essentially interchangeable and where not even speakers of those separately named languages can easily recognize differences. More recent observations by Blackledge and Creese (2010: 30) in their study of multilingualism in the United Kingdom point to similar conclusions:

> Some of our research participants, all at first glance of the same 'ethnic' and 'linguistic' group, not only disagreed with each other about what constituted a 'language', they also disagreed with each other about where a 'language' began and ended and about the value that could be assigned to a particular set of linguistic resources.

If languages are not so easy to distinguish (see also Jørgensen et al. 2011), then concepts such as code-switching, code-mixing and code meshing (Myers-Scotton 1997; Muysken 2000; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Canagarajah 2011) become questionable. Together, these comments suggest that labels that appear to assume the continual existence of discrete systems are increasingly problematic. This is even more so when we consider aspects of pluralism embedded within concepts of multimodality. We use the label Multiplicity to refer to the selecting, combining and storing of combinations of feature sets and avoid (where possible) the label language as we believe that focusing on features is the most viable way of exploring plurilingualism in today's multimodal society.[2]

Multimodality

When features instead of languages are the subject of study, it raises questions about the nature of what is available to be learned (features of communication or language)

and how it might be learned. We have elaborated a shape for the communicative repertoire that shows how it contains multiple elements and dimensions that work together. These repertoires of selves as well as the reservoir available to each self and the general Bernsteinian (1999) reservoir intersect and interconnect in multiple ways and these interactions are increasingly foregrounded in studies of multimodality (Backhaus 2007; Coupland 2012). Some recent studies have pointed to intriguing ways in which features that can be included in reservoirs are even wider than had previously been considered. Tokita (forthcoming) presented a study of bi-musicality in Japan showing how different musical traditions can be seen as identifiable features of the reservoir. Other studies, such as Gardner-Chloros (forthcoming), suggest that multimodal perspectives incorporating artistic works and artists' writings shift as the individuals concerned engage with different macro-geopolitical varieties and visual imagery and representational options in different locations.

Insights into multimodality reveal that within the dimension of modes, there is an increasing emphasis on multiple selections (involving sound, images, movement and spatial orientations). Cunliffe and Roberts-Young (2005) explored some of the issues involved in bilingual website design in Wales showing that visual images of various kinds are now both a much more widely used and a much more accepted dimension of general communication (see also George 2002; Tardy 2005). In other works, multimodality is associated with the dimension of purposes and the studies document how not all macro-geopolitical varieties available to self are equally accepted. For example, Tannenbaum (forthcoming) describes the process of resistance associated with engaging with writing in Hebrew for Arab writers living and working in Israel. In other studies, the dimensions within varieties and purposes are shown to overlap. Fung and Carter (2007: 51) document the use of English and features of Cantonese in online communication in England, where 'code-mixing as a linguistic strategy is used to 'foreground feelings of friendship, rapport and cultural bonding' (aspects of key) but where decisions are simultaneously constrained by purposes including 'the pragmatic intent of the interlocutor.'

As Ivkovic and Lotherington (2009: 32) point out:

> The choice, prominence and juxtaposition of languages in cyberspace create an important dimension of global linguistic ecology, and the channels, choices and limits in languages in cyberspace affect fragile balances in individual and social linguistic repertoires.

This should, we argue, lead us to question and explore those balances and how to best represent them in different types of plurilinguals since potential availability of features within either a global and/or a localized reservoir does not automatically equate with effectiveness of communication if those features are not noticed and stored and able to be deployed as part of an individual's Multiplicity. Further, the issue of how self sustains effective development and deployment of a differentiated Multiplicity needs careful attention, particularly since educational institutions are likely to recognize only limited aspects of reservoirs in significant gatekeeping

functions such as assessment (see the work of Baker and de Kanter 1981 as an example).[3]

Types of plurilinguals

Although there are many different types of plurilinguals (see, for example, Baker 2011), the two types about which we know the most are simultaneous and sequential plurilinguals. We explore some of that knowledge base and what it says about plurilingualisms below.

Simultaneous plurilinguals

The development of simultaneous plurilingualism (i.e., having access to more than one norm from birth or very close to birth) has been an area that has been primarily studied by applied linguists. It is not until such children enter formal (educational) institutions that such repertoires become the subject of notice by language educators.

There is a long history of applied linguistic description of the process of simultaneous plurilingual development. Ronjat (1913) (in French) was among the earliest positive studies of simultaneous plurilingual development. This study was followed by the detailed work published by Leopold (in English) between 1939 and 1949 that recorded his daughter's acquisition of German and English (Leopold 1939–49). Swain (1972) used the label 'bilingualism as a first language' to provide a name for the simultaneity of engagement with the two norms. More recently, Yip and Matthews (2007) have done extensive work with Chinese–English bilingual children. Taura and Taura (2012) have extended this approach in work with a Japanese–English participant over fourteen years to age 19. Kabuto (2011) has explored the process whereby a simultaneous plurilingual acquires different writing systems. This work also includes a discussion of some of the challenges that her daughter encountered as she began to engage with formal educational institutions.

One of the issues that permeates this literature is how plurilingual children growing up with such experiences map their experiences onto macro-geopolitical norms based on experiences with how they notice features in the repertoires of individuals with whom they interact. At the social level, this is often manifested in arguments for 'one parent one language'. From a cognitive perspective, the issue is more complex. Early on, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) proposed that such children begin with a stage of using words from two macro-geopolitical norms as part of an undifferentiated system followed by a second stage in which there are two lexicons framed by one grammar followed by a third stage in which both the lexicons and the grammars are separated. Meisel (2011) and various others (see the report in Li Wei 2010) have strongly contested this claim, presenting evidence of the presence of two separate macro-geopolitical norms from very early in children's plurilingualism. In making these claims, Meisel and others have used evidence from children's ways of doing to make inferences about what they know. Kabuto (2011) suggests that these ways of knowing involve periods where significant connections are made across elements of modes.

She reported the gradual emergence of differentiated writing systems with major transition points that explored not only letters, but also shapes and colours as meaning-making systems, highlighting the interconnections that are made. Together, these studies strongly suggest that individual children are able to differentiate norms and also associate them purposely with different types of interlocutors (Reyes 2012; Sneddon 2012; Brown 2013). This in turn suggests that the threads in the social dimensions of the communicative repertoire play an important role in language acquisition.

Since simultaneous plurilinguals (at least in western contexts but see Romaine 1985 and Low et al. 2010 for consideration of other contexts) often grow up using one set of features with one parent and another set with another parent, the major source of this information will be the interactions with their caregivers (De Houwer 2009). Studies such as Hammer et al. (2012), have pointed to intersecting influences of engagement as well as particular influences from particular types of interlocutors (in this study mothers) in their study of Spanish and English plurilinguals in the United States. Park et al. (2012) have demonstrated that plurilingual development responds to the specific patterns of language use of those that the emerging plurilinguals interact with rather than general societal attitudes, suggesting that simultaneous plurilinguals interact with features and feature combinations in the repertoires and the Multiplicity of others rather than with any societal or global reservoir.

Chevalier (2013) has also shown how the specific interaction patterns involved in caretaker feedback strategies correlate with the child's patterns of language use, in this instance in a trilingual family in Switzerland. Her findings mirror evidence provided by Lanza (2004) in relation to children in bilingual environments and point to the significant role of interlocutors in creating frames for understanding boundaries between specific sets of features even though the child's repertoire is not so consistently framed. This suggests that in supportive circumstances a simultaneous plurilingual has the capacity to clearly differentiate the communicative repertoire of self from the communicative repertoire of others and through this process learn how he or she can deploy communicative acts that are both different from and similar to others (see Blackledge and Creese 2010 for discussion).

As these examples indicate, despite self's repertoire consisting of a resource that needs to be understood as a whole, simultaneous plurilinguals have the capacity to access the diverse features and feature sets of their interlocutors. In this process, they associate the features and feature sets with different norms of use (*this is my father's language*) and often also with labels (*he speaks French*). This way of knowing is a central resource for formal education as institutions often place boundaries around sets of features and label them in specific ways (*in this class you will use Japanese*). In some instances, sets of feature options may be in conflict (Chevalier 2013).

Kabuto (2011: 103) reports how encounters with school led her daughter to decide *I don't want to be Japanese any more*. In such circumstances, the personhood elements of the communicative repertoire lead the plurilingual to decisions such as *I am able to construct a linguistic self by using only one of my points of reference: I can be a student in language x*. Allocations of features to the elements within the dimensions may be differentiated for each set of features associated with different points of

reference (*I use these sounds as non-linguistic with one set of features and as linguistic in another; I have a more interactive style of speaking with this set of features than in the other; I select features from both points of reference to reflect choices about my girlish side*) or they may be analysed as similar. Converged feature sets have consequences. Using feature sets from a macro-text associated with one point of reference in another point of reference (language *γ*) often results in a poor grade (see discussion of whole text approaches in Chapter 6). If, however, a plurilingual self is knowledgeable about the different points of reference, he or she may be able to converge, with positive effects (e.g., when engaging in writing in creative and interesting ways he or she may be able to play with combinations, converging and diverging at different purposeful moments in time, see Sayer [2013] for discussion). Such decisions become possible when self has had the opportunity to associate features with specific points of reference as a result of experiences that are both sufficiently rich and consistent. In the case of simultaneous plurilinguals, there are often protracted periods of negotiation about which norms will apply in which circumstances.

Incipient and sequential plurilinguals

For other plurilinguals, sets of features are encountered at different points in time. The development of sequential plurilingualism (i.e., beginning to engage with a different norm after first engaging with another or the addition of a new literacy to an established plurilingual repertoire) often (but not necessarily) has its beginnings in a formal educational context. Sequential plurilinguals have a repertoire where allocations in relation to threads have already been made: at least some linguistic and non-linguistic values have been assigned to modes, interactive and non–interactive values have been assigned to mediations, interlocutors have been associated with different roles for different communicative purposes, and norms have been assigned to particular types of codes within the dimensions of their communicative repertoire. Selves have also noticed and stored sets of features in their repertoires, and stored deployed combinations for future communicative acts in ways that acknowledge points of reference. On this basis, these selves have the capacity to notice differences between the features that they have already encountered and new features.

This first noticing, which Diebold (1961: 111) called 'incipient' plurilingualism is associated with the capacity to understand features from a previously un–encountered norm or to combine features from different norms in communicative acts. For individuals in this situation their incipient plurilingualism reflects the addition of features from a different set to an existing repertoire. In this case, what we see is a shift in emphasis from additional language acquisition. Additional language acquisition focuses on the processes involved in expanding and controlling just the one point of reference in self's Multiplicity. Incipient plurilingualism and the subsequent 'emergent' plurilingualism when 'the speaker can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' (Haugen 1953: 7) keep the focus on Multiplicity as a whole. As self progresses beyond incipient plurilingualism, self may select and deploy sets of features as fully differentiated (Grosjean's 1985 two monolinguals in one body) or as

partly or fully converged (Bullock et al. 2006; Sayer 2013). Individuals may notice and select what they see and hear as points of difference or notice and select what they see and hear as points of similarities (/t/ in French may be seen as the same feature as English [with the same contrasts and pronunciation]; as overlapping [as a phoneme but one with phonetic differences] or potentially as different [as a dental French /t/ rather than as an English alveolar /t/]) and these selections will affect later deployments. Further, existing features in one element (e.g., movement in mode) may be stored as combinable with new features or existing ones (movement in L1 may be combined with sounds in L2) (see discussions in Pavlenko 2011). These choices (and redeployments over time) entail that different selves will combine features from different elements within their communicative repertoire as more or less converging or diverging. As sets of features are selected (rather than languages), some parts of the communicative repertoire of the plurilingual may converge and others diverge.

At first, the incipient plurilingual will have a limited set of features for the new point of reference and a limited way of selecting and combining these, and a limited set of deployed combinations from which to select. In some elements, there may be few features (e.g., features for deploying certain activities: such as telling jokes in their L2). Under those circumstances, self's Multiplicity may converge and self may tell jokes in language x using features from the macro- and micro-texts from language y or mix existing and new features to achieve desired communicative goals to avoid their interlocutors laughing at them rather than at their jokes; or avoid telling jokes entirely in their new point of reference as they may feel that they cannot achieve a successful communicative act with this type of personhood as they cannot convey their intent (note ways in which Blommaert and Backus [2012] describe the different functions that different languages fulfil in the repertoire and how those intersect with the biographical dimension of the repertoire). Unless there is evidence of differentiation, it can be hard to distinguish these practices from the effective deployment of Multiplicity described in Li Wei (2011a,b) or in Slotte-Lüttge and Pörn (2013).

These diverse approaches to plurilingual resources (that make use of notions of features and sets of features rather than entire linguistic systems) creates a way of encapsulating the diversity of plurilingual practices while challenging educational provisions to engage with such diverse points of reference positively and supportively (Glynn et al. 2005; Bagga-Gupta 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2011).

Classroom connections

As we noted at the beginning of this chapter, individual actions are not determined by societal frames but are nonetheless affected by them. It is important to distinguish between different plurilingual practices and their associations with institutional success. A prerequisite for educational success is rich sets of features and confident engagement with the privileged intersections of macro- and micro-geopolitical varieties as they are manifested in the different combinations of the social dimensions. The conventional frame for this has been a concept of 'additive bilingualism' (Lambert 1975). This approach requires a rich and coherent set of features in at least

one 'language' on to which a rich and coherent set of features is added or an existing rich and coherently differentiated repertoire which can be expanded and grown in age-appropriate ways (see Lindholm-Leary 2001; Swain 2006).

From the 1950s, even if against a background of a perception of loss, there has been a concerted effort to present plurilingualism as normal, widespread and diverse (Haugen 1938, 1950; Weinreich 1953; Ferguson 1959; Mackey 1962). The work of Peal and Lambert (1962) is generally accepted as pivotal in their empirical documentation that at least one type of individual plurilingualism had demonstrable benefits for intelligence. This provided the foundation for subsequent arguments about how a plurilingual repertoire could be an advantage in formal learning.

This literature has consistently suggested that individuals with full sets of features in more than one code have increased cognitive capacity that is not evident in individuals with more limited access to one of their codes (Peal and Lambert 1962; Bialystok and Viswanathan 2009; Kang 2012). Limited access to certain sets of feature options also impedes access to wider community resources (using the bank, getting adequate health care, participation in public life, etc.), issues of major significance in life beyond formal education. Evidence summarized in Lindholm-Leary (2001), Harley et al. (1990) and Hermanto et al. (2012) all show how carefully established programmes that connect individual plurilingual repertoires to micro-geopolitical contexts that make use of specific norms lead to long-term success (see Collier 1989, 1992 for evidence of the long-term engagement that is required). Block (2012) also reports how sustained long-term support of individual plurilingualism in schools provides for more stable plurilingual Multiplicity and greater engagement with the multilingual reservoir among Latino students in the United States. Such contexts accept a view of a differentiated repertoire.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) provided evidence of the damage that can be caused when the school language draws on a different reservoir from that of the home. The absence of first language support leads to severe disadvantage for children submerged (rather than immersed) in an additional language environment. Frameworks such as that proposed by Cummins (1978, 1979) suggest how appropriate first language development would contribute to later additional language development (how different sets of features from discrete language systems can best co-exist). In developing this framework, Cummins coined terms for the specific development thresholds that learners must cross if they are to avoid the disadvantages and obtain the benefits of education in an additional language. The first threshold was called BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and the second, CALPS (Cognitive Academic Linguistic Proficiency Skills). In a subsequent reframing, Cummins (1984) suggests a less dichotomous approach and opened up possibilities for pedagogical interventions that support learners in moving through the space that he outlined. Recent work such as García (2009) has extended such approaches to include the exploration of less fragmented (Grosjean 1985) views of plurilingualism and to consider how minority languages might be revitalized and new Multiplicities encouraged.

These approaches see the relationships between the stances of the dominant culture and the choices made by members of the minority culture and offer ways in which

both individual plurilingualism and societal multilingualism can be promoted (see discussion in Hornberger and Link 2012). The earlier frameworks tended to work with undifferentiated views of whole language proficiency. However, over time the approaches have become more refined and nuanced. Hornberger (1989a, 2004) and Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) proposed in a framework for biliteracy that the dimensions of the repertoires of plurilingualism are located along multiple and different continua. This type of framework recognizes the need to search for ways to engage with variation so that the connections can be expanded in ways that are additive and where coherent and comprehensive repertoires can develop. Given the diversity and creativity that is a feature of Multiplicity, such approaches are not about imposing a particular 'target', but rather exploring different ways in which the various norms and relationships with interlocutors can be explored and owned by learners.

A vital point to note is that designing programs that engage with norms is not the same as imposing particular norms (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). Jaspers (2011a) and Li Wei (2011b) have described minority group members challenging ways in which they are stereotyped by using the stereotyped combinations of elements in ways that invest them with ironic or distancing meanings (an example of othering in our framework). McMillan and Rivers (2011) document teachers' attitudes that reject institutional practices requiring exclusive use of the target language as a step to create space for creative deployment of a broad range of communicative acts.

For applied linguists and language educators, part of that understanding of knowing and doing involves understanding the repertoires of these individuals and what they know and do with each set of features. Part of that understanding also involves understanding the resources available in their reservoirs and how they differ from those of other reservoirs that children from different backgrounds draw on. Another part of that understanding involves not exploring what they cannot do but rather what they do with the combinations of feature sets that learners draw on when they draw on resources from different points of reference which may be realized as *I do this with this set of features, I do this with that set of features and I do this with a mixed set of features.* Understanding the norming practices, and how they are reflected in different modes and mediations, as well as for which purposes is an important part of this knowing. It is also important that children and adults benefit from this and that language educators can help them explore their meta awareness to develop an understanding of how their systems can and do interact. We illustrate how such understandings can be attenuated in Chapter 8.

Conclusion to Part II

By elaborating a multi-dimensional construct to capture elements of plurilingual multimodal behaviour, we have presented a way of thinking more inclusively about the overall development of communicative repertoires. In defining acquisition as the processes that self goes through in seeking to expand, understand and control Multiplicity, we have sought to offer a perspective that can work in both the more fragmented perspectives of additional language acquisition and additional language

literacy and the more wholistic perspectives of plurilingualism. In so doing we elaborated the place of not only speaking/listening and reading/writing, but also digitally and visually mediated forms of communication. We hope that the multi-dimensional framework for communicative acts that we have outlined presents a framework that helps language educators and applied linguists to see their work in relation to the same 'whole' – even if the lenses through which the whole is examined (sometimes) highlight different aspects.

In framing relationships between Language Education and Applied Linguistics we focus on the place of selves and how they notice, store, select, combine and deploy features. The framework takes Edwards' (2004: 7) stance that 'Everyone is bilingual. ... there is no one in the world (no adult, anyway) who does not know at least a few words in languages other than the maternal variety.'

In an attempt to normalize perceptions of use of more than one language, Aronin and Singleton (2008: 1–2) argued that multilingualism (and we would argue plurilingualism) is 'ubiquitous'. This entails a societal need for institutions that support such framings. This involves providing opportunities for additional language learning for those with limited access to additional languages so that they can communicate more fully in this globalized context and providing opportunities for continued language acquisition for those who have a first language other than the school language. We explore how our framework can begin to develop an understanding way of knowing and doing in classrooms and other educational settings in the next chapter.

Notes

1 Building on Ferguson (1959), Fishman (1967) provides a good discussion of such differences with respect to diglossic contexts, ones where specific codes have distinctive roles as well as contexts in which they are used.

2 Jorgensen (2008) and Jorgensen et al. (2011) have noted the difficulty with abandoning the label 'language'.

3 This three–part sequence notice-store-combine for deployment has important implications for the communicative repertoire of passive plurilinguals and other language attriters who have noticed and stored sets of features but cannot easily access them for deployment.

PART III
Designing language learning

8

MULTIPLICITY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION

In Parts I and II in this volume we have been building an argument that in order to identify the common ground between language users, language educators and applied linguists, we need to widen the framework for what is looked at, define what is contained therein and describe how the parts relate to one another. In Part I we argued that we need a more comprehensive framework to understand how individuals create and deploy their Multiplicity. One aspect of this argument was creating a better understanding of one part of communicative competence. Hymes (1972a: 282) referred to this part as 'ability for use'. This ability is concerned with how individuals variably notice, select, combine and deploy features from multiple dimensions, for purposes which are more or less prominent in their communicative acts. At the end of Part II, we argued that another part of this understanding should focus on how our framework can be a useful frame for examining bodies of work related to emerging or established plurilingualism within Applied Linguistics and Language Education. We end this volume with a focus on Language Education and how learners and teachers can communicate about, control and build communicative repertoires through the use of that part of communicative competence that Hymes (1972a: 282) referred to as '[tacit] knowledge' and which we extend and label meta awareness.

We start this chapter by addressing and re-contextualizing the frequently documented observation that effective deployment of a capacity requires some level of control over what is deployed (see Burgoon et al. 2000). Part of this control requires an awareness of what is being deployed and for which purposes. So, we need to identify what we believe to be this awareness and which labels are better suited to convey that meaning. We begin with a brief review of some existing labels in order to clarify which parts of the labels refer to necessary parts of our definition of meta awareness. The second part of this chapter focuses on how the framework of Multiplicity can serve as a meta awareness tool for implementing (intercultural) communicative competence in educational settings to the benefit of both the learner and the

teacher. Our final section considers another potential benefit of the framework as a tool for meta awareness: how the framework of Multiplicity can be used in teacher education and professional development to explore what theories of Language Education do and do not offer the learner and the educator.

What's in a name? Labels, their promises and pitfalls

A number of labels have been used to refer to the 'meta zone' (Coupland and Jaworski 2004: 19), the areas of research that focus on knowledge about language. The most common labels used in relation to meta awareness of some or all of the parts of a communicative repertoire are: declarative and procedural knowledge, tacit and explicit knowledge, implicit and explicit knowledge, metalinguistic awareness and metalanguage.

The labels declarative and procedural knowledge capture the psychological processes involved in increasing fluent control over a new language. Ullman (2005) is careful to discuss that declarative and procedural memory systems do not map in a one-on-one way onto implicit and explicit knowledge. The procedural memory system, for example, holds information that does not require awareness to access it, but awareness is not precluded (Lum and Kidd 2012). Because work on these issues has largely shifted the focus to the neurolinguistic memory systems rather than how users access the knowledge that may be stored there, we have chosen not to employ these labels.

Hymes (1972a) used the label 'tacit knowledge' to describe knowledge of the ways language is used in contrast to the abstract knowledge of ideal speaker–hearer rules encased in Chomsky's view of competence. Hymes sought to clarify what learners have to gain control over but he did not elaborate on a specific definition of tacit knowledge, other than to state that this knowledge involved knowing what was appropriate, feasible, possible and performable. Those working in Community of Practice framework have used the term 'tacit knowledge' to refer to knowledge that users cannot normally fully describe but which can be drawn out through processes such as extensive contact with others, regular interaction and trust in environments which promote the sharing of knowledge (Wenger et al. 2002). Tacit knowledge, in the latter sense, has been used widely in fields of management, psychology and education and has numerous and varied subtypes. Tacit knowledge contrasts with explicit knowledge in these fields and in the field of Applied Linguistics. In Language Education explicit knowledge has an equally long history as a key means of controlling use. In its simplest form, explicit knowledge is used to refer either to what learners can articulate about what they know or the teaching of rules about how particular features should be used. However, its precise meaning is varied and the term itself is used in different ways within both additional language acquisition research and Language Education.[1] In discussions of the learning of grammar, explicit knowledge refers to knowledge of grammatical terminology, to the ability (including that of teachers) to talk about the functions of use, and to the ability to make grammaticality judgements (see for example Elder et al. 2007 for a useful attempt to unpack these

distinctions). In additional language acquisition research, explicit knowledge has been centrally associated with the debate about the circumstances in which learners will notice differences between the current state of their developing language system and a feature of the input. In pedagogically focused and applied literature, explicit knowledge contrasts with implicit knowledge, but again definitions of what is counted as implicit are far from straightforward. This can be seen in the extended discussions of the case of recasts as feedback (see Lyster and Saito 2010 for recasts and Hulstijn 2005 for more general discussion). The debates around these labels reveal that the boundaries between 'explicit' and 'implicit' knowledge are both unclear and varied and we (as numerous others before us) consider both more explicit and more implicit aspects of meta awareness to play an important role in language learning (see Nguyen et al. 2012 for the positive effects of both types in learning and Nick Ellis 2005 for the distinct but complementary roles that they play). For us, the central point is that in addition to the learner doing something, there is some level of awareness about what is done and this awareness is implicated in important ways (explicitly and implicitly) in the language learning process (see also Schmidt 2001; Bialystok and Barac 2012). Later in this chapter, we show how our model provides a way for teachers and learners to work together in developing awareness of both needs and possibilities within the communicative repertoire.

Additional labels used to refer to the 'meta zone' are not ones of contrast. The terms metalinguistic and metalanguage are two of these. We avoid the label metalinguistic for multiple reasons. First, the research literature in Language Education often uses the label to conflate student knowledge (what one has built up as a representation) and the knowledge required by an L2 teacher to talk about language (Andrews 1999: 163). Second, psycholinguistic research has employed the term to refer to part of executive processing and we do not wish to engage with this dimension here (see for example Bialystok et al. 2014). In the latter literature, there is a strong emphasis on testing linguistic features (e.g., word level awareness, syntactic awareness and to a lesser extent phonological awareness) (Bialystok et al. 2003) to the exclusion of engaging in the broader relations between metalinguistic awareness, identity and the deployment of Multiplicity.

The term metalanguage refers to 'the communicative system that is used to describe and represent itself' (see Jaworski et al. 2004b: 3). We refrain from using this label because of the restricted use of this term. The metalanguage label also contains the lexical item 'language', the singularity of which we wish to avoid. The use of the singular 'language' demotes the multilingual and multimodal nature of the repertoire of most if not all selves that was acknowledged as early as Hymes (1972a: 274): 'Even an ideally fluent monolingual of course is master of functional varieties within the one language.' An additional dimension of ambiguity with the label language is its use in linguistic (as an underlying system) circles and in classrooms (as language x, y, z). The label metalanguage also has multiple meanings for different users, which come to light when describing meta awareness. Elder et al. (2007: 225) use the term metalanguage to refer to 'technical or semi-technical words for grammatical categories and functions', which echoes a use of this term that is often embedded in

curriculum documents such as those of the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), which defines metalanguage as the 'vocabulary used to discuss language conventions and use (for example, language used to talk about grammatical terms such as "sentence", "clause", "conjunction")' (ACARA, http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au, accessed 4 October 2013). When using any label, it needs to be one that is consistently understood and used in similar ways by all parties. Sometimes the only solution is to introduce a new term (or a term new to the specific context), especially when the nature of much of the labelling is also at issue.

In the above discussion, there is often a dichotomizing frame (implicit vs explicit; tacit vs explicit; declarative vs procedural). This frame is due to long-standing and necessary attempts to relate knowledge to action/use in Language Education. However, dichotomizing frames create binary oppositions, which reduce discussion to two (rather than, as we will argue, three) aspects; and create engagements with relationships that centre around these binary poles in a field that is far from binary.

Stripped of technicalities, the relationship between awareness and action embraces a) what we say/write/do in communicative acts; b) what we know about our communicative acts and c) what we can say/write/do about what we know about and do in those communicative acts, either expressed through statements about use or through linguistic terminology. This can be expressed in a triangular relationship (see Figure 8.1 below).

In engaging with these relationships, the debate about implicit and explicit knowledge has focused on triangles b and c, the debate about declarative and procedural knowledge on triangles c and a, the debate about tacit and explicit (in its various forms) on triangles b vs c, and sometimes including a, and debates about metalinguistic knowledge and cognition as an unclear combination of all.
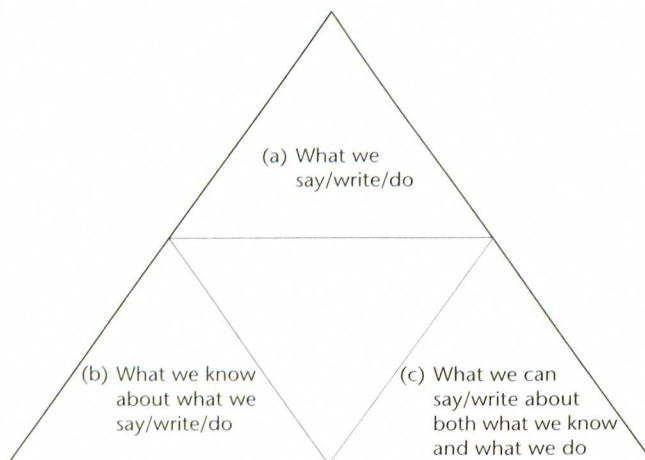

FIGURE 8.1 A three-part view of meta awareness.

Other attempts have explored either one triangle only or other relations. Hymes can be seen as primarily an attempt to get at triangle b, but with some reference to triangle a. Blommaert and others primarily explore triangle a although there is reference to knowledge in Blommaert and Backus (2012). Chomsky explores aspects of triangle b. Alternatively, the relations have been distorted by attempting to dichotomize what is involved as either cognitive or social. As we have sought to demonstrate in Part II, the cognitive and the social are often inter-woven in different ways. We return to the three-way view below, but first we need to present our understanding of meta awareness.

Towards a characterization of meta awareness

We see meta awareness as being an inherent part of command of the communicative repertoire and not one that should be separated from it, relegated to secondary status or attributed little power. We believe meta awareness is an integral part of being able to deploy one's own communicative repertoire effectively since a critical part of the manipulation of deployment is knowing how to and when not to deploy something (see also Pintrich 2002; Aarts and Dijksterhuis 2003; Smallwood et al. 2008). If meta awareness is to be useful as a label, it has to meet distinctive criteria. In our view, meta awareness needs to view communicative acts as varying in size, view communication as both contextualized and problematic and embrace self's entire communicative repertoire, including how self engages with interconnections, and the reasons for such choices. It must deal with a view of self and other in increasingly globalized contexts and from a perspective where views of self are both fluid and creative. It must also embrace a view of the repertoire as consisting of features that are located within a structured repertoire. We have argued that this repertoire should be framed within a four-dimensional space (modes, mediations, varieties and purposes) to enable a view of what we see, hear, read, write, sign, gesture, think and feel to be related to how we explore what we know in meaningful ways that give learners a voice. We explore what we mean by meta awareness below.

The narrower concept of grammatical competence inspired by Chomskyan views of language – that speakers are able to access knowledge about grammaticality – points to the fact that speakers can recognize things such as sentences and that they have a sense of what is (not) grammatical. By design, this approach accented cognitive aspects of meta awareness. It (and often also approaches that sought to contest its assumptions) embraced speakers' awareness of their own abilities, but the debate resulted in pedagogical attempts at presenting or explaining language that were restricted to minimally constructed communicative functions rather than embracing the larger units and intersections through which we have argued that learners construct their linguistic selves. Canale and Swain (1980) is one such example of being constrained by the view that they were contesting. Both they (and other work in Europe which sought to move away from a model of language as grammatical sentences) drew on functions from European frameworks (e.g., Wilkins 1976). This view of functions restricted their analysis to an utterance-level or an initiation-response-level view of what

it means to communicate orally. Such descriptions use sentence-level frames, which suggests a thinking controlled by sentence-level frames that are central to a Chomskyan view of language.[2]

We argue that any view of meta awareness in language teaching has to relate to communicative acts in their entirety rather than trying to situate them as isolated language functions. For this reason, sentence frames are inadequate. If meta awareness is about what we know, that awareness is one which is contextualized. Selves draw on their communicative repertoire of situated contexts built up through prior experience. Contextualized acts provide learners with a comprehensive model in which to configure why speakers communicate in the way they do, as all purposeful communicative acts necessarily have a context (e.g., *I am trying to write with an American writing style* [macro–geopolitical focus], *I am trying to explain a point that I think is difficult for those outside the discipline to understand* [micro–geopolitical focus], *I am trying to show my personal views* [personal history] or *I am trying to express this as if I were a female* [personal body]).[3]

Such a position necessarily takes a view of meta awareness as involving the entire communicative repertoire. It includes knowledge of what Chomsky was interested in about what we know, but it also (and for us vitally) includes what Hymes was interested in. Like Hymes, we believe that meta awareness must be comprehensive and include amongst other things: 'expressive values, socially determined perception, contextual styles and shared norms for the evaluation of variables' (Hymes 1972a: 277).

In contrast to much meta–analysis research, which restricts its focus to learners' meta awareness of grammatical structures (phonology, morphology) of the given code, we want to ensure that it is the full range of features which are embodied within 'knowing how to use a language'. Meta awareness includes learners' knowledge of all aspects of their communicative repertoire from phonological and phonemic awareness to the appropriate use of verb forms to the socially and stylistically appropriate use of pronouns to diverse strategies for being polite to switching between codes and to combining modes or mediations. What may be known includes knowledge such as *you don't mouth excessively when you sign; you don't speak 'too' quietly*, and knowledge of own and others' linguistic practices (*these are old-fashioned ways; this is something that only certain types of young people say; or these speakers speak the language well*, see Thurlow 2001) – all of which associate codes (or types thereof, with specific purposes).

Meta awareness reflects experiences of how and why language is used in context. It may therefore extend or be extended to the varied aspects of paralanguage (Pennycook 1985) that we have grouped under movement and spatial orientation. Gaining the requisite awareness involves a range of contextual features such as that envisaged in Hymes' (1974) *Ethnography of Speaking* (e.g., key, instrumentalities, genre). The breadth of our focus, however, reconfigures Hymes' conceptualization, which was situated within a list-like structure, where all individual components may be checked off as 'correct' for a particular communicative act but the crucial combining of features is obscured.[4] In our approach, choices are seen as multiple and overlapping and interconnections are both essential and connected with views of self. This focus

on interconnections in awareness enables learners to make connections in order to gain control over new uses of codes to help them achieve their desired intent.

Hymes' thinking is, in other ways, of fundamental importance when considering meta awareness. Choices are conditioned by what self believes, and this involves what learners believe to be appropriate (within their norms of usage), feasible (able to be achieved, e.g., self does not have laryngitis), possible (e.g., within the grammatical constraints of the learner) and performable (e.g., self has the confidence and ability for the communicative act to get performed).[5] A central part of an individual's awareness is an understanding of whether a communicative act is indeed capable of being performed (deployed).[6] For us, meta awareness entails an understanding of how learners perceive communicative acts that they both deploy and do not deploy. The option of non-deployment is crucial because it allows 'for a dimension beyond the control or intention of the user of the language' (Hymes, personal communication, 13 September 1985 as cited in Hornberger 1989b: 218) and is a key part of what it is to know a code and be able to use it appropriately (e.g., *I will not use a passive construction because I am not confident about how to engage my interlocutor when I use this type of structure*; or more specifically, *as a learner of German, I will make maximum use of dative constructions because they allow me to hide my uncertainty about some [male/neuter] gender distinctions [or I will use plural dative constructions because they allow me to disguise all grammatical gender issues]*). Such awareness and practices are accessible for multiple codes, both separately and in relation to one another.

Another important part of meta awareness involves understanding and embracing diversity. Recognizing and embracing diversity is an increasingly challenging task as communities, in today's world, are much more varied, and codes and their norms are not always shared, or shared equally (see Blommaert and Backus 2011: 3). In real classroom terms, where one of the goals is to support empowered behaviour in relation to identified norms, this means that we need to both separate and connect the multiple communicative repertoires of individual learners. This includes understanding and embracing diversity within classrooms (Nieto 2004, 2002 [2nd ed. 2010]), as well as across space and time, as emerging speakers explore their identities (within their changing repertoires) and make choices about how they wish to express themselves in different contexts in different situations to be more or less like the individuals around them (see Norton 1997 for examples). This view of meta awareness also enables the explicit exploration of identities, and what it means to be an additional language learner. One consequence of this is that meta awareness raising can help alleviate learners' hegemonic views about self's own L2 and L3 accents and grammars and allow additional language users a better understanding of self and the linguistic resources they have, and how they may choose to deploy them to express their linguistic selves.

This view of meta awareness entails a view that the repertoire of self is not the repertoire of others. This capacity for learners to engage with similar and different views creates challenges in classrooms for learners, teachers and researchers. Yet the two are intimately connected as part of what Gee (1992) refers to as our 'social minds'. The meta awareness that individual selves possess reflects both their knowledge of

their own communicative repertoire and their inferred knowledge of relationships between their knowledge and those of the repertoire of others (see discussion from different perspectives in Kurcz 2004; Symons 2004 and Fernyhough 2008). We argue that shared features (noticed in communication with and about others) and the shared elements and dimensions of repertoires make communication possible (even if imperfectly). The commonality of this shared underlying structure of dimensions and elements enables selves (including learners) to structure and interpret what they see, hear, read, write, sign, gesture and feel in ways that enable an interlocutor to make some (even if imperfect) sense of them. The need for this may be especially important where both selves and interlocutors use multiple codes within their communicative acts, and the two differ and overlap in both form and purpose. The shared elements also enable selves to use different features according to context and individual and from moment to moment as well as across and within languages and still be understood because the elements of the communicative repertoire are recognized by all (e.g., that self has a personal history is an element understood by all).[7]

We believe that any view of meta awareness needs to embrace a view that learners make explicit reference to their own norms. Aguilar (2007) proposes that in today's context the emphasis should be not on any one norm (native speaker) but rather on the norm of the learner as an intercultural speaker. There are many other possibilities (cf., fluent speaker, international speaker, etc., see Seidlhofer 2009; House 2003). However labelled, the key issue is that learners have an awareness of their own Multiplicity. Learners who have an inadequately informed knowledge of their own norms of use will not be able to create communicative acts that achieve their full communicative intent. Rymes (2010: 532) argues that awareness is 'facilitated by travel across social boundaries', a feat that all plurilinguals have experienced to some degree as part of both the learning of an additional language in classroom contexts and/or through growing up plurilingual. But that awareness does not always emerge automatically. Teachers need to engage their students with the connection between who they are and how they can express this.

Our view of meta awareness embraces aspects of critical approaches to language. Our framework takes a view that learners can engage with their meta awareness in ways that are both inside and outside of a monolingual framing at any moment in time where choices involve those of linguistic plurality about interacting feature sets. As such, consistent 'rule' application is a purposeful choice in relation to a specific norm. The choices involve agency and purpose at moments in time as individuals deploy communicative acts. Such knowing applies to the individual learner, their agentivity, the notion of plurality and diversity (see Rymes 2010; Blommaert and Backus 2011).

However, our model also involves rejecting a view of meta awareness as unstructured or discontinuous. Instead, we take a view of features as interacting and intersecting and believe that knowledge of this is and can be made more available to individual selves to use as and when they see a need, subject to their noticing and capacity to control.

This view of meta awareness involves a communicative repertoire as a structured space with fuzzy elements that enable features to move within and across them. The fuzziness is important as self does not clearly know how those features are contributing to the variation that self is engaging with; self is primarily aware of the resultant or desired effects. As an active agent selecting and combining features for his or her intent at a given moment in time, a key requirement is to have a voice (see Rymes 2010 and Busch 2012 for examples). Voice can be negotiated in many different ways and challenged in at least as many. A degree of fuzziness is also important because neither self nor interlocutors can be guaranteed to share, combine or make meaning of features in identical ways.

One key feature that intersects with perceptions of voice is grammaticality, but it is not a separate component of the repertoire. In our focus on features, there is no entity within self's or other's communicative repertoire which has embedded within it concepts such as grammatical or sociolinguistic competence. Distinct concepts such as 'grammatical awareness' and 'discourse awareness' exist only when they are deliberately and consciously externally structured. Even though speakers can judge isolated utterances (in Chomsky's sense), without scaffolding from educated others, we do not believe that they have a system-wide view of metalanguage nor of a system of 'rules' of the code they deploy. Rather, there is a collection of features framed within dimensions and elements and the dimensions and elements are the primary constructs in any choices that individual selves make.

The final part of our conceptualization of meta awareness involves the role of control. Canale and Swain (1980) came some way towards this perspective in their attempts to describe strategic competence. Their view of strategic competence signalled a communicative need for both developing and established plurilinguals to sustain communication in the additional language no matter their level of proficiency in that language. Canale and Swain focused on ways of dealing with (non-)deployment of communicative acts and giving learners a voice and highlighted the importance of intent. Bachman (1990: 350), in revisiting the component parts within the repertoire, also embraced strategic competence as part of overall communicative language ability but saw it as separate from language competence (and urged caution about its inclusion in language tests because of this concern). We believe the fourth dimension of the communicative repertoire, the dimension of purposes, provides the key to unlocking this aspect of meta awareness. We believe intent can be more or less overt, and the more control that learners have over that intent, the more learners can effectively access the fullest range of their communicative repertoires. This connection has been demonstrated for grammar (see, for example, Ellis 2005) and pragmatics (Nguyen et al. 2012). The connection between knowledge and control (and having an understanding of) intent is also apparent in the ways sociolinguistic variables pattern. Labov (1972), in an early analysis of sociolinguistic variables, made reference to three types of sociolinguistic features: stereotypes, markers and indicators. Stereotypes have the longest history, and their uses are well known and often exaggerated (e.g., Canadians say *about* in a certain way). Markers are also above the level of consciousness, are relatively stable in their use, and are typically associated with style

changes, and thus, in our terms, have a clearly recognized purpose (e.g.,-*ing* vs -*in*). A third category consists of indicators which have a more recent history and although they have a purpose related to personhood (e.g., *some features tend to be used more often by younger females*), speakers have less access to this knowledge. The patterning of sociolinguistic variables suggests that the dimension of purposes plays an important role in influencing access to meta awareness.

We believe that the dimension of purposes provides a point of access to communicative repertoires and communicative acts and that when intent is made explicit in a classroom, learners can more easily draw out different aspects of meta awareness because they can relate aspects of communicative acts to themselves and their needs. We take the position that the selection of any linguistic form is 'strategic' and based on self's meta awareness about how the selection 'fits in their linguistic universe and what it can achieve for them' (Coupland and Jaworski 2004: 27). This means that selves who have a rich set of features associated with the elements have an awareness of the purposes they wish to achieve through the combinations of features that they employ. By drawing out purposes, we may come to a better understanding of why selves employ their communicative acts as they do. For example, in an additional language, some learners may prioritize tight control over grammar for ensuring that they are not misinterpreted or heard to make a mistake (a feat associated with personhood). Such a strategy may result in grammatical 'accuracy' but may leave gaps in other aspects of communicative effectiveness. Other strategies, such as a focus on fluency or a particular focus on style, would have additional but different long-term consequences. As researchers and teachers we need to tap into what learners know at various stages of their acquisition to understand what they do and say as well as why. When learners can see no purpose for their communicative acts, they are likely to learn little from them.

Because both Task Based Language Teaching and Intercultural Language Teaching focus on different aspects of the dimension of purposes, we see them as effective approaches for working with communicative repertoires. This does not however, rule out the use of other approaches to language teaching since other approaches will, among other things, drive awareness more forcefully into other dimensions of the communicative repertoire. We explore some of these issues again when we consider different methods of language teaching and what the framework of Multiplicity can offer teachers-in-training in their personal attempts to create a professional self. We now turn to consider how our framework can be constructed as a tool in classroom contexts.

Constructing meta awareness as a learning tool

Traditional approaches to helping learners draw on their awareness of their language systems include input-based instruction directed towards a targeted structure, explicit conscious-raising exercises targeted towards a structure, instruction based on creating acceptable output based on working with a text and corrective feedback (see Ellis 2008). In each, the focus is directed towards specific structures rather than the connection between that structure and the complete emergent communicative repertoire

of the individual learner or the purposes that individual learners have for engaging with (or disengaging from) the use of particular structures.

van Compernolle and Williams (2011) report on a different approach for working with awareness involving the direct questioning of non-use of specific structures. In their analysis of why advanced French learners do not employ the alternative *pas* construction of the French negative, they note that learners often know about what they do and can articulate this knowledge. In van Compernolle and Williams' (ibid.: 43) words,

> the absence of variation in learners' performance does not necessarily mean that they [learners] are unaware that variation exists or what this variation means along social and stylistic dimensions.

In their study, learners attributed the non-use to various purposes and to norms within varieties including the micro-geopolitical context in which the communication occurred (e.g., some students consider the form as not appropriate in classroom contexts). The authors found it useful to question specific aspects of the learners' doing (and not doing). While such questioning can provide valuable insights, we believe it is more important to find a tool that encourages learners to reflect on their use of particular structures in terms of their overall communicative repertoire, and how they position themselves through it. We believe it is vital to find ways to provide learners with tools to help them access their own learning needs and express who they want to be and what they have to do to achieve their goals. Such knowledge empowers learners to have a voice and to focus on resources they feel give them the greatest opportunity to be heard. We need alternative, more comprehensive ways for learners and teachers to tap into what learners wish to say/write/do to help them say/write/do and be if we want to enable learners to deploy their Multiplicity as effectively as possible.

Part of this may be achieved through discussions of how learners imagine themselves in the L2 (see Norton 1997). Busch (2012: 506) describes one way in which meta awareness of an individual's plurilingual competence can be explored in classroom settings. Using a model in grounded social practices, Busch reports on the use of multimodal 'language portraits' devised by a team of researchers at the University of Vienna, where participants are each given a model outline of a person and asked to colour it with all of their individual languages and to reflect on this colouring through discursive narrative practices. Drawing on the linguistic diversity within the responses, Busch argues for a linguistically diverse repertoire that reflects individuality and plurilingualism. These ways tap into how learners perceive themselves, but they do not tie this to learner language or provide ways for learners to engage with how they can express a sense of self. Rymes (2010: 540) goes into how discourse analysis can be used as a tool to explore specific language features in her explanations of the functions and uses of discourse notebooks but we argue that she also does not go far enough, presenting discourse functions in a list-like structure rather than a structured conceptual framework for exploring self.

We explore below how learners and researchers can tap into meta awareness through discussion of features that are deployed in the communicative repertoire, knowledge of the elements that individuals draw from that repertoire, knowledge of the threads and knowledge of the dimensions themselves (purposes, varieties, modes and mediations) in order to understand how learners understand what they are doing (triangle b in Figure 8.1, p. 135) in their entirety and to find ways to help teachers to help learners to do so (triangle c in Figure 8.1, p. 135). Connecting the different components is important because there are two broad goals in current Language Education: (1) widening and deepening the focus of learning so that what emerges from the learning experience approximates the complexities and rewards of real-life communication and (2) enabling attention to the micro-elements of language and literacy to retain their relationship to the wider goal. In additional language learning and the support of plurilingualism, these goals are central to the debates surrounding a view of intercultural capacity (see García 2009; Kramsch 2002; Kramsch and White-side 2008; Scarino and Liddicoat 2009) as an ultimate goal, but also to the debates about instruction that engages with form (Spada 2011; Spada and Tomita 2010).

We take this connection between a specific structure and the larger deployment of the communicative repertoire to be what is sought in Long's (1991) term 'focus on form'. In Chapter 5 we pointed to the need to substantially widen the frame of reference beyond the assumed frame in Long's original claim. We explore how this can be achieved in classroom contexts.

Classroom implications

To bring meta awareness into the classroom calls for an awareness of the dimensions of the repertoire as a whole as well as how and why self selects within and among the elements and features. This requires a framework that shows what those things are and how they fit together. The same framework should give learners a way of talking about their meta awareness and putting them in control of how the different features, elements and dimensions inter-relate.

When comedians use multiple and overlapping codes to convey different purposes (Woolard 1998) or when pop singers try to deploy more features of an American accent (Trudgill 1986) and when learners switch from one code to another at the beginning of class (Canagarajah 1999), all engage in selections that reflect meta awareness. The multiple dimensions of communication and the relationships between them help the class clown tell more effective jokes, the class singer practise their non-pre-vocalic /r/ in song and the community of learners as a whole make collective decisions on rules of classroom language use (*I can relax in my L1 self as class has yet to start*). Multiplicity offers a tool whereby learners can explore their abilities and desires in relation to their existing and future repertoires.

Multiplicity is a framework that can be used to help learners make their own decisions, and in so doing develop an awareness of how features, when combined, seem to fit as instances of self at particular moments and in particular spaces. As Multiplicity is what the individual constructs, it is important to acknowledge that

learners (and their teachers) notice different things (to different degrees) based on their different prior experiences with such features in their different contexts. For this reason, it is important that teachers supply learners with contexts to situate their learning and that learners also supply a context to the teacher (The student question *Is this right?* would be more helpful if it were rephrased as *Is this right for me with this purpose in this context?*).

The classroom is often under-exploited as a resource for developing meta awareness as many teachers, teaching materials and syllabuses apply meta awareness only to the products of the intersections of the dimensions rather than considering the reasons for the intersections and often only to 'correct an error' or explain a point. In doing so, they often consider only one or two dimensions or elements of the communicative repertoire, and often, without relating them. In any communicative act, all four dimensions of the communicative repertoire interact and these interactions need to be drawn to the learner's attention.

We illustrate how we envisage contextualization through examples. The first relates to English prepositions, which are often taught as location words as relatively isolated parts of grammar. However, when deployed in spoken mode, prepositions are often accompanied by gesture and other forms of movement (other elements of mode) and they may differ in macro-geopolitical contexts (in the type of preposition that occurs [*on the weekend* vs *at the weekend*] as well as in suprasegmental features such as the relative amount of stress allocated to the preposition). Their use may be associated with certain features of key (to express frustration about the interlocutor's ability to find an object, speakers place greater sentential stress on the preposition; when emphasizing the precise location of an object, speakers use more than one prepositional phrase [*on the book on the table in the garden*] and if in spoken mode this frustration is often conveyed by greater body movement). Some of these intersections of multiple elements can lead to communication difficulties. The greater use of prepositional phrases is associated with certain activities (e.g., children's language play) and this connection may be one reason why giving instructions that are too explicit may come across as child-like. It also ties back to tensions in personhood (*I am a perfectionist and I like to be exact in my communication*) but it can conflict with aspects of the interlocutor's personhood (*I am an adult and I know how to find things*). Notions of what is appropriate need to start with a broader view, one that draws connections between elements within dimensions of the communicative repertoire of the learner.

Even smaller units of analysis need to be contextualized. Our second example involves the enactment of segments that likewise do not occur in isolation, as we illustrate with the English voiceless stop /t/, which has a number of phonetic realizations. The segment can be more or less aspirated depending on the macro-geopolitical context of the speaker (Irish English vs Scottish English), the degree of aspiration can be influenced by the L1 of the speaker (their personal history) as can the contexts in which aspiration occurs (aspiration in word initial position is perhaps more prominent possibly because initial parts of words are known to affect intelligibility (Bent et al. 2007). Aspiration can be exaggerated for emphasis (key) as '*I said T[t^{hh}]*

urn it on!', and it is an excellent feature for enacting otherness (sounding like an American, with word and syllable initial aspiration, and the use of additional related feature sets such as the flapped variant in other words such as *bottom* and *bottle*). Aspiration can be viewed as a personal choice (*I always want to aspirate vs I want to learn how to aspirate when I need to focus on accuracy*).[8] The aspirated form is also useful for musicians (personal history) when testing a microphone with the standard expression '*one two*'. (The affricated variant [tˢ] is also used in this way.) These variants can be acted out by selected members of the class who, as part of their identities, like to put on accents or play in a band, and this may take place with or without explicit engagement with the technical term 'aspiration'.

A third example is the passive construction, often considered as a linguistic feature which can attribute a lack of power and control to individuals. This semantic nuancing can be used to reflect on micro-texts in newspaper articles that describe individuals. Students can comment on how they feel individuals have been depicted and why this might be so. Students can then learn to choose to deploy or not deploy the passive to describe themselves and others. Students also need to consider other choices in using the passive construction. The passive can also be used to reflect personhood (*I like to express ideas clearly and focus on cause*: *The storm destroyed the city* versus *I am the kind of person who likes to focus on the end result*: *The city was destroyed*) and this will vary at particular moments in time. This kind of focus on self should be accompanied by appropriate assessment to focus on the learners' perceptions of themselves at particular moments in time, and not on the decontexualized deployment or non-deployment of linguistic structures.

This way of knowing and doing can be used at all levels of ability and with all ages. A simple telephone greeting can be used to illustrate. Instead of introducing the lexical item *hello* as simply the first part of an adjacency pair, it can be expanded to include connections with elements of key and otherness (through variation in vowel length and intonation) to illustrate the use of *hello* in contexts such as: *I don't appreciate you phoning me now; I'm not sure if anyone is on the other end of the phone; I'm expecting my grandma to phone; I'm unsure if the person on the other end is a speaker of English or Japanese* (where a dual code might be more appropriate). By experimenting with various vowel lengths and intonational contours and code options, students of all ages and levels can develop a contextualized view of additional language learning early in their learning and take a stance on how such features can be used in expressing their own voice.

Although elaborated discussion of Multiplicity may be more effective as a tool for those with greater proficiency in their L2, this does not preclude learners of all ages and abilities from engaging with developing a stronger meta awareness that captures who they are at different moments in time. The varied uses of *hello* discussed above can easily be acted out and body language used to display the different features of key involved. With use of visual and other non-verbal cues, features of key can relatively easily be identified and learners can associate themselves with a particular feature. Similarly, modes and mediations can easily be demonstrated physically. Elements of varieties can also be shown visually. When teachers know learners and have a means

of understanding learners at different moments in time, teachers engage with and respect these different selves as they emerge in the classroom (e.g., *my tired self is less accurate whereas another tired self may still be accurate but less fluent and pause more*).

Awareness conversations using Multiplicity

The Multiplicity framework provides a means of unpacking students' understanding of the codes that self accesses and of turning this into more explicit knowledge. As a framework, Multiplicity enables students and teachers to engage with language learning as a structured, four-dimensional space. The four-dimensional space of the communicative repertoire enables communicative acts to be seen as made up of interconnected features from different dimensions that are woven together. It provides a framework to discuss the different connections that are present for each of the linguistic codes available to self and the available features that a learner has to draw from to create a communicative act that is possible (within the emergent repertoire of the learner), feasible (e.g., a learner has access to the Internet), and appropriate (given the context for the learner and the addressee) and performable (there is enough class time for such interactive work). Using the four dimensions, it would be possible to frame a teacher/learner discussion as follows:

T: For this task, do you want to write or draw?
L: Write.
T: With a pen or with the computer?
L: Pen.
T: Why do you want to use a pen?
L: Because [Name of Recipient] is too old.
T: Do you want [Name of letter recipient] to think that you are angry or sad? etc.

A second part of the framework of Multiplicity is made up of the threads that go through each of the four dimensions within the communicative repertoire (linguistic/non-linguistic, interaction, norms, interlocutors). The threads focus on adapting communication to contexts and provide a framework for discussions as in the example above, where writing in pen is seen as a more appropriate mediation for many older members of society.

The threads within the dimensions enable learners to consider their uses of the entire repertoire and focus on questions such as: *do you (want to) use your different codes for differing purposes?; do you (want to) have different norms in your different codes?; do you (want to) change the way you speak/write/move or position yourself in your L1 and your additional languages?* Consideration of the threads enables learners to develop self-awareness of the totality of communicative acts deployed by self (what they can and cannot do both linguistically and non-linguistically in communicating). This assists in bringing both linguistic and non-linguistic concepts into the classroom in ways that are meaningful for students (*how do you write as if you are serious, angry and polite all at the same time? how do you dress to appear appropriately casual?*). The model also provides

a means of engaging students with intercultural norms in language use. In attending to these threads, a teacher/learner discussion might unfold in part as follows:

T: Do you know the person you are writing to?
L: Yes.
T: Are they a friend?
L: No.
T: Do you want/need to include a picture in your letter?
L: Maybe.
T: Do you want them to write back to you? Etc.

As a learning resource, the Multiplicity framework enables students and teachers to expressly engage with their repertoire individuality in communication. This enables teachers and learners to acknowledge and build on the readily understood individual differences within classrooms, but build from them outward to establish explicit relationships to wider practices and norms, including norms associated with the broader localized and global reservoirs. As part of this, classes can engage with aspects of more traditionally defined areas such as grammar and pronunciation, but re-contextualized and presented as ways of combining different features from multiple elements and dimensions for particular purposes.

Acknowledging, distinguishing and relating societal and individual perspectives offer advantages to the additional language learner. By distinguishing the societal and individual frames, additional language learners have a tool that they can use to relate their Multiplicity to that of others and to broader reservoirs (*I want to sound like X; I am a Malaysian English speaker so don't give me pronunciation exercises with American models; I'm an older person so treat me with respect*).

As a learning resource, the framework provides learners and teachers with a meta awareness tool to describe their selves and how they wish to present themselves in varied contexts for diverse purposes rather than simply learning the variety selected by the teacher, textbook or policy maker. Using such a framework, learners' communication goals can be framed according to (perceived) norms of both the learner and the social context in which he or she is embedded. Here a discussion might unfold as follows:

T: So, this is the letter that you have written to [name], who is not your friend, right?
L: Not friend.
T: OK, let's look at what you call people … – [leading into examples of uses of titles and terms of address]

Multiplicity can also be used as a scaffolding tool. It can help students report on language behaviour outside the classroom (*when did you last speak to someone in French?; who were they?; what variety did you use?; what features did you notice?; do you think that these features would be appropriate/possible ones for you to use?*). Multiplicity can also be

used as a teaching resource that combines language use in classroom activities with metalinguistic framing. In other words, it enables teachers to focus on a particular selection/combination at a particular moment. It can be used as a freeze-frame exercise to reflect on communicative practices and how they have been used and could be used in alternative contexts. The framework provides opportunities for exploring and even prioritizing learning needs (e.g., *I want to use more movement when I speak; I want to sound like I am older; I want to be able to write in a more serious key; I want to tell jokes*). This can be in the form of self-evaluation or it can be in consultation with the educator designing the programme or teaching in the classroom as we have attempted to exemplify above. As such, it offers learners a tool to describe imagined (Norton 1997) and/or actual L2 selves (Pavlenko 2004). As a framework, Multiplicity also provides a means of differentiating personal language choices from socially sanctioned and unsanctioned norms (*I want to tell him to do it right now because I am angry!; I am a learner of English so please be patient, I am a speaker of English so give me time to speak.*)

These kinds of discussions are important in our globalized society where students increasingly need to learn and use more than one language in ways that give them a voice and empower rather than disempower them (Chamot 2005; Siegel 2006; Miller 2010). This applies as much to primary or secondary aged students learning additional languages in schools (often in disenchanting circumstances) as it does to child or adult migrants confronted with the realities of living in unfamiliar cultures. With increased globalization, the power to own a voice and for others to respect that ownership is becoming increasingly important. It is too often the case that educators and policy makers set agendas that reduce agency when engaging in additional language teaching despite the rhetoric of attending to learner needs (see Tollefson 1993). The threads, elements and dimensions of the Multiplicity tool can be used by educators and others seeking to engage in discussions about beneficial engagement with hegemonic practices.

Figure 4.2 (p. 69) is a visual representation of the communicative repertoire and can be used as a learner resource for exploring adult learner language, bringing linguistic concepts into the classroom. It can be used to explore how these learners engage with multiple and fluid codes, to let them express this engagement and engage with their repertoire for both creativity and individuality in communication as well as in relation to normativity. The framework has been designed to be broad enough to consider both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of learner communication and to help learners convey their purposes for communicating in their L2 and the choices made in doing so. It can also be used to help learners explore aspects of their communicative capacity. In the words of Courtney Cazden (2011: 365): 'A focus on individual knowledge – so useful in education – entails evidence about variation in the share of the systemic potential particular individuals actually command.' Our four-dimensional model provides a framework for that exploration.

As a visual aid, the diagram itself (or the class' own construction of an actual Multiplicity box) can facilitate discussions, either in the students' L1 or additional language; or form the basis of activities or tasks related to students' identity construction, e.g., each student could construct an ideal linguistic self based on the selection of features (*I want to give more prominence to writing; by using digital technology;*

for this micro-geopolitical context [Aerospace technology] and present myself as in a primarily serious key but one that has a certain degree of otherness [I want to write like I am a native speaker of English]).[9] Learners can also use the four-dimensional model as a self-assessment tool to describe what they can and cannot do. This enables the learner to engage with their own linguistic needs. (*I never thought about my movement and how it affects my ability to communicate effectively; I hadn't thought about writing an email as different from writing a letter*).

Congruent with the New London Group's view (Cope and Kalantzis 2000), the potential for reformulation is central to our model as each communicative act is conditioned by contexts that are both dynamic and momentary (see Herdina and Jessner 2002). This involves a need for learners to critically reflect on the interpretations of meaning and how meaning is negotiated in context (Savignon 1997; Tuafuti and McCaffery 2005). The next part of the chapter outlines how teachers can engage with this framework.

Multiplicity in reflective professional development

Utilizing the framework will have benefits for teachers. The more teachers and learners talk about the communicative repertoire and how it is constructed, the more they deploy feature sets shaped by the micro-geopolitical element. This includes terminology about codes and their use. The more this is done, the better learners become at talking and writing (and signing) as they develop a stronger meta awareness. If teachers are engaging with students about meta awareness, they themselves also become more fluent at explaining their own meta awareness since they will regularly engage in communicative acts that focus on micro-geopolitical terminology evident in descriptions of language (with or without explicit use of traditional grammatical labels).

Multiplicity provides teachers with a powerful tool for discussing communicative practices in social contexts in ways that are meaningful to both teachers and students. Teachers' meta awareness is often seen as important, if not critical for effective language teaching, yet teachers are often lacking in their explicit knowledge of terms to engage in this discussion in ways that are meaningful to their students. There is a serious gap in this area and the Multiplicity framework has the potential to provide a tool for such engagement.

Although many educational institutions have L2 only policies, it is often the case that learners and their teachers use multiple codes. (Additional language teachers and learners often start a class in the L1 or use the L1 for classroom management.) This framework provides a means of describing such language practices and their purposes and engaging students with language policies and their classroom implementation (see also Bernat 2008).

Multiplicity also takes up the call to teach in socially responsive ways. This is particularly important as language policies should be seen as real and powerful objects (see Blommaert 2010). To do this, van Compernolle (2010: 450) argues that any sociolinguistically responsive pedagogy must 'account for the social dynamics of

language use in context'. Our goals and those presented in the situated practices of the New London Group are similar: that learners must develop an ability to use language in its appropriate forms (or to decline such use if they do not wish to be appropriate) and to choose which social contexts are most effective for any given situation from 'among all options available to all speakers' (van Compernolle 2010: 446). This requires the development of meta awareness through scaffolding the learner to focus on both aspects of their experiences and aspects of themselves which are important for presenting their linguistic self. It requires a critical framing necessary for learners to gain an understanding of their linguistic self within their varied social contexts to both reflect on and reformulate their communicative acts.

Multiplicity as a framework addresses the additional concern of which and how linguistic features are taught, including the advocated position that learners be provided with a more central role in their language learning (Benesch 1993; van Compernolle 2010). Schumann (1976: 403–4) described situations in which instruction did not have a uniform effect on grammatical form and gave evidence of how learner use of negation varied according to the formality of the elicitation task. While it is often acknowledged that adults learn best when the content is relevant to their needs, residuals of older colonial views of thinking about language learning as developing an individual communicative repertoire that matches that of native speakers still linger whenever researchers and teachers ponder how learners need to master social and grammatical aspects in ways that are identical to and assessed against an idealized and homogeneous speaker norm (whatever that is envisaged to be). Such perspectives fail to take account of enabling plurilinguals to attain L2 and L3 competence in specific areas more than in others or of the capacity for plurilinguals to lead useful change in the L2 or L3. Research in various aspects of (the development of) plurilingualism (e.g., Sayer 2013) has shown that individuals (more in some contexts than in others) do not aspire to have equal competence in all aspects of all of their languages and many (more in some contexts than in others) do not desire to separate their codes but to use them together to convey subtle aspects of personhood and context (see, for example, Myer-Scotton's (1993) discussion of code-switching practices in Africa). We do not suggest that primary school students should decide their own linguistic futures. Neither are we suggesting that it is never appropriate to focus on accuracy aligned with specific norms. Instead, we are suggesting that the decision to focus on form should be taken in line with a view of learner intent and the elements and threads that make up the dimensions of purposes and varieties. Teachers should aim to engage students of all ages in age- and experience-appropriate discussions about forms of communication and their shaping in relationship to multiple dimensions. Multiplicity is one tool that teachers may use to reflect on the choices that their students (can) make. For secondary and adult learners, teachers can work with learners using our model in classroom contexts. With younger students, the teacher may need to adapt the ideas within it, focusing on one or two elements at a time (see Busch 2012 for a way of focusing on linguistic diversity – an aspect of the linguistic repertoire embedded within our macro-geopolitical element).

Multiplicity as a tool for engaging with teacher training

Another way in which Multiplicity may be employed is as a tool in teacher education and professional development. Adendorff (1996), in a detailed analysis of code-switching practices as contextualization cues in three South African classrooms, wrote about the benefits of consciousness raising for teacher trainees. He argued that consciousness raising should entail contrasting prescriptive with descriptive views, an encouragement of a view of plurilingualism as a resource, and the development of a sensitivity to a view that languages are not neutral but rather carriers of social meaning especially in relation to how speakers exercise or negotiate power. Such knowledge empowers teachers to understand that 'they are the ones, ultimately, who formulate and monitor school (including playground) language policy and their decisions must be rational and informed by sociolinguistic understanding of language and their status in the school and in the community' (Adendorff 1996: 402). Our framework provides a tool to encourage and enable such thinking.

Multiplicity can be used as a tool for engaging pre-service and in-service teachers in activities that enable them to see the varied strengths and weakness of the raft of methods and techniques that are available to them. Multiplicity provides principles for the selection of methods and techniques because it shows how specific objectives relate to the larger whole. Recognizing relationships between parts and wholes enables explicit choices to be made about whether that larger whole (or selected features of it) is an advantageous target for the learner. We are arguing for a principled eclecticism grounded in fostering the agency of teachers as learners.

Teachers draw on a range of theories and methods in their teaching. What they draw on ranges from the most traditional (grammar translation) through to more radical combinations (therapeutic and intercultural methods).[10] We do not explore the range of variations within each theory, or present all theories. Rather we attempt to show how our framework may be used to unpack theories of language education. Starting with one of the earlier views of language teaching, the Multiplicity framework can be used to show how grammar translation takes as its focus a view of the communicative repertoire as a grammatical resource rather than a sociolinguistic one (with limited varieties and purposes). It concentrates on image (written language), and relies on norms that have a formal key and are expressed in discrete macro-geopolitical varieties associated with a standard code as reflected in the repertoires of others (the code that is used to illustrate sentences and texts is in American or British English, metropolitan French, Standard Italian, Iberian Spanish or 'high' German). While there may well be issues about the currency of examples that would be found in examples of this approach, the examples and exercises are often consistent with purposes associated with formal key and high status micro-geopolitical elements. As a framework, Multiplicity enables teachers-in-training to reflect on the position of this and other views of language and to contrast, for example, grammar translation with other commonly employed methods. Viewed historically, the 'next' method would be audiolingualism, a method derived from behaviourist views of learning. This approach sees repetition as the key component of learning, and while

now not often supported as an overall method, some of its key tenets have a place in relation to practice and the automatization of language use (see Lightbown 2000). The shift from grammar-translation to the audio-lingual method reveals a dramatic shift in the prominent mode to sound (speech) accompanied by a shift in meditational tool, from the use of the human body (and specific analogue elements [books]) that had characterized grammar-translation (e.g., in the recitation of poetry) to the use of a different analogue technology (in this method, students frequently listened to recordings and imitated the voices).[11] The selection of macro-geopolitical varieties in both approaches is however similar, with standard codes taking a prominent position. The choice of macro-texts in both methods is different because of different meditational resources (the thread of interaction); in grammar translation, texts are largely non-interactive whereas the question–answer adjacency pair format of the audio-lingual method is (minimally) interactive. Elements of personhood and temporality were notably absent and key was noticeably reduced in both methods, which paved the way for attempts to address elements of purposes. In communicative language teaching (CLT) there is more emphasis on the element of key, a widening of macro- and micro-geopolitical (home vs work), a greater understanding of macro- and micro-texts and greater attention to the interaction thread, albeit more in some versions of CLT than in others (Brown et al. 2007).

Communicative language teaching took the view that the mode of sound could be selected and combined with other modes, such as movement and spatial orientation (proximity, gaze), opening up the use of norms of appropriateness in different macro-geopolitical contexts. The latter method was also the first approach to really consider the connections between code and purposes and did so primarily through the elements of key and activity, and the norms associated with elements of varieties. There was also focus on micro-geopolitical contexts (e.g., if teaching English in the hospitality sector, the examples will differ from those used in conversational interaction). Later versions of the CLT model built into it written modes and with this, a greater prominence on macro-texts. In this shift, there was less attention to processes of consolidation, more attention to range of macro-texts and activities and less certainty about how to define appropriate (classroom) activities.

The teaching of writing underwent dramatic shifts as it has moved from either artificially created macro-texts or selected examples of valued elements of high culture (e.g., in Academic English courses) to detailed exploration of what real writers do (see Benesch 1993; Raimes 1998). Most of the literature on contrastive rhetoric is now framed through communicative perspectives on writing (Kubota and Lehner 2004). Communicative language teaching still however presents restricted views of the learners' repertoires, as it only takes account of elements of personhood in a very limited way (certain keys are for certain types of selves who have a certain personal body [older, female, etc.]), and it pays little attention to temporal context or otherness, which are important in the expression of an individual self. This gap in CLT is partly because this method considered communication as instantiations of functions rather than as an expression of identity. As such, it also fails to accentuate the intent behind and through the selection of micro-texts, such as is now highlighted in

relation to the vexed issue of 'plagiarism' (Scollon 1995; Pecorari 2003). Engagement with this issue is transparent when the element of otherness is invoked.

Task-based language teaching (TBLT) gives the thread of purposes prominence in a different way.[12] Here prominence is given to elements which are considered in CLT, such as the macro- and micro-geopolitical elements, but in other ways, TBLT has given prominence to the elements of the macro- and micro-text. These are explored in a range of modes and mediations, including through a greater use of digital technologies. Task-based language teaching has the potential to include multiple elements and as such it is more in line with our view that within the social dimensions all elements must be selected. Within this method, key is central to purposes and when selected and combined with activities, allows learners to create a linguistic self but one that is tied to a particular content/context. As a framework, TBLT focuses on language as part of larger communicative acts, which enables learners to function and experience language in a particular time and place.

Intercultural language teaching (ICLT) (Byram et al. 2001; Scarino and Liddicoat 2009) also takes a broader perspective focusing on larger communicative acts. It concentrated on enabling learners to negotiate intercultural positioning through whatever modes and mediations are relevant for the context. Although ICLT kept the focus on purpose it gave prominence to its thread, the interlocutor. Detailed attention is given to the cultural underpinnings of macro- and micro-geopolitical norms. Unlike the other methods, it includes the elements of personal body and personal history as part of this analysis, but prominence is given to the cultural norms (the macro- and micro-contexts). Less prominence is given to modes and mediations. It is the first framework to positively engage with the element of otherness, but often with little prominence given to personal history, and little acknowledgement of temporal context and change. Its focus is on how selves select and combine features of otherness with dimensions of normativity embedded within the dimension of varieties.

Language policy and Multiplicity

As a professional development tool, Multiplicity can also be used in engaging with policy changes. Multiplicity can be used to engage with and reflect on existing and new language programmes and approaches to language teaching. Making this awareness explicit is particularly important in teacher development, as experienced in-service teachers are often reluctant to change their teaching practices if they cannot see the advantages of the alternatives and novice teachers are often not presented with frameworks which enable them to comprehensively consider what alternative theories have to offer and how these fit with their own personalized views of language and language learning.

As a framework, Multiplicity engages explicitly with the full range of the communicative repertoire and accommodates both creativity and diversity in ways of thinking and doing. This opens up ways for established teachers to discuss how they can model the diversity of their own macro-geopolitical contexts and norms, their own personal histories, and give their own take to their students on the element of

otherness and empower their students to do the same. One consequence of such sharing MAY be the development of alternative norms (see House forthcoming), but another may be a more powerful controlled approach to a specific code norm.

As a framework, Multiplicity has additional uses in language policy. Multiplicity is useful for language policy makers as it provides a framework in which to embrace and react to theoretical constructs as a whole. Our framework avoids exemplifying the Kuhnian view that new theories are the result of reactive attempts to fill a space (in this case in the communicative repertoires of learners), which has not been adequately covered in the previous theory, rather provides a way of embracing difference. By exploring theories of language teaching using our framework, language policy makers can explain the advantages of new approaches in ways that will highlight both their strengths and weaknesses. The framework of Multiplicity provides language policy makers with a tool to illustrate how new approaches are placed with respect to existing frameworks. By presenting a comprehensive view of the communicative repertoire, language teachers are better placed to evaluate the claimed strengths of new approaches and this can lead to their more thorough adoption, or a more reasoned rejection.

Multiplicity provides a tool for local researchers and teachers to critique the proposed approach of language teaching in ways that language policy makers can relate to and explore. As the use of this tool enables a comprehensive analysis of any approach to be presented, it provides a way forward for constructive critique. As such it empowers teachers to act as bottom-up policy makers by providing them with a tool to illustrate, question and explore how the new approach might be adapted to their localized contexts. It is thus a model which can be engaged with from both the top-down and bottom-up. This tool offers language policy makers a means whereby they can promote new approaches, teachers can react to them, and both can argue a case for ways in which a new approach to language teaching (often developed in other contexts) can be developed and modified for local needs.

Conclusion to Part III

This chapter has explored the concept of meta awareness. We have shown how Multiplicity can act as a meta awareness tool to benefit both the learner and the teacher. We have also explored how it can be used in teacher education and professional development to understand and reflect on what theories of language education do and do not offer the learner and the educator.

As part of control, meta awareness is intimately connected with but not the same as ability. Ability is self's capacity to actually deploy his/her Multiplicity effectively. Clearly this involves constraints on what is appropriate, possible and performable. These constraints reflect self's readiness. For a self who is in the process of learning an additional language, readiness has both cognitive and social aspects. The long history of work on relationships between stages of additional language acquisition and learning (see Lightbown and Spada 2013 for an overview and Mansouri and Duffy 2005 for a theory-specific interpretation) has demonstrated that the focus of instruction has to be connected to the learners' developmental schedule. While this work

might be considered to more readily address cognitive aspects of learning, parallel work in broader sociocultural influences suggests associations that are consistent with a long history of reviews of educational research (see the contributions in Section III of August and Shanahan 2006) and the power of social influences.

Meta awareness, therefore, creates contexts in which learners and teachers can work together within the constraints created by learners' cognitive and social readiness for change in the learner's Multiplicity. Reframed in the language of Figure 8.1, what learners do (triangle a) sets conditions around what they know (triangle b), which in turn limits what they can say/write about what they know/do (triangle c). However, the role of the teacher as mediator can help the learner to see more clearly (triangle b) what they are doing and explore (triangle c) how this relates to their wider communicative repertoire since hardly any learner is ever monolithic in their productions, but instead produces variation with varying degrees of awareness (van Compernolle and Williams 2011). The role of the teacher in, for example, pushing output (Swain 1995), highlighting alternative practices (Lightbown 1991), focusing on input (VanPatten 2002), targeting the next learning step (Pienemann 1984) or assisting learners to attend to their own output (Lyster and Ranta 2013) are all crucial aspects of creating awareness by drawing attention (Schmidt 2001) to aspects of the code that improve the learner's ability to control what they are doing (either or both triangle b and triangle c).

We believe that Multiplicity offers a way of understanding an individual learner's goals, resources and behaviours in relation to a complex, challenging and contradictory wider social world. It addresses the fundamental challenge that has slipped between the cracks in the evolution of communicatively based approaches to applied linguistics and language teaching, i.e., the challenge of relating the individual and the social. Addressing this challenge has required us to remain conscious of how despite many layers of collaborative and social mediation, the fundamental responsibility of the learning task (and the focus of teaching) lies with the learner and is, therefore, as diverse as learners are. We acknowledge that bridging relationships between individual and social frames is no small task. However, we argue that any meaningful view of interaction and communication has to have as its core an attempt to grapple with this (sometimes) incommensurable relationship (see Lantolf 2005 and 2011 for related but not identical perspectives).

If we acknowledge the socially shaped basis of individual acts, we have a framework for looking at how learners and teachers contribute to each other's actions. Our model attempts to do this by putting the individual self in the middle of (one part of) a complex and indeterminate interactive process. Every time self does something communicative, s/he will engage with other selves who exist in equally complex, layered worlds. Their meeting will not be perfect (see Gadamer's 1960 ideas of horizons and Habermas' 1971 critical discussion of them). Nevertheless, meet they must if the teaching/learning process is to take place.

The communicative repertoire of the individual self and each of his or her interlocutors must (to some extent) connect with the larger local and global reservoirs. The baseline connection is through the shared dimensions of all communicative repertoires

that give them their structure. All selves have the same four dimensions from which communicative acts are deployed, and all four of these dimensions share the same basic elements. The elements are broadly defined and largely unspecified allowing for different views of personhood and locality (established through localized and macro- and micro-political contexts) within a temporal context. Selves all share the same threads within their communicative repertoire, and importantly share those within the social dimensions that search for norms and purposes and associate these with features and feature sets which they have noticed in their individual communicative contexts. Selves differ in what they notice and the features that they select from their contexts and how they assign meaning (including personhood) to what they wish to convey at any given moment, but these differences are within the shared dimensions and elements.

Our model offers a way of entering into some of the complexities of these relationships. By acknowledging the complexities within a structure, our framework provides a means of scaffolding learners to focus on aspects of their contexts, experiences and selves, which are important for presenting and negotiating linguistic self. But it also acknowledges that the resources that selves have to do this are created and negotiated in complex social worlds. Transforming communicative acts to reflect intent and give learners control over their voice is central to our aims. This involves a need, as Savignon (1997) argues, for learners to critically reflect on the interpretations of meaning and how meaning is negotiated in context. We believe that our framework offers the critical framing necessary for learners to gain an understanding of the linguistic self within their own social contexts, as our model enables learners to both reflect on and reformulate their communicative acts.

By elaborating this framework, we have sought to provide a means through which language educators and applied linguists can engage in productive dialogue across their legitimate disciplinary differences. We hope to have shown that the differences that are frequently highlighted can be framed in ways that permit each field to be both distinctive and simultaneously connected with the other.

Notes

1 In language pedagogy the focus of research into explicit knowledge has been on the perception and selection of forms, the processes by which students notice difference in input and the role of explicit knowledge in the learners' command of their additional language use (Ellis 2008).

2 Alternative views such as Breen and Candlin's (see Breen 1987a,b) were messy to implement because they were designed around the assumption that no one knew what would eventuate from a process syllabus until after the event and also because, as intended, the outcomes were highly diverse and individualized. At best a process or procedural syllabus probably connected with the discourse strategies component of communicative competence, but these approaches blossomed only briefly (see e.g., Prabhu 1987) and were then overwhelmed by more structured and systematic initiatives.

3 In decontextualized contexts, it is very difficult to ascertain what aspects any L2 learner is attending to in any judgement without an explicit questioning of which aspects of their communicative repertoire the learner actually drew on (see also de Bot et al. 2007a and van Compernolle and Williams 2011, who stress the need for multiple sources of information on how speakers interpret their contextualized language use).

4 We also use different configurations than Hymes. Setting, for example, is not included in our framework as a separate category but rather it is seen as derived through a wide range of elements within the two dimensions of purposes and varieties. While Hymes' notion of appropriateness does imply an interconnectedness within the framework, the list-like structure does not engage with such inter-connections.

5 In later research, feasibility has been either ignored because of its associations with psycholinguistic processing (Canale and Swain 1980) or because it has been delegated as a separate category under strategic competence (see Johnson and Johnson 1998 for a discussion of this issue).

6 The performability of a speech event is the most ill-understood of the four characteristics and one that has been interpreted in different ways (see Hornberger 1989b). We take Hornberger's (ibid.) interpretation here; that performability refers to the ability for the communicative act to be deployed.

7 Specific features within that history are shared only to the extent that selves share contexts.

8 This approach differs from ELF where certain non-L1 features are prioritized. In our approach, learners are seen as individuals who vary from moment to moment in their deployment of contextualized communicative acts.

9 For students with limited print literacy, the interpretation of diagrams of this kind can be as challenging as other forms of 'reading'. In such contexts, the supposed advantage of certain kinds of visuals is actually a disadvantage and needs to be replaced by either oral communication and/or less diagrammatical representations (e.g., photographs). In contexts such as this, it will be the teacher who will make more use of the visual representation of Multiplicity than the learner, at least initially.

10 In many contexts, teachers of additional languages take on a responsibility for assisting their students to overcome trauma. The most extreme circumstances involve those working with refugees from torture, war and genocide (see Medley 2012; Bell and Marlow 2009).

11 The shift in technologies signalled dramatically altered possibilities for modelling and began to raise interesting dilemmas about authenticity in teaching materials.

12 It has two major strands, one attempted to get a view of contextualized language behaviour as a whole and focused on developing control of the diverse elements involved in task achievement (Skehan 2003); the other provided a forum for the 'focus on form' movement (Long 1991; Long and Crookes 1992) by asking how the analysis of grammar can be embedded into the overall meaning-making process.

9

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We began this book by reflecting on ways in which Language Education, Applied Linguistics and Linguistics often work on the same issues and share what they think of as similar concerns. We lamented that often the frames that they bring to their endeavours are seen as separate rather than shared. In trying to address this issue, we argue that engaging with the shared nature of these endeavours requires a more comprehensive understanding of the structure and workings of the communicative repertoire. To bridge an understanding between the fields, we need to fully consider what the communicative repertoire is and how it is used. This entails a view of the communicative repertoire as a structured system. This is needed to allow communication to succeed as well as for selves and educators to understand the processes of communication, including how learners select and combine features and store the combinations for future use. This is important because selecting and combining enables learners to expand the inner workings of their repertoire (i.e., learn) as they engage with language in context.

An understanding of the repertoire must also involve an understanding of how individual communicative repertoires relate to larger societal frames of reference (in Gadamer's 1960 terms, for selves to be able to have at least a temporary sharing of horizons). By creating a structured framework that defines the core components of communicative repertoires, we can begin to explore how selves communicate through their shared awareness of the repertoire's dimensions, elements and threads. By having communicative repertoires rather than languages as a starting point, we have a means of deconstructing languages as points of reference and considering them as sets of features that plurilinguals use to create linguistic selves that converge and diverge against these points of reference for specific purposes. One of the consequences of this perspective is that acquisition becomes a process in which learners search for features to fill elements of the dimensions of their repertoire so that they can produce communicative acts that are bound by those dimensions.

The visual representation of our model as a four-dimensional space has additional uses. For learners, it can be used to unpack existing ways of knowing and explore desired goals of knowing and doing as well as talking about knowing and doing in the additional language. For language teachers in training it can help them to unpack existing theories about learner language and theories of language teaching and to engage with these theories in ways that are meaningful for their own contexts (which may be very different from those of the applied linguist who created them). With such a model, it may also be possible to show how language teachers and learners construe their worlds differently and provide a way for them to question linguistic concepts and their relevance to achieving their own respective goals.

Linguistic terminology is part of the reservoir available to language educators but linguistics are primarily concerned with 'the what'. Language educators who draw on the (linguistic) reservoir have an interest in 'what for' (*this is important for understanding American English, for understanding personhood, for understanding how to write an argument in Chinese, for language testing, for knowing what to teach*).[1] Resources that individual teachers notice and store and deploy are often those they feel can be reshaped (selected and combined and deployed) in ways that reflect a different intent (*I can help a learner keep the floor, if I teach them a combination of initial aspiration, to use active sentences with linking devises, and to pause for shorter periods of time; to enable my learners to do this, I must give them access to certain phonetic features, certain grammatical structures and a wide range of resources; I can use the phonetic frame K − T as a title of a poem and learners can use it to create a poem which has words with different vowel contrasts which they can perform orally in class and this can provide me with an initial assessment of their ability to create vowel contrasts necessary for effective communication*). Linguists who engage with language educators need to focus on the purposes that educators and learners bring to their common task.

Likewise applied linguists need to make explicit how 'the how' can be used to equip language educators with answers to the 'what for'. Theories of acquisition and literacy need to be presented in ways that enable language educators to notice and select theories and bring them into their classrooms, and not simply present theories in isolation. In-depth expositions of theories of additional language acquisition will be of less relevance than will be examples that show how learners analyse and create new repertoires. Fine detail will make sense when teachers can see how that detail fits into a larger picture. We believe that the relationships between the elements, features and dimensions can be used in this way. One key feature of most classrooms is writing. That is both an advantage (records can be kept, space/time for reflection can be created) and a disadvantage (the writing takes up so much time that learners are left in isolation and do not experience the interaction that they need to gain communicative experiences). This example reveals the competition between the image and the sound mode. Both are part of the environment and both teachers and learners need to explore what they do in each mode and the subtle advantages and disadvantages of using these combinations of features. Similarly, pragmatics can be taught as a series of routines in much the same way that grammar used to be taught. Alternatively, the various macro- and micro-texts can be connected with features of personhood and

key so that learners can experience the choices that they need to make and (in the protected environment of the classroom) the consequences of those choices. Applied linguists have much to offer language educators when they see their task as unpacking these relationships and the options that are available to self through the feature combinations.

If the fields of Language Education and Applied Linguistics are to be bridged, it is also important for language educators to take an active rather than a passive role. To do this, they need to understand the whole repertoire (ways of knowing and doing) and have an understanding of how to deconstruct the basic concepts in the literature in Linguistics, Applied Linguistics and Language Education to ask questions which have relevance for their own teaching, and for their learners. For many aspects of their practice (doing), language educators will not need to or will not have the time/ space/resources/reasons to equally engage with all aspects of the communicative repertoire, and will end up engaging with only those aspects that they see as connecting with their learners' worlds. So they need a way of engaging in the field which will enable them to best express their needs. The framework that we have outlined opens up a way of exploring the connections that teachers can use to assist them to extend what and how they should teach and what their learners need to engage with and how. As a framework, Multiplicity need not only be a resource for teacher's professional development. It can also be brought into classrooms and used by learners to explore their linguistic selves and the ways in which those selves relate to possibilities within the wider reservoirs so that teachers and learners can also explore common concerns.

This framework is just the beginning. There are many aspects of the framework that have yet to be considered. In this volume, we have not considered how inter-locutors' repertoires relate to one other. There are existing and powerful frames of reference that could connect with our framework to take these ways of thinking forward. The role of different types of membership in the Community of Practice literature, in particular, might prove useful in exploring how different types of selves influence how features are noticed and selected (see Kwok et al. 2006 for a detailed description of different types of membership). There are also interesting connections with Coupland's (2001) work on stylizing and Jaspers' (2011a,b) work on ways of doing and talking about ways of doing that could be useful for exploring the con-nections within and between the repertoires of the interlocutors. This might also go some distance into exploring how selves draw from their contextual reservoirs.

Although we have created a space, Multiplicity, as the place where acts are selec-ted, combined and stored and later drawn on and potentially recombined in future communicative acts, we have not opened up this space in terms of how acts are stored and reused. Here work in exemplar theory, which explores such connections, would be an important source to draw as a starting point. Research in this area has begun to explore this in a wide range of areas within Linguistics. Data from corpus linguistics would provide another avenue for further work as it is essentially a col-lection of deployed acts. By tracing such acts through time and across interlocutors, one might be able to provide a way forward to a better understanding of the

redeployment and reuse of communicative acts stored within Multiplicity and the role the interlocutor plays in this.

There is much that we have not done. We have not engaged with the mutual shaping roles of self and other. We have not asked how the communicative repertoire is actually stored by self. We have identified very general mechanisms such as noticing of features as the start of the acquisition process, but we have not yet identified how self chooses where or how to begin. Neither have we attempted yet to model pathways through the communicative repertoire to ask how different Multiplicities can be. However, we hope that by breaking down the repertoire to the key dimensions that enable it to be recognizable, the elements that shape the resources available to self and the features that self actually uses, we have created a solid basis for a discussion between fields that have much in common, but often don't quite see how to walk across the bridge to explore the other side.

Note

1 If teachers learn specific features of Linguistics as part of their coursework requirements and these features are not aligned with elements in their own professional repertoire, they may store but are unlikely to deploy them and so these ways of knowing fade as a result of disuse.

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Language Education and Applied Linguistics: bridging the two fields provides a starting point for students and researchers in both Language and Education who wish to interpret and use insights from the field of Applied Linguistics, and for Applied Linguists who wish to engage in dialogue with language educators and researchers in education.

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- Sociolinguists to bring their research into education.

Language Education and Applied Linguistics can be used by students, teachers, researchers and teacher educators to explore multilingual contexts and communicative purposes in language classrooms, language education and applied linguistics.

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