

PREFACE

The motivation for this Initiative stems from a shared concern for the direction research on multilingualism is taking within each of the approaches that are set out in this document. More specifically this Initiative seeks to examine what sorts of research questions are getting asked in the field and why, what are the disciplinary constraints in each approach and are these constraints arbitrary or based on actual limitations either theoretical or experimental, and is there room for interdisciplinary collaboration and how could this be undertaken?

Of course, it is duly acknowledged that important work is done by other scholars, many relevant studies have already been published and significant new developments are underway. This Initiative is not in opposition to such developments, because what is happening is in different ways connected with the trends put forward here.

The 'audience' or target group is in the first place other researchers and then stakeholders or funding agencies. The aim is to increase awareness of the research that is being done, why it is being done and the directions in which it can move.

The Radein Initiative comes from a unique grouping of scholars from various European universities with a diversity of disciplinary backgrounds. Though the Initiative is European-based, it incorporates perspectives on research in multilingualism carried out around the world. While rooted within a European scholarly and institutional environment, it is not 'exclusively European' (whatever that would mean) because each of us collaborates with colleagues from other continents, are influenced by their work and retain regular international contact thanks to the opportunities afforded by IT infra-structure. The students trained by us come from many different countries, with a wide range of cultural backgrounds and they command several languages, even when English is our most commonly used medium of communication. The consequences of technological developments and the interconnectedness it creates thus permeate our thinking and are reflected in the tone and substance of the Radein Initiative.

Later in this document a short overview is provided of some approaches to the research into multilingualism and of the directions in which they are heading. The five sections in part 2 touch on research relating to multilingualism and cognition, language contact, multilingual education, minority languages, discourses about language and literacy practices. Each section addresses some of the challenges posed by the new multilingualisms of the global era and considers issues of theory and of method.

We are at the same time seeking advice from others and invite them to take part in the debate on further areas to be included. In particular the Initiative is concerned with the idea of 'useful' research in this area that can make a contribution to political and economic world in which we live, as stressed by many research funders at present.

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Due to pressure of other commitments Kees De Bot and Marilyn Martin Jones were unable to contribute to the drafting of the text of this document of the Radein Initiative.

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1. Introduction: Multilingualism the next steps

While language diversity has always been a fundamental characteristic of human societies, issues related to how to deal with a multitude of languages are increasingly important and urgent in our time. For the majority of citizens multilingualism is a far more prevalent feature of daily life in today's societies than it has ever been before. Because the world is becoming more and more interconnected and interdependent, these are exciting and challenging times for the study of multilingualism.

'Multilingualism' is here taken to be the use by individuals, groups, organizations or countries of more than one language in everyday life; this includes second, third or multiple languages. 'Bilingualism' is a subcategory thereof and is taken to be any real-life use of more than one language rather than the equally proficient use of more than one language.

It is timely to discuss and to reflect on current challenges in research on multilingualism and to identify avenues by which more integrated and vital research may be advanced collectively. That is the main objective of the Radein Initiative. The document builds on our experiences in dealing with this multiplicity. It helps to suggest future directions of research that address the complexity of multilingualism. By identifying needs for future research, the Initiative wants to be agenda-setting. Its more specific goals are to raise awareness about the urgency of research into multilingualism, to identify specific issues, to

create cross-national links between researchers and research questions, and to promote higher education training.

Broadly speaking, the aim of the Radein Initiative is to do some thinking for the future, to attempt to identify areas of overlap between different strands of research and to articulate some of the novel kinds of questions that we need to be asking in these times. Research funding institutions are mainly thinking of research that can be defined as somehow useful. What 'useful' means may be quite different, but generally it is applied knowledge to things that are identified as problems in society. Incentives are given much more to 'applied' topics than to basic research.

Current discourse about language practices in Europe is dominated by the competition between three essentially monolingual 'frames', 'models', or 'ideologies':

- The *English Lingua Franca Frame* entails that communication in the modern world is best served by the adoption of a single language, English, throughout a particular domain (international companies, universities, air travel, joint military action), to the exclusion of other languages and independently of the language backgrounds of the members of the domain.
- The *State Language Frame* entails that Europe is essentially an assembly of States, and that this political reality should be the basis for language practices as well. The official languages of the States should be equally and uniquely privileged in international communication and be the major vehicle for communication at the national level.
- The *Vernacular Language Frame* entails that whatever happens to be one's mother tongue or community language should be supported for use in as many domains as possible, independently of other concerns.

Multilingual practices in Europe usually are some kind of uneasy compromise between agenda's set by these frames, without a clear sense of direction or rationale behind them. None of these frames has an explicit place for multilingualism, which nonetheless functions dominantly at the interstices of the resulting agenda's.

The Radein Initiative highlights selected research achievements in regard to multilingualism as a phenomenon (1.1), then draws attention to major gaps in our research understanding and practice to date (1.2), before focussing on which real world issues and challenges need more attention (1.3). In part 2 the Initiative sketches the main lines of a research agenda for science, policy makers and civil society over the next years. In five different thematic sections these topics are treated in more depth.

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1.1 What has multilingualism research achieved in the last few years?

To answer this question exhaustively would be impossible. Here we can only draw attention to some of the more significant elements.

In language policy studies some macro forces can be seen at work. For example, in all member states of the European Union changes have led to the devolution of power from the central state level to the European level and in some states such as the United Kingdom or Spain also to the regional level. These processes also implied a reprioritization of the status and role of languages. 'Europe' and the state governments gave a voice to decision making from below in language policy. The studies also produced evidence based critiques and a turn to a public good approach. Today the complexity of language issues is recognized by researchers whereas previously it was not given sufficient attention. In general, research enquiries are moving away from an essentially static view of language.

The debate on multilingualism is highly diverse. On the one hand, a number of official documents at the international level celebrate linguistic diversity (European Commission 2008, Council of Europe 2010). The new Treaty of the European Union states that: "[The Union] shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity" (Art. 3)". A world without diversity of languages will be as dull and boring as a garden with only one same-colour flower (Baker & Jones, 1998: 205).

On the other hand, this metaphor does not hold upon closer examination. In political debates at European, national and local levels, the celebration of linguistic diversity often gives way to fear of the 'other'. The idea that "multiculturalism has failed" has by and large become accepted in society and is used for political benefit by state leaders (think of recent highly publicized speeches David Cameron, Angela Merkel or Nicolas Sarkozy). In this context languages are constructed as a tool for exclusion. Time and again an underlying monolingual frame is important.

When looked at more closely, the beautiful garden with so many flowers looks more like a battleground where different varieties compete for visibility, space and scarce resources. In the battle, demands are heard to control the diversity and enforce uniformity to a procrustean standard of one language, one nation.

We, as researchers, have not achieved the promises of applied research to solve the problems and challenges surrounding multilingualism. But, as researchers, we do have a role to play by contributing knowledge for the development of suitable policies for dealing with multilingualism, language learning and use.

Another significant achievement of recent years is that researchers have become more aware of the limitations of methods and research questions. For example, one can observe a move from bilingualism – as the study of only two languages – to multilingualism – as the study of two or more languages as demonstrated by the establishment of specialized journals, dedicated conferences and a professional

association. The complexity of multilingualism questions the methods and theories of current research; therefore those must change to become able to handle present challenges. Now is the time to start asking new questions, contextualizing research more, and being critical. This includes more often a multi-disciplinary approach.

A conceptualization of languages as separate entities in the brain has been proven wrong by recent studies in neurolinguistics. The way localization and processing were looked upon in the past were built on a monolingual perspective. Languages were seen as separate boxes, but it has become clear that the critical issue is about how languages interact. There is constant interaction between them and somehow language is always 'there'. So the field is moving forward to different ways of representing language in the brain, made possible by recent technological developments.

There are thus innovative ways of thinking about language in different branches of research and also about related issues of power, e.g. asymmetries in power, in ideology, etc. Critical work has moved the field of studies in multilingualism forward by drawing on a wider spectrum of social theories. Those are exciting developments, in particular the work on written language, ways of reading and writing and (new) literacies.

Despite these developments, single languages are still conceived of as powerful symbolic systems, which can have important consequences. For example, words have often been seen to belong to different, separated mental lexicons. In research a shift is ongoing and today we speak less about competence as a static concept and more about the use of resources, or language practices. There has been a leap forward in understanding processes of globalization, concepts of space and time, literacy, relations between the local and the global. Therefore in that sense that progress has been made.

Multilingualism research has shown some ideas in society to be wrong, because it does not work disconnected from society. However, many myths about multilingualism are also still around at every level of popular and academic discourse and they are very persistent. Some examples are¹:

- Multilingualism is a rare phenomenon
- Real multilinguals have equal and perfect knowledge of their languages
- Multilinguals are born translators
- Multilinguals code-switch out of pure laziness
- Children raised as multilinguals will always mix their languages
- Children are better language learners than adults
- Once a language is learned, it is never forgotten.

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¹ For a more complete list see Grosjean 2010.

1.2: Which are the main gaps in the research on multilingualism so far?

The discussions in the Radein meeting identified a long list of gaps, even though such a list is far from exhaustive or complete. The list has been trimmed and streamlined and a number of subheadings have been included in this document. The items or 'gaps' are more like pointers to relevant research topics, issues and themes, which deserve more attention in the future and which should be elaborated further. The five sections in part 2 are an elaboration of steps in that direction.

1. TEMPORAL

The time-dimension is of importance in many *historical studies*, but will be applied in different ways (e.g. long-term vs. short-term). Historically, too little is known about what multilingualism was like in the (distant) past? More and better comparisons of epochs and eras are needed. The temporal dimension is also central to *longitudinal studies*. How much do we know about the long term effects of early language learning? (Most studies look into contemporary practices). Methods of life trajectory studies, ethnographies, etc. can be used. Thereby reflect on which research methods work and what 'working' means (a general point, valid for other 'gaps' in this list as well). This includes real time longitudinal studies of bilingual communities, groups, organizations, etc. and research into the life span multilingualism of language users. Another lacuna exists in studies of *trajectories of writing of multilingual texts*, not only during the life span, but e.g. also through an institution. How in a multilingual group or an institution writing texts gets different meanings.

2. SPATIAL

Several gaps in research into multilingualism are related to *physical and cultural space(s)*. For example, architectural form influences language and the construction of meaning. Not only in semiotic meaning, but also through the physical environment or through spatial cognition. "Languages in space" has multilayered meanings and spaces are opened up or closed by language(s). The spatial dimension obviously also includes *borders*. Language borders have been studied, but there is a shortage of comparative studies, between regions or minority groups where multilingual interaction in everyday life takes place. In another vein, learning spaces also exist outside institutions, in *unregulated spaces*. Too little has been done about incidental learning (unfocussed acquisition or "en passant"), e.g. childminding, workplace lingua francas, etc. In schools we observe a softening of boundaries, but we know too little about how children pick up language in natural contexts quickly and thus not in the school context. The unregulated spaces also relates to Information Technology (IT) and interconnectedness: How young people react to virtual spaces of the internet or how do they deal with 'computer mediated communication'? What are legitimate languages in such contexts or in (new) literacy practices? How screens are used, e.g. computer, mobile phone, in public space, but also in medical practice.

3. TECHNOLOGICAL

Today's interconnected world communicates instantaneously, but what does it signify for language use and inclusion (or exclusion) of multiple languages? The developments are technology driven, but what are the implications?

Information Technology (IT) (e.g. software, virtual intelligence, automatic translation services) on its own has implications for multilingualism. Several questions come to mind: How does IT condition us and our languages? How does multilingualism manifest itself in virtual worlds? What is the take up of minority languages in technology?

4. COGNITION

Bilingual and multilingual cognition: Do we think in different ways? E.g. Greek versus Japanese? Based on cognitive psychology and the linguistic relativity hypothesis. Too little is known about cognitive disorders related to multilingualism, and the issue of referrals to special education. Multilingual competence to: look into two dimensions in particular, those of content and strategy transfer. The study of receptive multilingualism as an applied communication strategy for language contacts in Europe (and beyond) offers possibilities for further research. Also the perceptual side of multilingualism: How bilinguals perceive linguistic differences, e.g. German & Dutch versus Turkish & German. Deaf people as bilinguals in a bimodal fashion. The whole issue of multilingualism of the Deaf community. The gap in perception studies also relates to the link between visual and written languages along different other dimensions. For example, the significance of multimodality and semiotics, where the visual and the verbal intersect.

5. LANGUAGE LEARNING

As was already mentioned in the foregoing, several of those shortcomings in research are linked to language learning. But more questions need to be answered: What do we know about the weak or non-talented language learner? Or, about the topic of language learning at an advanced age, including school-based learners?

6. SUSTAINABILITY

Many issues are related to sustainability as well. For example, the challenge of revitalization of minority languages and how to create sustainable practices. The crucial, but unsolved question of how to get from language competence to actual language use? Few studies make connections between studies on regional languages and the acquisition of other (dominant) languages e.g. French, German or Spanish (there is a scarcity of references to major insights). There are too few studies on multilingualism where English is not involved, leading to the danger of generalising from one language with currently a unique role in the world. Research into 'simplified' or 'basic' English is still scant. One also needs to study the negative effects of multilingualism (e.g. for minorities). This relates to issues of

power and multilingualism (which of course in general likewise is an important theme).

A scarcity of studies also can be observed in language in institutions: the work place and others.

7. METHODOLOGY & THEORY

Various methodological issues demand further attention along a macro-micro axis. Where can ethnographic studies fill a gap? Or, what can the praxis be of critical triangulation? There is significance in more comparative studies, which also go beyond Europe.

Theoretically the importance of taking a multi-disciplinary approach to multilingualism has to be emphasized. For example, research on economy and languages, or also law and languages. At the same time we need better theoretical models of multilingual behaviour, based on valid techniques. Social theory can fill a gap in thinking about multilingualism. Also psycholinguistic research of multilingualism should be revitalized, because until now a lot of it is word-based with techniques with little relation to real life. There is a need for a broadly-based psycholinguistics of multilingualism, rather than one based primarily on lexical processing.

Clearly it is important to recognise that the supportive scientific and intellectual infra-structure has to be in place in order for these gaps to be addressed and remedied in our research endeavours. Many additional questions have to be taken into account to implement these research aims.

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1.3: Which “real world challenges” related to multilingualism need more attention in research, taking into account factors such as globalization, immigration, new technologies?

Many issues in applied linguistics are somehow related to ‘real world challenges’. For example many studies in education want (directly or indirectly) to contribute to improvements in the learning and teaching of languages. There are other areas that have not obtained so much attention when it comes to challenges related to multilingualism. A few are suggested below.

One basic research problem is that different social groups define ‘multilingualism’ in different ways and often they have their own sub-agenda in doing so. So, for example, it is important to critically read and analyze the text and the subtext in official documents, whether they are from the European Union, a state or a regional government or other institution or organization.

In general, the willingness to learn languages, or the lack thereof, can be seen as a real challenge today. More detailed studies of the role in society of large

institutions such as the British Council (that promotes the English language as a commodity), or the Goethe Institut (that claims to promote multilingualism through the learning and teaching of German) are needed. Other similar institutes for other strong languages are Dante Alighieri (Italian), Instituto Cervantes (Spanish), Alliance Française (French) and the Confucius Institutes (Chinese), which all have a world-wide network of locations and thus have potentially a large-scale impact.

Obviously an important social issue in our times concerns migrants and the refusal (or denial) to maintain the home language. The numerous home languages in most Western European countries are only taught outside of regular school hours, if at all. Also many indigenous minority language groups receive only scant attention in school, for example Ulster Scots or Friulan. In studies of such problems we should not only focus on (traditional) minorities or (more recent) migrants but also on the increasing numbers of mobile people who for example work for international companies.

There are also important problems related to testing (and mobile people). Persons are being tested as “monolinguals” for citizenship, with the native speaker as a reference. This has become common practice for the authorities in most EU-member states. This whole issue is about gate-keeping (of certain categories of migrants). Nowadays testing is paramount in society and state authorities are trying to close the borders of the European Union by means of language testing. Also additional testing may take place for specific professions, e.g. medical practitioners.

An important question for professional applied linguistics may be: ‘Do the outcomes of research have an effect?’ In the foregoing some persistent myths surrounding multilingualism were already mentioned. Moreover, many educated people have the most bizarre and antiquated ideas about language. Researchers in this field may lack the means and the ways to put things in the right way to the public at large, although, perhaps compared to a number of years ago some progress has been made. People may also want to believe in those outdated ideas and academic research lacks the resources for large publicity campaigns to change them (and sometimes in other areas the limited impact of such campaigns can be observed). The challenges are hugely demanding and because most people go for an easy solution, not so much is changing.

Another real problem is how politicians carry out campaigns about language. They make (unfounded) claims about for instance early language learning, they disregard research outcomes on the age factor or they just follow the current fashion. The promotion of certain languages rather than others is not an academic but a political issue.

An underexposed aspect to investigate further could be the role of the military and intelligence services when it comes to languages. Much of language related software is inspired by the military and thus has a huge influence on language architecture or the way (some) foreign languages are taught. There has been a

limited amount of work in English for Special Purposes (ESP) on this. Another area is the role of multilingualism in illegal activities such as drug dealing, prostitution, etc. This is a real world problem that is not talked about in terms of language issues or related with multilingualism.

In our times demographic change and in particular the ageing of the population (in Europe) becomes more and more important as a social issue: How are we dealing with older people and with multilingualism? How do we provide care when people are losing a second (or even their first) language?

Genuine multilingualism is stifled and one language gets more rights than another. It is clear that English is privileged in this respect and that multilingualism, without English, is almost non-existent in Europe when people have or learn more than two languages. Over 90 per cent of European schoolchildren learn English at some stage of their compulsory education and this figure is rising (Eurydice 2008). In traditional strongholds like Morocco, French is losing and English is gaining as the first foreign language. There are already several critiques and narratives of these developments regarding English in terms of Eurocentric cultural imperialism and the way the British have forced the English language on the world (among others through the British Council) (Phillipson 2003). But also more subtle critiques exist and people are trying to understand what is going on in different countries where often complex situation exist and not just one voice is being heard (see several chapters in Kirkpatrick 2010).

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2. Which can the research agenda be for multilingualism for the next years? (based on the foregoing 'diagnosis')

There are many ways in which the field of multilingualism and the gaps identified therein can be cut in many different ways. Our diagnosis can metaphorically be seen as a complex highway interchange with different layers and connections from where one can go in different directions.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion and diagnosis, an elaboration of five approaches will be given in more detail:

- a. Multilingualism and cognition
- b. Language contact research
- c. Minority language policy
- d. Multilingual education research
- e. Social processes and language practices

In each of these approaches we provide examples of future research possibilities.

2.1 Multilingualism and cognition - Vivian Cook

Multilingualism research has recently come to see that people who know more than one language may think differently from those who know only one. For decades discussion of the relationship between language and cognition was muddled by the acrimonious debate about the so-called 'strong' version of the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis that language determines thought. Looked at more neutrally, the relationship can be phrased as a question of whether differences in cognition go with different features of language (Cook, 2011). Since the pioneering experiment-based research of Lucy (1992), Levinson (1996) and Roberson et al (2000), a host of new research has shown links between grammatical gender and perception of objects (Sera, Forbes, Burch, & Rodriguez, 2002), direction of writing and representation of time (Tversky, Kugelmass & Winter, 1991), verb expression and motion (Gennari, Sloman, Malt & Fitch, 2002), and count/mass nouns and classification (Imai & Gentner, 1997).

At the same time there has been considerable development of the idea that the human mind is a single system, constantly changing and developing over time. This makes second language knowledge and use integral to the rest of the mind and in constant flux. Ideas such as dynamic systems theory (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; Herdina & Jessner, 2002), and multi-competence (Cook, 2007) force us to look at the constantly varying total system in the mind, consisting of the first language, second language and other cognitive elements, indeed in a sense making them one whole rather than separate components.

The interest for multilingualism research is then what happens to the thinking of people who know more than one language. At one level this may be changes effected by the acquisition of *any* two languages on the mind, immaterial whether they are English, German, Hungarian, Catalan or any possible pair (Green, 1998; Bassetti & Cook, 2011): research indeed shows such general effects as increased metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok, 2001) and delayed onset of Alzheimer's disease (Bialystok et al, 2004). At another level it may be changes *specific* to the pairing of languages: the assignment of male or female voices to an object by English-speaking learners of Spanish reflects grammatical gender in L2 Spanish (Kurinski & Sera, to appear); the expression of path and motion differs in Polish people who are active users of English and those who are not (Czechowska & Ewert, 2011).

The correlation of thinking with bilingualism in a single overall mental system in flux represents a new research agenda for multilingualism, bilingualism and second language acquisition research, generating a host of new issues to be investigated, such as:

- What is the relationship between the two languages in the same mind? The second language can no longer be studied in isolation from the existing first language. Minds with two languages have distinctive grammars, phonology and lexicons from minds with one language.
- Which cognitive changes are related to bilingualism itself, which to the specific interactions between particular languages? For example does bimodal

bilingualism involving a signed and a spoken language differ from unimodal bilingualism, as Emmorey et al (2008) suggest?

- What is lacking in the monolingual mind? On a variety of areas involving control, bilinguals score higher than monolinguals (Green, 2011). Since bilingualism can be considered the species norm open to all human beings, in what ways does monolingualism stop people attaining their potential?
- How does bilingual thinking differ from monolingual thinking? Bassetti & Cook (2011) outline four possibilities:
 - i) *the one-concept scenario*. Here the bilingual uses the L1 concept for both languages, i.e. has two labels for one concept.
 - ii) *the double-concept scenario*. The bilingual uses two concepts, with different labels in the two languages.
 - iii) *the one-integrated concept scenario*. The bilingual has a single concept blended from the two languages, given two labels.
 - iv) *the original concept scenario*. The bilingual has a single concept that is novel and not clearly based on the two languages involved.

The research questions are how these scenarios apply to different conceptual areas and to different individuals and situations.

- To what extent should deliberate induced change from monolingual thinking to bilingual ways of thinking be seen as an objective of language policy and language education?

The overall issue for multilingualism research is then to see how knowledge and use of more than one language affects the user and the society in the ways they perceive and create their social and mental worlds.

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2.2 Exploring stability: Models and methods in language contact research - Suzanne Aalberse and Pieter Muysken

The main purpose of this section is not so much to present a state of the art in language contact studies (an impossible task given the vast amounts of current studies in this area, cf. e.g. Hickley, 2010; Winford 2003) but rather to (a) focus on a particular key issue, stability; (b) outline some of the models used, and (c) sketch methods for studying stability; (d) present different transmission patterns that influence stability; (e) list and discuss a number of potential quality standards that could be used in a meta-analysis of current research outcomes; (f) list some of the larger scale systematic studies in this area; (g) suggest some gaps in the current array of studies and ways to fill these.

Stability

Perhaps the key issue in the linguistic study of language contact is that of stability. Which aspects or components of language resist change under the influence of another language, contact-induced language change, more than others? This section explores the different faces of the purported stability of certain features. Three main questions can be focused upon here;

- a) Which elements are particularly stable, relatively impervious to contact-induced language change?
- b) Which features contribute to this stability?
- c) Is 'stability' as it relates to contact-induced change different from stability in language change in general?

Models

From a literature review different models emerge: (1) Hierarchy models, where a hierarchies of stability across features or components are postulated; (2) Interface models, where vulnerability or stability is viewed as occurring at interfaces between components, e.g. the pragmatics-syntax interface; (3) Grammaticalization models, where contact-induced language change is linked to independently justified grammaticalization paths; (4) Usage-based models, in which frequency and priming are assumed to be the key explanatory factors.

Methods

Differences between these models can partly be explained through the selection of the data and variables (e.g. words versus constructions), and partly through the methodology chosen. Methodologies include cross-linguistic feature sampling, and diachronic and synchronic case studies.

Cross-linguistic feature-sample studies include Wichman et al. (2010) where the stability of grammatical features within language-families is discussed that give insight into domains of language that are inherently instable such as pragmatics. These results can easily linked to language contact studies such as code-switching or language attrition. Heine & Kuteva (2005) compare many language settings and try to study the interaction between contact induced change and grammaticalization.

Synchronic case studies like Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988), focus mostly on lexical choices, necessary because in synchronic studies other (e.g. grammatical) borrowed items cannot be studied properly.

Diachronic case studies like Karttunen (1976) trace the contact history of two individual languages, on the basis of historical documents.

Agents of transmission

Language features change as they are transmitted from one group of speakers to another, and the transmission plays a crucial role:

First language learners are generally able to acquire a language in its full structural complexity.

Second language learners may be the agents of loss of particular (functionally less central) morphological categories and introduce elements from their first language into the second;

Multilingual child language learners may show subtle convergence between the various languages they acquire. Yip & Matthews (2007) show that replica grammaticalization and 'ordinary' contact-induced grammaticalization present in Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) are similar to the output in Cantonese-English bilingual children suggesting that bilingual first language acquisition is a possible route for substrate influence.

Quality standards

Several quality standards have come to the fore in language contact research.

1. Accountability of the data and their provenance: mention for each example cited, who uttered it, etc. ;

2. Adequate bases for comparison: do not compare conversational data in the contact variety with fixed grammar data in the non-contact variety;
3. Attention to the situational and stylistic embedding of the data cited;
4. Attention to the frequency of a given construction; indicate how rare or how frequent a specific phenomenon is.

Larger comparative projects

There are a number of large-scale projects, very diverse in nature, in which comparative data are gathered:

- The *Bangor* bilingual code-switching corpus project has gathered data for bilingual usage involving Spanish-English in Miami, Welsh-English in Wales, and Spanish-Welsh in Patagonia, Argentina, using standard transcription conventions;
- The *Leipzig MPI/EVA* Loanword Typology project systematically compares lexical borrowing patterns in 41 languages, based on lexical data from a fixed list of 1460 meanings;
- The *Nijmegen ERC* project 'Traces of Contact' looks at language contact in settings with greatly different time depths: the indigenous languages of the South American continent, creole and non-creole Surinam, heritage languages in multilingual communities in the Netherlands, and bilingual Papiamentu- and Turkish-Dutch individuals, using a variety of methods.

Gaps and suggestions for further research

Experimental work. As the range of experimental techniques in bilingualism research is expanding and techniques are validated ecologically, it becomes possible to experimentally study the immediate effects of language contact in greater detail. This is being done in code switching, but the same is possible in borrowing, transfer, language creation, and convergence.

Comparative studies. As the range of high quality case studies using roughly similar methodologies increases, it becomes possible to carry out systematic comparisons, to assess the weight of social and structural factors on the outcome of language contact processes.

Links with cognition and processing studies. It is obvious that the factors influencing stability in language contact are in part linked to processing and cognition. However, this issue is not sufficiently theorized, let alone tested in real life or experimental settings.

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2.3 *Minority language policy - Colin H. Williams & Durk Gorter*

Minority language policy in Europe has been subject to broad and profound multi-level influences ranging from within the minority communities themselves, to the state, European level and beyond. One of the critical determinants of the success of minority language policies was the degree to which they could be embedded within the public sector of the local state. Thus initiatives related to bilingual or multilingual public services in the statutory education, health and local government spheres were launched as a result of minority pleading and civil society demands. However, the current emphasis on localization, subsidiarity and devolved government has resulted in a decentralization of decision-making from central government to a more local level of 'civil society' and 'representative government'. This has required minority language policy to be refashioned, less as a response to one or more interest group's demands, and more as a public good, part of the mainstream of social and political decision-making. However, this transition is not without its problems for inherent in the treatment of minority languages as a public good are the strictures of 'neo-liberalism' which places a strong emphasis on market forces, competition and citizen choice. This paradigm shift in the delivery of minority language service, obligations and rights also seeks to 'free' minorities from increased government intervention and control. This recalibration of the role of minority policy throws up a series of new tensions and stresses which are rarely analyzed even if they are often articulated. The standard interpretation is that parts of the state, which used to bear a large part the cost of minority language education, popular culture, representation in the media etc, is now transferring some of the resource allocation responsibility back to the community and civil society. In consequence several of the gains made in the past generation in relation to minority language television, communication and the media, for example, are being undermined by more cost-effective arguments calling for the removal of 'artificial subsidies' and majoritarian support for minority interests in plural societies.

As a counter to these pressures a second trend influencing policy formulation may be identified, it is related to a European political philosophy which stresses 'solidarity' and adopts an essentially social democratic notion of the role of the state in correcting market failure through political intervention by the state to support the weakest or differentiated sections of society. In many respects this is what selected devolved governments within Europe have sought to do in relation to the treatment of their minorities. The changed political context, from state-level to national or regional-level decision making makes the minority language policy more acute and pertinent, but it can also reduce the amount of resources available to implement elements within the policy.

This section will analyse the minority language policies in selected cases such as the Basque Country, Friesland, Ireland and Wales. It will seek to address several structural tensions which stem from the neo-liberal and social democratic perspectives coming into conflict as a result of closer European integration and globalization. Illustrative themes which would repay comparative research are:

- (a) The tension between the current European Union approach to multilingualism at an institutional level, and the apparently dwindling role which the European Union language policy attaches to minority languages;
- (b) The fiscal pressures in many regions which threaten the capacity of the local state and civil society to maintain, let alone, expand the range of activities which support the vitality of the minority language community and network of speakers;
- (c) The stress on historical bilingual regions, which have statutorily binding official language policies, when they are challenged both by the majoritarian pressures of state citizens and the ever increasing immigrant demands for access to the work place and social equity which tend on the whole to favour the state's hegemonic language;
- (d) The relationship between the promotional and the regulatory aspects of minority language policy.

Hitherto most minority language policy has concerned itself with an input-oriented set of initiatives designed to promote the opportunities available to sue the target language within society. However, as a result of increased legislation which recognise minority rights and expectations these policies are now subject to court challenges and charges of being discriminatory in differentiating between and within residents of a particular jurisdiction. Such charges and challenges tend to be levelled at the minority policy by representatives of the state's majority, but there are wider ramifications as a result of the increased mobility of European citizens and the impact which European public law has on minority language policy; (e) The role which IT and communication systems play in either reinforcing or marginalising the use of minority languages within the modern economy, society and entertainment sectors. The section also treats the development of research lines to investigate these tensions.

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2.4 Multilingual education research - Jasone Cenoz & Rita Franceschini

Research on multilingualism in school settings is related to multiple factors at the individual, societal and educational levels. Each student has his/her own linguistic repertoire and set of experiences as well as capacities and strategies. At the same time, schools are part of society and the ideologies and cultures of a particular society can also be found in its educational institutions. In this way, there are many social and sociolinguistic factors that can affect multilingualism in school settings along with specific educational factors such as those related to the curriculum and the school organization.

In spite of the spread of multilingualism in society, there is a common trend in education reflected in the fact that most school systems are mainly oriented to a monolingual model, enriched with foreign languages. Efforts are made in some cases to enrich the syllabus through early learning programs for foreign languages but these rarely contain minority regional languages or new languages brought in through immigration and mobility. Multilingualism in education does not necessarily mean 'multilingual education' that aims at multilingualism and multiculturalism. In many situations schoolchildren are speakers of minority and

immigrant languages that are not part of the school curriculum and classes may be multilingual but multilingualism is not in these cases an aim of education. In contrast, other schools aim at multilingualism and include several languages both as school subjects and languages of instruction in the curriculum.

Some of the most important issues that need on a research agenda regarding multilingualism in school contexts are the following:

a) *Early language learning*. Since initiatives for the acquisition of foreign languages at an early age are spreading, it is important to consider not only the short term effects of the introduction of a foreign language in kindergarten and primary school but also the long-term effects regarding the language competency of the learner later in life. Are the differences between the learners who started acquiring multiple languages at different early ages measurable? A related issue is the dynamics of multilingual acquisition. The continuity or discontinuity when learning a language at school and the exposure to different languages in childhood and adulthood can result in phenomena of attrition and reactivation depending on educational, social and individual experience. Most studies on second language acquisition look at a very limited period of time even in the case of longitudinal studies carried out over a few months. It is necessary to explore the dynamics of multilingualism from a longer time span.

b) There is also a need to go on conducting research on the way new languages are added to *the multilingual speaker's repertoire*. Nowadays third or fourth language acquisition is very common particularly in the case of schoolchildren who are speakers of minority languages, immigrant children and children from families with high mobility. It is necessary to explore the ways in which these schoolchildren can expand their linguistic repertoire and the way they use one or more of the previously acquired languages as support languages. Neurobiological research demonstrates that, depending upon the age at which the second language is acquired, the basis of the third language is drawn upon. More extensive research with triangulation of several methodologies is required here.

c) Schools implementing *CLIL* concepts are aware of much of the potential connected to learning several languages, but little empirical research has been made in comparing different teaching methods. However CLIL often implies an increase of the number of hours devoted to the teaching and learning of the second or foreign language. It is necessary to conduct more research studies in order to find out the effect of CLIL as a methodological approach controlling for the number of hours of instruction. It is also important to relate two settings that have traditionally ignored each other: research in bilingual education involving minority and immigrant languages to studies of foreign language learning.

d) The whole field of *language acquisition outside school* has not received enough attention. More research is needed on incidental language learning particularly in the case of young people who are in casual contact with different languages in a highly dynamic language behaviour. Contact in schoolyards, in leisure time, in peer groups and digital practices (internet, Facebook ...) can bring in unexpected

competences. It is important to explore ways in which these leisure experiences can relate to the overall development of communicative competencies of children and young adults. Language acquisition outside school can also include more instruction in the case of language classes after school hours.

e) *Language practices in the classroom.* More ethnographic research is needed in order to analyse language practices in classes where children speak different languages and/or in schools that aim at multilingualism. In this way more information could be obtained about the relationship between language and identity in multilingual contexts. It could be interesting to explore further the allocation of languages in different activities.

f) Studies on *teacher and parent attitudes* towards multilingualism are needed. These should help to do action research, where decision makers, principals, teachers and parents should be accompanied by reflection on myths and facts. They should be enabled to act against prejudice and to take decisions regarding strengthening fairness in the school system.

g) *Language testing* is also a crucial issue that deserves more attention as related to multilingualism in education because it is a powerful tool to select and assign children to differential forms of lessons/schools. More research is needed in order to examine the effect of the language of testing on exam results in the case of multilingual children.

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2.5 Social processes and language practices - Melissa Moyer

In the last two decades, there have been profound changes in the nature of social, linguistic and cultural diversity brought about by an increased mobility of persons, information and goods. We have seen the development of increasingly complex and varied social processes leading to new configurations of power, forms of categorization and social exclusion, with far-reaching sociolinguistic consequences. The last two decades have also seen the rapid development of new technologies and the globalised spread of new “technoscapes” (Appadurai, 2006). These technological changes have transformed the communicative landscape, making it possible to construct virtual, translocal networks and new diasporic links and creating new unfettered spaces for multilingual literacy.

These far-reaching social, cultural and technological changes pose major challenges for the study of multilingualism. In this section, we will chart some of the new lines of enquiry opened up in recent critical, ethnographic research on multilingualism, with a view to building an understanding of contemporary processes of sociolinguistic change and the ways in which local/global dynamics are played out in different sites – in local life worlds and in different institutional contexts. Empirical research and theory-building has focused on the communicative practices emerging in different contexts and on the ways in which people draw on the linguistic and semiotic resources available to them, often mixing and blending resources from different ‘languages’ and creating new forms

of multilingualism. And, given the critical nature of this sociolinguistic research, a key concern has been with the unequal ways in which linguistic and semiotic resources circulate through different discursive spaces and with the processes involved in the construction of the value of these resources in different social and institutional settings.

New lines of enquiry

Some new lines of enquiry related to the study of multilingualism include less studied sites and practices that challenge the homogenous or the monolingual norm traditionally applied to nation-states as well as bilingual speakers. Some of those sites which have become the object of attention are: *workplaces* and the conditions under which labour is recruited and organized and how work regimes today are connected to the way language and multilingualism are valued and used; *public, private and non-governmental institutional sites* and how vertical or horizontal forms of management are connected to ways institutions construct multilingualism; *educational and training sites* which are key for transmitting group values. They are places where processes of social ex/inclusion are typically implemented but also where contestation and resistance take place. The various motives for mobility include *refugees* and *asylum seekers*. Such persons and their reasons for immigrating are also the focus of critical sociolinguistic approaches that address the often misguided linguistic ideologies of gatekeepers who take decisions which can have consequential outcomes for the persons involved; An account of the mobility of *tourists* who travel for leisure and *migrants* who are forced by political and economic conditions in their home countries to seek better life chances is crucial for understanding the implication of multilingualism in key processes of social structuration that are going on in much of the developed world today. New multilingual practices involving language hybridity or code-switching are progressively recognized as successful communicative strategies whereas previously they were viewed as a lack of education or a speaker's competence errors. Multilingual and multimodal literacies are also becoming valued and understood as part of the diverse language practices with which speakers regularly engage.

Empirical research and theory building

Empirical research on multilingualism that takes into account the new communicative landscapes associated with processes of globalization demands a theoretical framework that incorporates the complexities that are part of the everyday lives of mobile citizens who move around for reasons of leisure, work or other. Problematising political, social and economic configurations of power provide a window on the ways multilingualism works through the lens of power and also on how inequality gets (re)produced by everyday language practices.

Time and space are dimensions that are key for understanding the dynamic nature of people's individual trajectories and the ways they regulate their multiple identities through their language choices. The prestige of English or French spoken by a citizen from a British or French ex-colony in Africa or Southeast Asia is not the same in the country of origin as in Britain or France but both experiences form part of how persons position themselves and also how they get positioned.

The new economic order is having a profound influence on the spheres of action of the nation-state and on the way people lead their lives and hence on their communicative practices. Multilingualism, nowadays, constitutes an added value in many work contexts. Knowledge of valued languages is a way of earning money both for individuals seeking work but also for multinationals that employ inexpensive labour from a global multilingual workforce. The commodification of language is a key theoretical notion for linking global social processes with local multilingual communicative practices.

Useful research methods

Critical sociolinguistics generates knowledge on multilingualism within an ethnographic/qualitative paradigm. This methodological approach provides a comprehensive understanding of how social reality shapes language use that is not readily investigated through arbitrary or idealized categorizations, correlations or empirical measurements. A researcher's reflexive stance is a requisite for representing the simultaneous meanings language practices can elicit for participants and the informed analytical interpretations of those practices.

Some useful ways of exploring the connection of language to social processes is to start off with a view (critical in our case) of society which requires a certain familiarity and training in social theory; which requires an interdisciplinary training not typically provided in linguistic programmes offered by institutions of higher education today. An understanding of how the sites studied fit into the overall working of one of the major units of political organization which is the nation-state and society and how the current neo-liberal economic order is shaping social reality and the working lives of individuals and hence their language practices.

Multi-sited linguistic ethnographies provide information on language practices as well as a point of comparison to understand how a given social process, for example, social ex/inclusion is produced in different sites. Multiple sites are a useful way of triangulating data as well as providing more comprehensive explanations.

The use of network analysis is not new in sociolinguistic inquiry but the manner in which social network analysis can be used to connect the individual with wider social processes is useful when conducting a multi-sited ethnography. The ways people are connected to one another through, family, work, or friendship ties are an additional analytical tool for exploring the dynamics of social relations of persons with other groups, organizations, nation-states as well as other sites.

Life trajectories of multilingual individuals elicit key points in a person's life which provide valuable information on specific contextual circumstances and the role of language plays at those specific points in time. Moreover, life story narratives are added insight of the world views and ideologies which lead to given multilingual language practices.

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Multilingualism research has a crucial task in helping to unravel the current unclear situation and to suggest options for future practices. The aim is to articulate the kinds of questions that can move the field forward. Colleagues are invited to react and to contribute to this document, so that together we can learn and develop these lines of thinking further.

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