Learning and Using Multiple Languages

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Current Findings from Research on Multilingualism

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INTRODUCTION

LEARNING AND USING MULTIPLE LANGUAGES

PILAR SAFONT AND LAURA PORTOLÉS

A growing interest in the study of multilingualism has arisen during the last decades. The revitalisation of minority languages and the spread of English as a lingua franca have promoted the teaching and learning of multiple languages (Alcón and Safont 2013). In fact, multilingual users are the norm, not the exception. As described and presented in this volume, recent findings from research adopt the perspective of current multilingualism (see Aronin in this volume) which regards this phenomenon as a new linguistic dispensation that also differs from past conceptions. In line with Aronin's view, although multilingualism has always existed and it is an assumed fact that the world is multilingual, we should bear in mind the important changes that research on this phenomenon has undergone, like that of adopting a multilingual perspective in its studies.

As claimed by Gorter *et al*. (2014), despite known efforts for implementing coherent multilingual policies in certain institutions like schools or universities, classroom practices in multilingual settings are still monolingual. These authors advocate for promoting minority languages and analysing their role in the educational policies of multilingual communities. Our volume considers not only minority languages but also other languages within multilingual communities as well as the interaction among them.

In line with the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (Herdina and Jessner 2002), languages are seen as complex and dynamic systems which are in constant interaction. Several studies (Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Jessner 2013; Portolés and Safont 2014; Portolés and Martín 2012; Safont 2013a) have suggested that language systems in the multilingual classroom interact with and influence each other since students may use their linguistic repertoire for different functions and intentions. The interaction among languages, also known as cross-linguistic interaction, may develop awareness to languages and increase the multilingual competence of

learners. Nevertheless, the linguistic background of the learners, the existing relationships among languages and the interactions within the wider context have been widely ignored in language acquisition studies.

On that account, common to all chapters in the present volume is the research-orientation adopted. A multilingual approach guides the analysis of grammatical, lexical and pragmatic development together with the role of affective and social factors in multilingual settings. In short, the volume contains the latest findings from research on multilingual language learning and use in multilingual communities and it is not restricted to an age group. In fact, our proposal contains studies on children, teenagers, young adults and adults. Furthermore, it covers a wide range of sociolinguistic settings including English-speaking countries, like United Kingdom or Canada, Northern and Central European contexts like Sweden or Germany as well as Southern settings like those of Spain or Tunisia.

The present book comprises 14 chapters including well-known scholars in the field. This introduction serves as a link among all these contributions and raises the need for research on learning and using multiple languages as monolingual language learning is nowadays an exception.

The opening chapter, by Larissa Aronin, presents a theoretical account of past and present research on multilingualism while signalling out how studies have moved from monolingual to multilingual perspectives as well as the changes involved. The author refers to multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation that differs from past assumptions. The interaction between the spread of English as a lingua franca and the diversification of languages is discussed along with the inherent qualities of multilingualism, namely those of suffusiveness, liminality, complexity and super-diversity. Chapter one addresses these issues and is the starting point of the volume.

Studies on learning and using multiple languages are presented in chapters 2 to 14. The collection of chapters in this volume is divided into three main sections in line with the sociolinguistic setting in which the studies have been conducted. A first set of studies focus on English-speaking countries, namely those of USA, Canada and UK. The extent to which multilingualism is officially recognized in these countries is described in chapter 2, and empirical descriptions tackling cross-linguistic influence and spelling difficulties in the process of becoming multilingual are raised in chapters 3 and 4.

In chapter 2, Sanja Škifić and Antonio Oštarić focus on the language policies of English-speaking countries by examining the language data which appear in population censuses. The analyses confirm that those

countries largely follow the recommendations of the United Nations on language issues, although further effort should be made in raising an awareness of indigenous and minority languages. Furthermore, the authors deal with some educational implications deriving from their analyses and related to the issue of language ideologies.

Chapter 3 opens a recent line of investigation in multilingualism focusing on the role of gestures in the acquisition and learning of an additional language. Giuliana Salvato believes that learning a language not only deals with the verbal component of a language, but also with nonverbal language. By referring to complexity inherent to multilingualism and the M-factor included in the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jessner 2008), the author proposes that the multilingual background of 329 learners may facilitate the identification and interpretation of Italian emblematic gestures. The results found that prior knowledge of Italian was the most determining factor in the interpretation of gestures. Unexpectedly, the language repertoire of the learners did not influence the results, even though previous languages were typologically-related such as Spanish and French. Salvato highlights the importance of including pragmatic and sociolinguistic knowledge of the target language in syllabi in order to increase students' multilingual awareness.

Chapter 4 provides new evidence on multilingual development since intervention case studies with multilingual subjects are rare. Georgia Niolaki and Jackie Masterson report a case study of a 10-year-old trilingual child who is literate in her L2 and L3 (English and Greek) but not in her L1 (Turkish origin alphabetic language). The authors focus on the assessment and intervention for the spelling difficulties of the multilingual subject in English and Greek. Assessment reports found that the child had spelling difficulties in familiar words and nonwords in both languages. In order to mitigate her linguistic weaknesses, they conducted an intervention which consisted of visual imagery and flashcard techniques that triggered the pre-existing knowledge in her L1. Post-intervention assessment revealed that the techniques helped the multilingual girl to improve her spelling. The authors emphasize the importance of conducting detailed assessments and interventions with children that have literacy difficulties in order to help them to accommodate in the multilingual classroom.

The second set of chapters discusses language learning and proposals for fostering multilingualism in Northern European settings like Finland, Sweden, Germany and Austria. The studies on language learning included in this part of the volume analyse grammatical choices (chapters 5 and 6) and vocabulary acquisition (chapter 7). Proposals for promoting

multilingualism deal with the role of the proficiency level of football players (chapter 8) and the linguistic background of immigrant children (chapter 9) for the social integration of both child and adult language learners.

Chapter 5 explores the multilingual acquisition of trilingual learners whose L1 is Hungarian, L2 is German and L3 is English. In this chapter, Eva Berkes and Suzanne Flynn focus on the L3 acquisition of adverbial adjunct control sequences by taking into consideration learners' previous languages and therefore, a multilingual perspective. The results propose that learners may benefit from accumulated syntactic knowledge in the L1 and L2 as far as the acquisition of L3 English is concerned. The authors confirm that the Cumulative Enhancement Model proposed by Flynn, Foley and Vinnitskaya (2004) is supported by their findings.

In line with the multilingual perspective adopted in the present book, Laia Arnaus-Gil provides evidence of the positive effect of trilingualism in simultaneous multilingual children (i.e., acquisition of three languages simultaneously from birth) in chapter 6. The author compares the acquisition of the Spanish copulas verbs SER and ESTAR in children with different linguistic profiles: Spanish monolinguals, Spanish-German bilinguals and Spanish-German-Catalan trilinguals. Two traditional explanations which account for cross-linguistic influence, language processing and grammar internal properties are provided and tested. The author presents very interesting results and concludes that further research is needed.

Cross-linguistic interaction is the focus of chapter 7. More specifically, Ylva Falk deals with lexical transfer in the Swedish context by adopting a neurolinguistic approach. This study deals with the role of background languages in the lexical development of multilinguals. The extent to which content and function words are processed differently in various languages is also examined by the author and interesting conclusions derive from such analysis.

Håkan Ringbom in chapter 8 presents a completely different learning and teaching context, that of a football club. The author deals with multilingualism in the Swedish-speaking Aland Islands. In so doing, Ringbom explores the linguistic barriers that football players face in day-to-day communication since the diversity of languages in a team is extensive. The importance of language teaching methodology and its implications is also discussed by considering the multilingual setting involved. Finally, the author concludes that a good atmosphere and an acceptable language proficiency in the target language are the key for individual success and complete integration.

Another setting that accounts for multilingual teaching practices is provided in chapter 9 written by Eva Maria Fernández-Ammann, Amina Kropp and Johannes Müller-Lance. Taking into account Mannheim, a rich sociolinguistic context in Germany, the authors propose a comprehensive multilingual programme to be included in L3 teacher training. The authors reject the monolingual bias existing in the L3 classroom and suggest that future teachers should be prepared in order to raise the metalinguistic awareness of their multilingual students and create a constructive environment where all languages and cultures are valued.

Finally, the last set of chapters analyse multilingual language learning in instructional settings of Southern countries like those of Spain, Tunisia and Andorra. Studies in this section of the volume deal with early pragmatic awareness (chapter 10), internal and external factors affecting third language pronunciation (chapters 11 and 12), and vocabulary acquisition (chapter 13). In line with the second set of chapters of the volume, the last chapter in this section is devoted to present a proposal for fostering multilingualism in a specific multilingual setting (chapter 14).

Chapter 10 provides valuable insights into multilingual development in the classroom since very few studies have focused on early L3 pragmatic awareness. Pilar Safont and Laura Portolés examine the pragmatic awareness of 48 consecutive L3 learners of English in three languages, namely those of Catalan, Spanish and English. In testing their pragmatic skills the authors focused on identifying appropriate request moves by means of an original audio-visual pragmatic comprehension test. Results confirm the enhanced pragmatic awareness of multilinguals and they also point to the peculiarities of early multilingual pragmatic systems that may be best explained from a dynamic view of multilingualism (Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jessner 2008).

Teenagers are involved in the following two chapters and last part of this section. These contributions deal with the paramount role of internal and external factors in the process of language acquisition. In chapter 11, Amira Massabi examines foreign language anxiety in the English classroom. Although this affective factor has been widely investigated, the research carried out to date has adopted a monolingual perspective. This paper tries to explore the effect of the multilingual background of the learners on anxiety. The participants are 100 high-school students whose L1 is Tunisian Arabic, L2 French and L3 English. Different instruments are employed in order to measure their anxiety levels with reference to their L3 oral and aural skills. The results reported that participants suffered from anxiety despite their condition of multilingual learners. Their experience as language learners did not reduce their anxiety in the L3

classroom. The author suggests the importance of creating a non-threatening environment in order to facilitate language learning in multilingual contexts.

Chapter 12 examines the phonetic behaviour of a multilingual group of students in Catalonia (Spain). Similar to the context of the study by Safont and Portolés, this paper was conducted in a high-school where Catalan, Spanish and English coexist together as languages of instruction. Additionally, the presence of migrant languages, such as Romanian and Arabic, is very high due to the increasingly social migrations throughout the world. Josefina Carrera-Sabaté explores the realizations of stressed Catalan vowels by L1 Catalan students and L1 Romanian students. Her results point out the existing cross-linguistic interaction among language systems and the influence of the L1 on the production of vowels. Additionally, the author also examines social factors, such as gender, age, education level of parents, and language use, among others. This study highlights the importance of the contextual factors in language acquisition processes.

The study by Judith Fusté-Fargas in chapter 13 aims to investigate the acquisition of L3 English vocabulary by 48 primary education learners in the context of Catalonia (Spain). The author focuses on vocabulary retrieval after a long period of no exposure to the input and checks the effect of primed lexicon and repetitive tasks on multilingual acquisition. The results suggest that repetition of vocabulary along courses is the best way to acquire L3 lexicon. The author also reports the influence of metalinguistic awareness and cross-linguistic influence on the process of L3 vocabulary acquisition, especially when dealing with cognates. The multilingual proficiency proposed by Herdina and Jessner (2002) is taken into account in her analyses.

In the last chapter of the volume, Carolina Bastida, Josep Díaz-Torrent and Miquel Nicolau present a proposal for multilingual education at the university level. These authors consider findings from a survey that was previously carried out. In this survey, the authors collected data from the university members in order to draw some conclusions about their beliefs and language practices. The diversity of linguistic profiles and the coexistence of various languages in this academic institution is a controversial issue when it comes to deciding the planning of coherent language policies. The authors conclude that higher education institutions should provide opportunities for students in order to expand their linguistic repertoire and promote the minority (Catalan) and the international foreign language (English).

On the whole, the studies included in this volume all consider multilingual participants by referring to all their languages and they analyse grammatical choices (Chapter 5 and 6), cross-linguistic influence (Chapters 3, 7 and 13), spelling difficulties (Chapter 4), early pragmatic awareness (Chapter 10) and internal and external factors affecting L3 oral production (Chapters 11 and 12). Additionally, pedagogical implications deriving from current research are discussed. Some chapters deal with current proposals for fostering multilingualism in multilingual settings. Here, the classroom goes beyond the walls of schools (Chapter 9) and academic centres (Chapter 14) to include other language teaching and acquisition practices (Chapter 2) , like that of football players (Chapter 8).

Each single chapter in the volume has contributed to current debates on multilingual language use and learning. The number and variety of languages, the range of educational and sociolinguistic settings and the different ages of the participants involved in the analyses make the volume especially attractive. Chapters included may be interesting for curriculum planners and developers as well as researchers, teachers and students interested in the field of multilingualism. Last but not least, we hope that this book will open new avenues for further research on multilingual acquisition and learning in educational settings.

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Acknowledgements

CHAPTER ONE

CURRENT MULTILINGUALISM AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN MULTILINGUALISM RESEARCH

LARISSA ARONIN

Introduction

The increasing number of publications on historical multilingualism (see for example, Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003; Rindler-Schjerve and Vetter 2007; Léglu 2010; Trotter 2000; Picard 2003) present fascinating accounts of multilingualism which flourished in various parts of the world both in ancient times and more recently. There is no doubt that in previous epochs there were people and communities using multiple languages.

The Volga region of Russia supplies earlier examples of individual and communal multilingualism. Before Russians settled there, various Turkic tribes, such as Tatar, Kalmyk and Chuvash inhabited this territory, where they still live and speak their languages. Here, in the 18th century, the Empress Catherine the Great invited foreigners to farm the Russian lands. Almost immediately afterwards the Germans arrived and founded colonies in the lower Volga river area. There, the Germans were allowed to maintain their language and culture, and this is how one more multilingual community in Russia began; they were later known as the Volga Germans.

The Empress herself, whose rule is considered the golden age of Russia, was born in Stettin, Prussia. She received home education there: along with dancing, history, geography and religion she was taught French and English. Upon her arrival in Russia in order to marry the Tsar Peter III in 1744, she - German by birth and French by upbringing- became ardently Orthodox, striving to learn Russia's history and its traditions. She eagerly began learning Russian and her mother in-law, the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna was moved to tears by how young Catherine diligently

studied Russian at night, and had driven herself to exhaustion (Pavlenko N. 2003:20).

She was not only a multilingual, an adult motivated learner, an immigrant acquiring the language of her host country, which in fact became her country in many senses. Catherine's personality was constantly and deeply affected by the languages and cultures that shaped her multilingual identity. Upon ascending the throne, Catherine continued to actively exploit all her languages; she spoke and thought in German, ruled and loved in Russian. This "enlightened despot", as she was called because of her philosophical writings and internal politics, was a long-time correspondent of Voltaire, Diderot and other French thinkers, and an amateur opera librettist in addition.

In this context, Catherine the Great of Russia is an example of successful individual multilingualism and multiliteracy. Her life and the story of the Volga German community demonstrate (and it comes as no surprise) that in previous epochs there were people and communities using multiple languages.

No doubt, multilingualism has existed throughout the whole of human history. But does this mean that we should, perhaps, manage today's multilingual reality as if we were living in the time of Catherine the Great?

This chapter is an attempt to contribute to answering this question. The aim is to further conceptualize current multilingualism as differing from multilingualism of the past. The questions which I am attempting to answer in the following sections are as follows: are people of the world now experiencing the same sort of multilingualism as in the past, or is the current variety a novel and distinct development in the life of human races? And if we are experiencing a different type of language arrangement globally, what are the most important characteristics of current multilingualism?

To this end I shall first point to distinctions between what is called "current multilingualism" and "historical multilingualism" (Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012), and then discuss the complex interaction between the two current global trends of multilingualism. Finally I shall briefly overview the properties and developments characterizing multilingualism today, along with the research describing these properties and developments.

Is the current variety of multilingualism a novel and distinct development?

The most possible answer to this question would be yes. All the current global developments seem to show that humans live under a new linguistic dispensation in which the use of multiple languages is distinct from the forms, patterns, and nature of multilingualism arrangements of the past.

As human society moves ahead, constantly developing its social and economic structure (as, for example, from feudalism to enlightenment, and then to modernity), changes in basic social institutions naturally occur. Modern visions of family, marriage and childhood have changed as have current practices, gender roles and behaviours in ways that would surprise our ancestors. Whole areas of life, such as medicine, transportation and banking have changed drastically. The most recent shifts have led humankind to what is variously called post modernity (Habermas 1981; Lyotard 1984), or late modernity (Giddens 1990, 1991; Beck 1992) or even liquid modernity (Bauman 2000). Whatever the term, the distinctive character of the contemporary human condition is obvious. It is also obvious that it has resulted in drastic changes in technology, and altered ideologies, and perceptions. Inevitably, language use has changed with the rest.

Social practices of language use and acquisition are carried out by language users in a variety of contexts. Emphasizing the changes, it is important to say that the basic components of multilingualism, defined by John Edwards (Edwards 1994) as "speaker, setting and language, - and which Aronin and Singleton (2012) now refer to as "user, environment and language," exist and interact now as well as they did in the past, and will do in the future (see figure 1-1).

Fig.1-1. The three components of multilingualism.
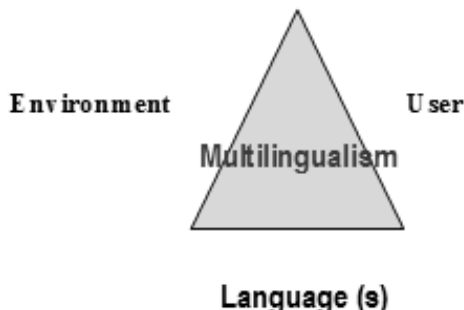
The three components are the same, but each keeps mutating, thus inducing changes in the resultant type of multilingualism. In other words, the same, but ever-changing elements, each time generate a different kind of multilingualism, that is, different varieties of social practices as they link with language use, in each discrete spacetime. To illustrate this we can consider multilingualism in Africa as it changed with time, and also distinctions in the way multilingualism manifests itself in one and the same city, but in different domains and organizations.

The decolonization processes started in African countries in the 40s of the past century and unfolded through the 60s and 70s. Most of the languages that were in circulation before and during these processes did not disappear, but their functions and status in the new historical and political situations were drastically reviewed. For the purpose of defining their country's new identity as well as for practical purposes African states had to face choosing an official or national language.

Various decisions regarding the roles of multiple languages were taken, keeping in mind convenience of the "colonial" or "received" languages (English, French, Portuguese and German) for government and planning, and administration, as well as political and emotional considerations.

In many states the language of the former colonial power remains the official language, e.g. English in Kenya, French in Burkina Faso, and English and French in Cameroon and Rwanda. The ex-colonial languages are not associated with any particular ethnic group, and thus can be used as a neutral code in the complex and sensitive African reality, with its potential for conflict between states and tribal groups. The place of tribal and regional languages has undergone and is still undergoing change and the functions of indigenous languages have been reallocated. Thus, the same components of multilingualism bring to life a variety of particular manifestations.

Cadier and Mar-Molinero describe the culturally and linguistically diverse situation in the same urban environment, the city of Southampton, where the versions of multilingualism as they develop in real time are somewhat different in the private company of the Southampton Airport, and in a public sector of the health service, the University Hospital of Southampton, NHS Foundation Trust (UHT) due to specific environmental factors and constraints (Cadier and Mar-Molinero 2012).

At present, we are witnessing the unfolding of the new contemporary sociolinguistic situation, to which the concept of "new world order" has been applied. Using the term "world order", Fishman (1998) and other researchers into languages and globalization (e.g. Marais 2003) were

referring not only to the enormously broadened scope of multilingualism in the world. More significantly, multilingualism in its current form is a systemic phenomenon, because it goes beyond the mere expansion of individuals' linguistic knowledge, or augmentation of languages, and the growing number of multilinguals and multilingual countries. Because the expression "world order" is associated with particular, and in many cases particularly objectionable political ideologies and regimes, it might be interpreted as having sinister connotations. Accordingly, we (Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012) use the term "new linguistic dispensation".

As it was stated earlier (Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012), the new linguistic dispensation is manifested in "those patterns or dispositions of human activity that [achieve and] sustain the elementary or primary goals of social life among mankind as a whole" (Bull 1977:2-20) (Alker, Amin, Biersteker and Inoguchi 2001). The new linguistic dispensation takes into account regularities affecting big and small communities, nations, firms, parties, interest groups, armies, churches, and individuals. The new linguistic dispensation also applies to the evolving status of extant and emergent language varieties. It embraces the current reality of language ideologies and policies, and language education in all its aspects.

Fishman (1998) described the shifts in the contemporary sociolinguistic situation as characterised by the two major trends:

(1) An unparalleled spread of the use of English as an international language.

(2) A remarkable diversification of the languages in use.

These two trends are developing simultaneously, and appear to be in contradiction to each other.

What distinguishes "current multilingualism" from "historical multilingualism"?

The scope

The fact that the new linguistic dispensation relates to, and affects post-modern society as a whole is the crucial point that distinguishes "current multilingualism" from "historical multilingualism".

Multilingualism has developed to a stage where it is no longer just one of the characteristics of society; in many ways it has become an inherent and very salient property of society. Even in places where multilingualism has existed for hundreds of years, traditional patterns of multilingualism now have a different societal basis, even where superficially the same languages (or their "descendants") continue to be used in the same

territories. The distinctiveness of current multilingualism relative to "historical multilingualism" lies in the degree to which every facet of life today depends on multilingual social arrangements and individuals, either directly or indirectly (Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012).

Whereas vital societal processes and prominent characteristics of contemporary society are inseparably linked to multilingualism, "historical" multilingualism was largely supplementary to the development and maintenance of earlier societies. In specific professions, crafts or castes, mastery of several languages was much appreciated and even respected. Nonetheless, though it was important for such individuals and groups, multilingualism was not vital for the development and continuation of past societies. Thus, the crucial difference between current and "historical" multilingualism lies in the degree to which multilingualism is or has been integral to the construction of a specific social reality.

Complex interplay between the two trends

In order to see another important distinction between the past and present modes of language use, let us go back to the article by Joshua Fishman mentioned above (Fishman 1998). Notably, his recurring assessment of contemporary changes is expressed in the phrase "never before". This, to my mind, highlights the novelty of what is happening in the current era as opposed to the multilingualism on the same planet in the past. "Never before in human history", writes Fishman "has one language been spoken (let alone semi-spoken) so widely and by so many". (Fishman 1998). Indeed, lingua francas always existed, the most powerful ones are still widely used by millions (e.g. Arabic, Swahili, Malay, Spanish, Hausa, Mandarin, Sanskrit, French, Russian to name only some) but not a single language was perceived as exerting so much power and influence and consequently was held responsible for so much worldwide. It is not by chance that today English is not only placed at the top of language hierarchies but is also assigned exceptional status, for instance in De Swaan's (2001) Galactic Model.

Fig. 1-2. Hierarchy of world languages by de Swaan (2001) set out in tabular form by Vivian Cook (2013b).
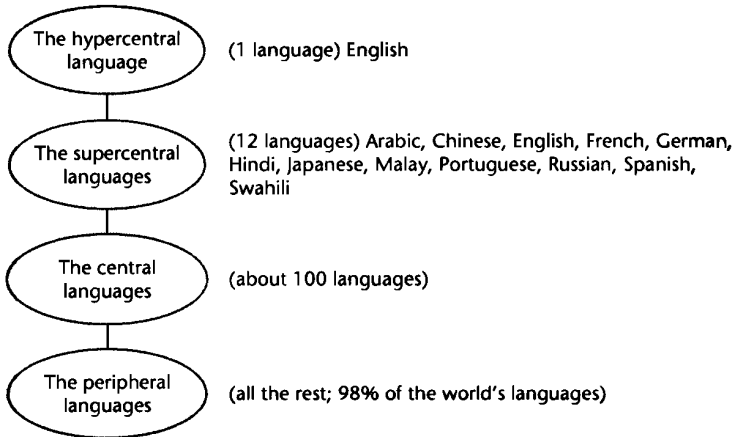
To continue Fishman's "never before" list, another point is the following. It seems that never before has such a strong, wide ranging mutual dependency of these two tendencies been observed.

Fig. 1-3. The interplay and mutual dependency of the two global linguistic trends.

This dependency comprises the whole continuum of implications from unquestionably positive to allegedly extremely negative. On the one hand, no language has ever before given rise to such fervent controversy, or has been positioned so seriously and problematically against other languages. On the other hand, no other language has been involved in such a variety of connections, relations and associations to other languages - which are even identified with reference to English with the help of the term LOTE - Languages Other Than English. An engaging example of a seemingly paradoxical interaction is the emergence of professional varieties of English such as Airspeak, Seaspeak, and Simple English which, at first sight might be thought of as regarding only English, that is, relating to the first trend - the spread of English. But these professional and simplified varieties are not only about English, and not even much about English, for they were intended for speakers of other than English languages, LOTE speakers.

Today the links between the overwhelming spread and undeniable need for English, and the trend of the advance, spread and acquisition of multiple other languages of the world, are varied and strong. In the sphere of education, for example, the challenge of choice of languages for teaching, and further decisions on including a particular language in the curriculum as a discipline or as a language of instruction, are all too familiar to parents, teachers and educationalists. The aims and arguments for and against a particular choice are especially intricate in bilingual and multilingual environments where minority and heritage languages and English compete for the precious teaching time and inclusion in the curriculum. Considering the options where both English and minority languages can be taught either as a discipline, or as a means of instruction, the choice is difficult indeed. In this regard Spain is the perfect illustration of ongoing efforts to find that optimal configuration of languages (Lasagabaster and Huguet 2007) in educational multilingual programme, the "Enriched Bilingualism programme" implemented by Valencian Autonomous Government in the Valencian educational system (Safont 2007:96), the Basque educational system with its three linguistic models (A, B and D), and Cenoz's concept of Continua of multilingual education (Cenoz 2009). The practical implementation of attempts to find a beneficial decision is described in the studies explicating and discussing the use of minority languages as languages of instruction, or as disciplines, for example, Basque, as the language of instruction in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), the teaching of Frisian in the Netherlands and in Malta (Cenoz 2008; Ytsma 2000; Gardner and Zalbide 2005; Arocena, Douwes and Hanenburg 2010; Caruana and Lasagabaster

2013). The inclusion of English in the school curricula and in tertiary level institutions of many countries is a matter of importance too, especially as third language acquisition has recently entered the mainstream of research, in particular with regard to English (see for example Cenoz and Jessner 2000, 2009; Jessner and Cenoz 2007; Jessner 2008b).

In the domains of the sociology of language and language policy, finding the balance between the two trends unfolding simultaneously in specific situations is the constant aim of investigations. Beyond dilemmas of language selection at schools, the uneasy issue of choice persists in society with regard to which languages are to be learnt and used by the citizens of multilingual Europe. A consideration of this type is the European multilingualism formula 2+1. The formula suggests mother tongue, regional language, plus one international language as the optimal configuration for the benefit of Europeans.

To recapitulate this section treating the interplay of the trends, we can state the following. When dealing with any practical issue in multilingualism - be it in connection with minority languages in a community, or the choice of school languages - it is so often that interplay of the two trends is implied. Investigations on English with or opposed to other languages are noticeable aspects of current research in multilingualism.

It seems safe to claim that such a strong and ongoing interaction of two global sociolinguistic trends in various forms and on a number of levels has never occurred before.

Sets of languages rather than one language as a unit of departure now

Finally, the important distinction between current and historical multilingualism lies in the fact that today, as a natural consequence of the increased importance of multilingualism and the interplay of the two trends, language patterns have changed so that sets of languages, rather than single languages, now perform the essential functions of communication, cognition and identity (Aronin 2005).

The three distinctions of current multilingualism compared to that of the past discussed in this section are summarized in table 1-1.

Table 1-1. Qualitative distinctions between Current and Historical Multilingualism.

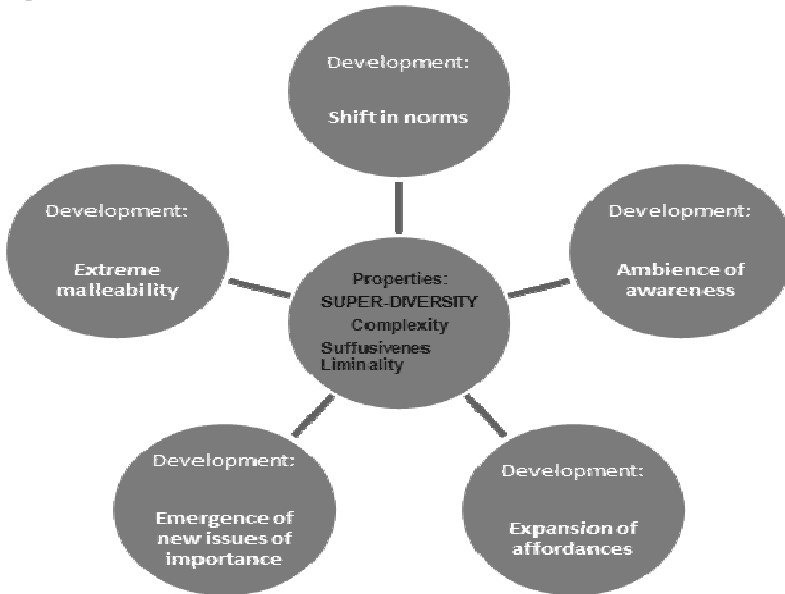| Current multilingualism	Historical multilingualism
Scope and significance: at present virtually every facet of human life depends on multilingual social arrangements and multilingual individuals, whether directly or indirectly.	Multilingualism was largely supplementary to the development and maintenance of earlier societies.
Two tendencies, developing simultaneously and appearing to contradict each other: English against/English together with LOTE in various configurations. The tendencies are mutually dependent.	No dominant tendencies (at least not yet discovered). No interaction.
Language patterns have changed so significantly that sets of languages, rather than single languages, often perform the essential functions of communication, cognition and identity for individuals and the global community.	One/two languages typically performed essential functions of communication, cognition and identity for individuals and the world.

In addition to the core qualitative distinctions of the current multilingualism versus the "historical", they are supplemented by numerous distinctions of extent. There are a number of clearly observable differences in the way multilingualism manifests itself in historical and contemporary times in different dimensions. A number of differences of extent were described in earlier publications (Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012; Aronin, Fishman, Singleton and Ó Laoire 2013) and therefore are not detailed here.

What are the most important characteristics of current multilingualism?

The properties and characteristics of current multilingualism were described earlier (Aronin and Hufeisen 2009; Aronin and Singleton 2008, 2012). Figure 1-4 below shows the properties and developmental

directions of the new linguistic dispensation as described earlier and the property of super-diversity which is the latest inclusion to this model.

Fig. 1-4. The properties and developmental directions of the new linguistic dispensation.

In the following I will briefly describe the specific qualities and developments proposed earlier and then focus on the property of super-diversity. The specific qualities of current multilingualism are: suffusiveness, complexity, and liminality. It is essential to add another core property to this chart - super-diversity. These four qualities (each separately and together) in turn lead to specific developments. Up till now the following developments have been identified:

- shifts in norms
- extreme malleability
- the emergence of new issues of importance
- an expansion of affordances
- an ambience of awareness

"Suffusiveness" in the first place relates to the ubiquity of multilingualism in the contemporary world. Importantly, the ubiquity of multilingualism does not mean that multilingualism is evenly spread throughout the world to the same extent and according to the same pattern.

In the same way that monolingual communities differ from one another, many multilingual communities in the world are multilingual in their own way. Multilingualism of India, with its thousands of languages and multilingualism in Sweden, multilingualism of African states and the countries of Eastern Europe, each is unique of its kind.

Not less significant than the geographical spread and numbers of people using two and more languages in their daily life is that contemporary multilingualism is suffusive in covering most human activities. Commerce and banking, education and science, entertainment and private communication, army and religion - to all of these domains of activity multilingualism has a direct bearing, and it might be not an exaggeration to say that none of these activities is thinkable without multilingualism in some form. One can barely think of an activity not touched by the phenomenon. One of the recent studies carried out by Ringbom (2012) treats multilingual reality in a football club, IFK Mariehamn in the Swedish Åland Islands, a self-governed area between Finland and Sweden.

The recent multilingualism research made it possible to see that multilingualism suffuses the world in a variety of forms. The most obvious ones traditionally dealt with in multilingualism research are oral and written communication. Recent and emerging research directions, such as Linguistic Landscape and the Material Culture of Multilingualism, bring to the fore the visible and tangible signs of multilingualism. Material culture makes the property of suffusiveness very apparent. It also allows researchers to study multilingualism in virtually every niche of global human practices - at home and in education, both globally and in tiny local situations. The Material Culture of Multilingualism, a novel research direction in multilingualism, fuses ethnography, sociology and linguistics. By examining language-defined objects such as furniture and home utensils, keepsakes, cosmetics and medications, food and books, researchers can study multilingual language practices and multilingual speakers' identities in greater precision and depth, and discover new angles of vision (Aronin 2012; Aronin and Ó Laoire 2012a, 2012b).

A language-defined object is "a meaningful wholeness of material and verbal components considered as a representation of its user or users, exclusively in relation to its linguistic environment" (Aronin and Ó Laoire 2007; Aronin and Ó Laoire 2012:311).

As an example, let us consider an artefact from the Israeli Circassian village of Kfar Kama in the Lower Galilee. There, everyday material objects carry inscriptions in Circassian, Arabic, Russian, Hebrew, English and Turkish. The artefact under consideration, a door in the home of the

Hatukai family, is literally on the border of the public and private domains, and gives an interested researcher a wealth of insights (see Figures 1-5a and 1-5b).

Fig. 1-5a. The Hatukai's door
(adapted from Hatukai 2012)

Fig. 1- 5b. The Hatukai's door.
Bas relief. (adapted from Hatukai 2012).

    A visitor sees humorous stickers in Hebrew on the door: a no-smoking sign and a Hebrew sticker asking: Who is there? There is also a copper relief on the same door which bears embossed print in Russian. The bas relief portrays the glory of a Circassian warrior. The war between Circassians and Russians was lost by the former more than two hundred years ago, but a language-defined object renders the sustained feeling, the memory of the community, and presents the cumulative linguistic assets, traditions and mentality of the community. This is how the material culture of multilingualism conveys individual voices and informs us about the beliefs, values, and sensibilities of the members of the multilingual Circassian community in Israel (more on material culture of multilingualism see in Aronin 2012).
    The suffusiveness of multilingualism became far more evident with the global development dubbed Ambience of awareness. Today the world is clearly more aware of languages and language issues to a greater extent than it used to be (Hawkins 1999; Jessner 2006, 2008a; Svalberg 2009;

Pinho and Andrade 2009). In particular, the awareness of languages and the range of their roles in individuals' life trajectories and in communities is reflected in the language nominations, "language appellations that are assigned to various languages according to their perceived role and value for an individual or a community" (Aronin, Ó Laoire and Singleton 2011:187). Naming or designating a language as an "official", "international", "heritage", "minority language", or as a "mother tongue", we overtly or covertly evaluate it as to its status in a given community, or globally, as well as its emotional or practical proximity to a person.

In the past decade the normative mindset dominated by global changes, has led to new educational projects. Discussions and documents on multilingualism emanating from the European Union and other international bodies have similarly increased significantly (see e.g. European Commission 2005, 2009, 2011; The European Parliament 2009).

The next property of current multilingualism was dubbed "liminality" to refer to the fact that many societal processes and phenomena, both global and local that were previously considered negligible or hardly perceived at all, have become discernible or noticeable. The point of the concept of liminality in multilingualism is that the importance of such phenomena emerges gradually. The new linguistic dispensation increases liminality intensively, and there are numerous examples from all the areas of multilingualism (Aronin and Singleton 2012).

The development of a shift in norms illustrates the property of liminality. One of the most celebrated changes in norms is that the so-called monolingual norm has given way to the bilingual and multilingual norms, largely as a cumulative result of studies in bilingualism and multilingualism. It is well known now that the holistic view on bi- and multilingualism, concepts of language modes and multi-competence played an important role in this (cf. Cook 1992, 1993 and 2006, 2007; Grosjean 1985, 1992 and 2008, 2010). Without doubt, the concept of translanguaging also represents an important shift in norms, especially in relation to informal education practices (cf. Garcia 2009, 2013; Canagarajah 2011).

With the shift in norms, new hot issues have appeared in multilingualism scholarship. A number of topics have moved centre-stage in discussions in recent decades, sometimes replacing those previously regarded as important, at times receiving the much more extensive treatment. Some of new issues of importance in addition those already mentioned above, include: