1 *Towards a holistic approach in the study of multilingual education*

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter

1.1 Multilingualism at school as a global phenomenon

Although multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon, it has become more common in recent years due to globalization, transnational mobility of the population and the spread of ICT. According to Aronin and Hufeisen (2009), contemporary multilingualism has spread geographically and socially and is characterized by the use of languages that are not originally from neighbouring areas. Furthermore, technology has contributed to instantaneous communication among multilingual speakers in different parts of the world. The statistics on the use of English and other languages on the Internet show that multilingualism is increasing. English is still the most widely used language on the Internet. It was used by 51.3% of internet users in the year 2000 (Graddol, 2006), but this figure dropped to 26.8% in 2011 (Internet World Stats, 2011). Meanwhile, the use of other languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Russian is growing much faster than the use of English on the Web (Internet World Stats, 2011). Globalization has given multilingualism not only visibility but also an added value associated with the ability to speak several languages (Edwards, 2004).

Multilingualism at the individual level (also referred to as plurilingualism) brings together the process of acquiring second or foreign languages and the use of these languages. Individuals may learn and use languages of wider communication such as English or Mandarin, but they may also learn languages used in their sociolinguistic environment. Multilingualism can give better opportunities, particularly in the job market, but it is also linked to identity and belonging to one or more speech communities. The latter is often the case with less spread languages, such as Maori in New Zealand, Basque in the Basque Country or Welsh in the UK. Speakers of these languages are usually fluent in international languages (English in the case of Maori and Welsh, French and/or Spanish in the case of Basque), but they go on using their own languages.

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Multilingualism has spread in education and nowadays it has more visibility in school settings. Many schools in different parts of the world have second or foreign languages as part of the curriculum. English is the most common second/foreign language taught at schools, but other national and minority languages are taught as well. Languages have traditionally been part of the education of the elite, but now that education is more accessible to all sectors of the population, multilingualism has become more widespread in education. Another reason for this spread is the mobility of the population. Today it is common to find schoolchildren in the same class who speak different languages at home, and these languages can be part of the school curriculum or not (Candelier, 2008; Extra & Gorter, 2008; Hélot, 2012).

Multilingual education refers to the use of two or more languages in education, provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy. The processes of learning and teaching languages may take place at school as part of the official curriculum but also in complementary or community schools that teach the home language and culture. Most research on multilingual education has been carried out in Europe and North America, but there is an increasing number of research studies on multilingualism in educational settings in Africa, Latin America and Asia (Feng, 2007; Hélot & De Mejía, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012). There is a great diversity of types of multilingual education. This diversity is associated with the characteristics of the languages involved, their use in society and educational factors (Cenoz, 2009). The typological distance between the languages already known by the speaker (the first language/s or others) and the target language(s) can have an influence on the acquisition process. When languages are closer to each other, individuals have more resources at their disposal and can use many elements from the languages they already know when learning an additional language. For a Dutch L1 student, for example, learning English (or German) is not the same as learning Japanese (or Arabic).

The sociolinguistic environment in which the school is placed also needs to be taken into account. Factors such as the number of multilingual speakers, the status of the different languages or their use in the media and the linguistic landscape can affect motivation to learn languages. The languages used by schoolchildren at home with their parents and siblings or the extended family, their neighbours and peers can be influential as well. The educational factors that should be considered include the languages of instruction used at school, the intensity of language instruction, the age of introduction of the languages, teachers' multilingual abilities and teaching methodology.

When multilingualism is an educational aim, students are expected to become competent speakers of different languages. One of the most important issues in this process is to identify the best possible conditions and approaches to teach second and foreign languages, that is, the most efficient ways of 'becoming multilingual'. These strategies necessarily include using the languages, and therefore 'being multilingual'. Some schoolchildren have already developed communicative skills in two or more languages because they use different home languages or they live in multilingual areas. They have experienced what 'being multilingual' means to a larger extent, and the school can develop such children's competencies further so that multilingualism is an enriching experience. In this volume we look both at 'becoming multilingual' and at 'being multilingual'. These situations cannot be considered as a dichotomy because multilinguals use their languages in the process of expanding their multilingual competence.

1.2 New trends in the study of multilingual education

The study of multilingual education cannot separate language acquisition, 'becoming multilingual', from language use, 'being multilingual'. In the last 15 years, there has been a shift from a cognitive to a social perspective in the fields of both second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingualism (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Block 2007; Canagarajah, 2007). Besides this 'social turn' in recent years, there has also been a 'multilingual turn' (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Kramsch, 2012; May, 2014; Ortega, 2014). These social and multilingual turns have brought studies on second language acquisition and multilingualism closer and have challenged previous ideas about the use of the monolingual native speaker as a reference and the isolation of languages in educational contexts.

The native speaker has traditionally been the reference when teaching and learning languages in school contexts. Learners are expected to achieve some level of communicative competence that could get them progressively closer to the native speaker of the target language. The native speaker is identified with a total command of the target language, a goal that is usually unreachable. As a consequence, this impossible goal produces a sense of failure and lack of self-confidence when learning languages. When the curriculum includes several languages, the possibility of becoming 'an ideal multilingual' with native competence in several languages is even more remote. Apart from being an unreachable goal, the idea of using the native speaker as a reference has been challenged for other reasons. According to Cook (1992, 1995), multilinguals have a qualitatively different type of

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competence, a complex type of competence that he calls 'multicom-petence'. If this is the case, the comparison with the monolingual native speaker of each language does not seem to be sustainable any longer (see also Ortega, 2014). Research on the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) also calls into question the idea of the monolin-gual native speaker because the competence of ELF speakers 'derives from their multilingual life' (Canagarajah, 2007: 925).

There is an increasing interest in analysing the way in which multi-lingual speakers communicate, by looking at language practices both in and out of school (Rampton, 2006; Auer, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014). The analysis of multilingual dis-course practices shows that these practices are quite different from the speech associated with monolingual native speakers. Multilingual speakers are creative, using elements from different languages, and their practices reflect a type of competence that multilingual speakers need to be accepted as members of a community of practice (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). As Kramsch (2010) points out, multilingual speakers shape their communicative context while engaging in lan-guage practices (see also Canagarajah, 2007).

There is a trend towards adopting a holistic approach when looking at multilingual students and their languages. Many years ago, Grosjean (1985) had already rejected the idea that the bilingual should be expected to be like two monolinguals and proposed a holistic view that includes the bilingual's whole linguistic repertoire. Some theoreti-cal proposals on the acquisition of several languages, such as the 'Dynamic Model of Multilingualism', adopt a holistic view (Herdina & Jessner, 2002). In the field of education, a holistic view of the lin-guistic repertoire is adopted in 'Focus on Multilingualism', an approach to research and teaching in multilingual education proposed by Cenoz and Gorter (2011). This holistic approach aims at integrat-ing the curricula of the different languages so as to activate the resources multilingual speakers have. In this way, multilingual stu-dents can use their resources cross-linguistically and become more efficient language learners than when languages are taught separately.

A related trend that goes against well-established traditions is the idea of softening boundaries between languages. The ideology of lan-guage separation is well rooted in education and the teaching practices that date from the Direct Method and avoids translation and interac-tion between languages. There is a strong idea of separating the target language from the student's L1 or from other languages in the curricu-lum. Thus, only the target language is expected to be used so as to avoid interference from the other languages. The idea that languages

have to be kept as separate containers has been referred to as 'parallel monolingualism' (Heller, 1999: 271), 'two solitudes' (Cummins, 2005: 588) or 'separate bilingualism' (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). In contrast to this traditional view, there are proposals for pedagogies that soften hard boundaries between languages (Cummins, 2007; Lin, 2008; Coste & Simon, 2009; Lyster et al., 2009; Macaro, 2009; Moore & Gajo, 2009; Levine, 2011). One of the strategies is to use the L1 as a resource when acquiring a second or additional language, particularly when the target language is used as the language of instruction and the learning tasks are complex (Cummins, 2007; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009; Levine, 2011).

Some other scholars look at mixed language practices in the classroom as indicators of the development of multilingual identities (García, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Blackledge and Creese (2010) refer to 'flexible bilingualism' as an approach that places the speaker at the heart of the interaction and views languages as a social resource without clear boundaries. García (2009) uses the term 'translanguaging' to refer to multiple discursive practices (see also Li Wei, 2010). Research on translanguaging generally focuses on the analysis of multilingual practices which are hybrid and without clear boundaries. Some scholars consider that the hybridity of multilingual communication can be better explained by focusing on language features and multimodal resources than by referring to languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Jørgensen, 2008; García, 2009; Rampton & Charalambous, 2012). Apart from translanguaging, terms such as 'metrolingualism' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2009), 'heteroglossia' (Bailey, 2012; Creese & Blackledge, 2014) or 'polylingualism' (Jørgensen, 2008) have been proposed in recent years.

1.3 Becoming multilingual and being multilingual

The new trends in the study of multilingual education have influenced research focusing both on 'becoming multilingual' and on 'being multilingual'. In this section we look at both situations but would like to highlight that they can be represented as a continuum rather than a dichotomy, as in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 represents a continuum between 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual'. This continuum refers to the approaches taken by researchers when studying the interaction between languages or language features in the context of multilingual education. Research in multilingual education is linked to areas of research that study multilingualism and multilingual education from different perspectives and pose different research questions. This continuum shows the positions that
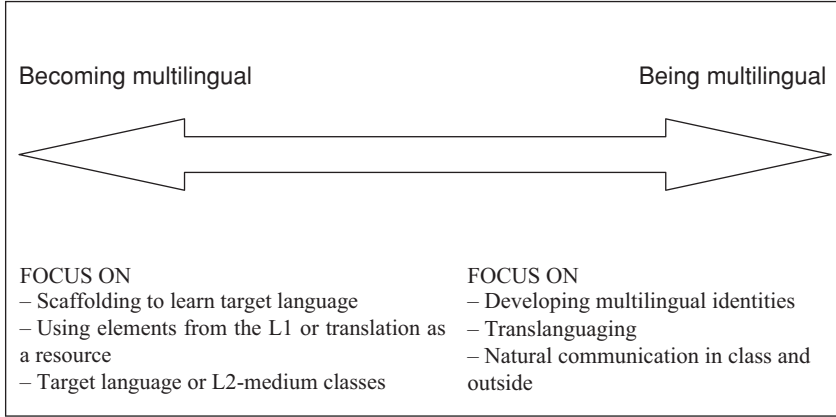
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Figure 1.1 *Focus of the research study: becoming and being multilingual*

represent the crossing over of applied linguistics and second language acquisition theory to sociolinguistic theory and a social approach to language.

Researchers can adopt positions along the continuum, and these can be positions that are either close to the ends or intermediate. Research that focuses on 'becoming multilingual' looks at the process of acquiring communicative competence in a second or additional language and is closely related to second language acquisition studies. Research at this end of the continuum looks at the linguistic goals to be achieved in the school context. It usually observes classes where the target language is learned either as a subject or as the language of instruction, and these studies aim at learning more about the acquisition of multilingual competence in school contexts. This end of the continuum looks at studies focusing on the acquisition of second and additional languages in school contexts. These languages can be classical languages such as Latin, Sanskrit or Greek, second languages used in the sociolinguistic context (national languages or minority languages) and foreign languages of international communication. In contrast to the traditional isolation of languages for teaching, the new trends in the study of multilingual education suggest that the L1 (or other languages) can be used in the target language classroom. This does not mean that the target language is not the medium of instruction, but it allows the use of other languages when necessary. Swain (2012) advocates the use of the L1 as a cognitive tool when the learning tasks are complex, particularly in the case of content-based instruction (see also Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). The position at the 'becoming multilingual' end

of the continuum shares many characteristics with traditional SLA research, but there are also important differences. Most SLA researchers still see the use of resources of other languages in the linguistic repertoire as negative transfer. In contrast, researchers who have taken a multilingual turn consider that the languages learners have in their linguistic repertoire can be used as a resource when learning additional languages. Language is still seen as a code, but its boundaries are permeable. In many cases researchers also question the idea of the native speaker as a reference and look at second language learners as emergent multilinguals. This position, which focuses on the process of becoming multilingual from a multilingual perspective, still needs conceptual and methodological development because it is still work in progress (see also Ortega, 2014).

Research that can be placed at the other end of the continuum, 'being multilingual', comes mainly from sociolinguistics. Research on some areas of multilingualism such as code-switching has received a lot of attention in studies on bilingualism and multilingualism for many years. However, the traditional linguistic approaches were challenged by social approaches (Heller, 2007). The idea is not how multilinguals learn or mix codes, but how they use their linguistic resources in their multilingual practices. Studies on 'being bilingual' focus on the way multilingual speakers navigate between languages and examine this intersection, often referred to as multilingual practices or translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2011; Li Wei, 2010, 2011; García & Sylvan, 2011). In these studies multilingual practices are analysed inside and outside the classroom as related to identities and ideologies.

The continuum reflects the crossing over of ideas from sociolinguistics to second language acquisition in the context of multilingual education. The multilingual turn implies that languages are no longer isolated entities, as their boundaries are becoming softer. At the same time, the fields of second language acquisition and sociolinguistics are also becoming more open and permeable. It is difficult to foresee how these different traditions will interact in the future, but it is clear that we are at a different stage compared to the interest in isolating disciplines and areas of research. The interest of researchers in using a specific perspective can place their research closer to one or the other end of the continuum but also in the middle of the continuum. It is possible, as Block (this volume) points out, to find 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual' in the same context. It is the focus of the research that changes. 'Becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual' are dynamic concepts because they are processes that interact and develop over time.

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As we have already said, the best way to represent the positions of 'being multilingual' and 'becoming multilingual' is a continuum, because becoming and being multilingual are obviously interlinked in practice. The two ends of the continuum are also necessarily inter-linked in research studies that focus on multilingual contexts where more than one language is used in everyday life and students are learn-ing these and other languages at school at the same time. Learners in these contexts are in the process of expanding their multilingual com-petence, and they are already multilingual. This is the case for school-children in areas where a minority language is spoken, such as Catalonia or the Basque Country in Europe. Students can 'be multilin-gual' because they are fluent in both the minority and the national language (Catalan/Basque and Spanish) and at the same time 'becoming multilingual' because they go on learning these languages and additional languages such as English. The concurrency between 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual' exists in many other situations (see also Block, this volume). Some research approaches highlight one of the ends of the continuum, while others look at both.

'Focus on multilingualism' is a holistic approach for teaching and conducting research in multilingual education that combines 'becom-ing multilingual' and 'being multilingual' (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2014). This approach proposes soft boundaries between languages and relates the way multilingual students use their communicative resources in spontaneous conversation to the way languages are learned and taught at school. It explores the possibility of establishing bridges between second/foreign language teaching at school and mul-tilingualism in real-life communication, involving all the languages and multilingual discursive practices of speakers. Therefore, it is not the idea of students using the L1 or other languages only when facing difficulties but of them using their competence in different languages as a resource in communication both in the classroom and outside school. 'Focus on multilingualism' considers that the metalinguistic awareness and communicative competence acquired in previously learned languages can be actively used to learn the target language in a more efficient way. In this way, the cognitive advantages that learn-ers have developed as a result of their bilingualism (Bialystok, 2010) and the specific advantages that bilinguals have over monolinguals in the acquisition of a third or additional language (Cenoz, 2013) can be activated when learning second or additional languages. 'Focus on multilingualism' also looks at multilingual practices as examples of real communicative language use that can be employed as a resource in the classroom so as to raise awareness of different types of commu-nicative contexts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014).

1.4 Multilingual education: new perspectives

This volume explores some holistic trends in the study of multilingual education by putting together research studies that analyse the processes of 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual' in educational contexts. The chapters report studies on the acquisition and use of Chinese, English, French, German, Panjabi and Spanish in the following combinations: Chinese–English in Hong Kong and the UK, English–French in Canada, English–German in the USA and Germany, English–Panjabi in the UK and Spanish–English in the USA.

As the title suggests, this volume focuses on multilingualism in school contexts and brings together the fields of second language acquisition and multilingualism. It links concepts such as translanguaging or the whole multilingual repertoire to language learning in school contexts. The connections between ideas from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology and the process of second or additional languages open new possibilities but also shake the foundations of traditional perspectives.

The contributions to this volume reflect different theoretical frameworks and research methodologies, but the coherence of the volume is achieved by sharing a perspective of multilingual education that does not draw hard boundaries between languages. All the chapters in this volume pay particular attention to the interaction between the different languages being learned and used, highlighting to a different extent the use of the L1 or other languages as a scaffold in language learning, code-switching and translanguaging. The chapters in this volume can be placed on the continuum which we discussed before, ranging from 'becoming multilingual' to 'being multilingual'.

This chapter ('Towards a Holistic Approach in the Study of Multilingual Education' by Jasone Cenoz & Durk Gorter) discusses new trends in multilingual education teaching and research. These trends not only reveal the fact that multilingual speakers have a type of competence that is different from that of monolingual speakers but also highlight the need to use multilingualism as a resource when learning and using languages. This chapter also distinguishes between 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual' as the two ends of a continuum that also allows for intermediate positions.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 focus on using the learner's linguistic resources when learning an additional language. They could be placed on the 'becoming multilingual' end of the continuum because the studies reported here analyse the way the L1 is used as a scaffold for facilitating the acquisition of a second language. However, the multilingual practices also show the link to the other end of the continuum because

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students are 'being multilingual' as well. In Chapter 2, 'L1 as a Pedagogical Resource in Building Students' L2 Academic Literacy', Gladys N. Y. Luk and Angel M. Y. Lin report on a study conducted in a Hong Kong school. They analyse how science teachers provide the necessary linguistic and cognitive scaffolding when using the students' L1 (Chinese) along with the L2 (English). The results of this case study indicate that the use of the two languages as a pedagogical resource is associated with confidence and interest in the subject as well as with good academic outcomes. Susan Ballinger analyses the results of an intervention in two French immersion classes in Montreal, Canada, in Chapter 3, 'Linking Content, Linking Students: A Cross-linguistic Pedagogical Intervention'. The intervention includes a project to develop biliteracy and a reciprocal language learning strategy, and uses students' existing linguistic resources to build bridges across the two languages, French and English. In Chapter 4, 'The Role of the Native Language in the Literacy Development of Latino Students in the USA', Igone Arteagoitia and Liz Howard look at the possible advantages that Spanish-speaking students may have in the acquisition of vocabulary when they use their knowledge of the L1. They report a study conducted with 230 middle-school students in the USA on the effect of English and Spanish cognate knowledge on reading comprehension in English. The results indicate that using the students' knowledge of the L1 as a resource can facilitate second language development.

The next three chapters (5, 6 and 7) are on English–German multilingualism in school settings. These chapters could be placed somewhere between the two ends of the continuum because they combine 'becoming multilingual' as a language learning process with the experience of 'being multilingual' and the development of multilingual identities. In Chapter 5, 'A Nexus Analysis of Code Choice during Study Abroad and Implications for Language Pedagogy', Glen S. Levine reports on the code-choice practices in their social networks, both face-to-face and digital, of a group of US students studying abroad in Germany. The analysis of these practices is based on Scollon and Scollon's (2004) nexus analysis. Among other teaching implications, the author considers that the principled use of the L1 in the L2 class would be more realistic and closer to the experience of studying abroad than the reference of the monolingual native speaker of the L2. Claire Kramsch and Michael Huffmaster examine an alternative to the extended monolingual static pedagogies in Chapter 6, 'Multilingual Practices in Foreign Language Study'. They do so by looking at the multiple semiotic resources that are used in multilingual practices. Kramsch and Huffmaster highlight the need to raise students' awareness of the