

# DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

„LanguagING among refugees and local  
Austrians: ELF availability, monolingual norms  
and multilingual realities“

verfasst von / submitted by

Sandra Radinger, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil)

Wien, 2016 / Vienna, 2016

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /degree  
programme code as it appears on the  
student record sheet:

A 190 344 299

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /degree  
programme as it appears on the student  
record sheet:

Lehramtsstudium UF Englisch UF  
Psychologie & Philosophie

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Barbara Seidlhofer

When your reality corresponds to mine, or where you are prepared to co-operate in seeing things my way, then there can be convergence between intention and interpretation. Otherwise, there will be a disparity. You will be taking me out of context – out of the context of my reality.

H. G. WIDDOWSON: Text, Context, Pretext. Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis

## Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to express my very great appreciation to my supervisor Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Barbara Seidlhofer, who has encouraged me to develop and follow my personal research interests by showing her genuine interest in my work and by providing me with insightful questions, inspiring comments and invaluable advice. It was her guidance, as well as her motivating passion for socio-linguistic research that have made the process of writing this diploma-thesis an immensely rewarding experience.

Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank numerous other members of the Department of English and the Department of Philosophy. I have met so many inspiring people on my way, academic and administrative staff, as well as fellow students, who have made my time as a student at the University of Vienna worthwhile and enriching.

My special thanks are extended to the civil organisation *FremdeWerdenFreunde* and the participants of my study, for accepting me as a member, a volunteer, a friend, and a researcher. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me, for our conversations and for placing your trust in me.

I am particularly grateful for the assistance given by my friends and fellow colleagues from the English department who have proofread the paper and kept so patient and interested when I was telling them about my project.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my mum and dad, who have made it possible for me to study at university and who have assured me a basis of stability and great independence at the same time, and who have let me go my own way, even if this way led into unknown territory.

To my sisters and my friends, thank you for supporting me, for distracting me, for sharing your spare time with me, and for reminding me to take care of myself when I was burying myself in my project.

Finally, I owe much gratitude to my flat mates, who have been there for me throughout the development of my project and beyond. Thank you for listening to my endless talks about my thesis, and for sharing my worries, my enthusiasm and, eventually, my great joy about presenting my final paper. Thank you!

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## Terminological clarification

### A) CONCEPTS OF LANGUAGES, LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE USE<sup>1</sup>

language.....	a linguistic system consisting of symbols governed by grammatical, pragmatic and functional rules of how these can be combined and used to express meaning; it is based on convention, which may change and develop over time and space with its users and how these exploit it as a capacity for making meaning
'language' .....	the conceptual representation of language in the human mind
language use.....	the use of linguistic systems and exploitation of the language capacity by individual speakers
language regime .....	"a set of behavioral expectations regarding physical conduct, including language" which result from practice and do not necessarily result from an explicit language policy. It is a regulative condition that affects speakers, it is also, however, a resource for power and the "production of subjectivities and may be transitory" (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005: 211-212)
English.....	the language of English as linguistic system and capacity, recognisably different to other languages in the canon of languages in the world

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<sup>1</sup> One of the essential concerns of this paper is the co-constructive relationship between a speaker's conceptualisations of 'reality' and the 'reality' encountered. As we express our concepts through and in language, the words we use are pivotal to the construction of reality and the mediation of meaning. For these reasons, as well as for reasons of transparency, an explanation of the terminology used in this paper is provided prior to the main body of the text - *because it matters*.

'English' .....	the conceptual representation of English in the human mind
EIL .....	English as international language, including both localised and globalised EIL
'EIL' .....	the conceptual representation of EIL in the human mind
ELF .....	the use of English as a lingua franca
'ELF' .....	the conceptual representation of ELF in the human mind
communicative resource.....	any means to communicate; this includes linguistic resources, as well as media like mobile-phone applications for translations, gestures, facial expressions, etc.
linguistic resources .....	resources for communication related to language and including every constituent of language, i.e. form as well as sociolinguistic knowledge; these can be established languages but also sociolects, dialects and specific language practices and knowledge about the linguistic environment; e.g. borrowing an English word in a generally German speech-event to evoke the impression of 'coolness' in a group of teenagers
linguistic repertoire .....	the sum of linguistic resources a speaker has in his/her repertoire and from which he/she can choose to exploit for communication in concrete situations; the availability of resources depends on individual, situational and social factors and chronotopic influences; (see Busch 2012)
practice .....	the sum of practices. "A practice is a historical accumulation within the habitus/historical body of the social actor of mediated actions taken over his or her life (experience) and which are recognizable to other social actors as 'the same' social action. A practice predates the social actor; that is, we mostly learn the practices of our society, but rarely initiate them. A practice, because it is an accumulation of mediated actions, carries with it a constellation of appropriated mediational means" (Scollon 2001: 149).
practices .....	concrete actions which accumulate to a recognisable practice
mediational means .....	"A mediational means (a term in either the singular or plural) is defined as the semiotic means through which a mediated action, that is any social action, is carried out (communicated)" (Scollon 2001: 148). This includes all forms of means like material objects, language, interlocutors, etc.

communicative practice/s.....	practice/s related to communication including practices beyond linguistic practices
language practice/s.....	practice/s related to the use of language
linguagING .....	the action of using and exploiting all linguistic resources available to actively engage in the negotiation of meaning that is characterised by the speaker's effort put into the "establishing of common linguacultural ground" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4)
linguagING practice/s .....	practice/s that are characterised by the active engagement in the negotiation of meaning and the establishing of common linguacultural ground" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4)

## B) FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ELT.....	English language teaching
L1.....	first language
LD .....	Language diary
LDI.....	Language diary based interviews

## C) PEOPLE INVOLVED

The protagonists of this research project are people who are involved in activities that are set up to promote social inclusion of immigrants and refugees in Vienna, Austria. While some activities are constituted in the volunteering of socially engaged citizens of Vienna (e.g. as teachers of German, organisers of excursions, fundraisers, etc.) and involved refugees (e.g. as translators and interpreters) the origin of organising these activities lies in the interest in creating a community of practice where local citizens, immigrants and refugees meet at eye-level.

The participation in activities like playing table tennis, cooking or playing football, is, therefore, not a service provided by either 'party' but a shared engagement in a social matter. While it is true that, currently, local citizens as insiders of 'the' Austrian system may need to contribute more 'service' than refugees, the aim is to balance out the distribution of roles. It is clear that this is a matter of engagement and time.

To linguistically reflect the endeavour to dissolve the dichotomy of the helper-helped image, locals who engage in inclusion activities are referred to as 'socially engaged citizens' and not as 'volunteers'. Refugees who are involved as participants in the activities rather than as organisers are referred to as 'socially involved refugees'. The subtle difference between 'engaged' and 'involved' should express the current situation, emphasising that both, locals and refugees, participate actively, but the circumstances for equal contribution have not been established yet. <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This paper has an interest in the de-construction of naturalised representations, such as the receiver-giver dichotomy between refugees and locals. Following this political interest, the terminology used to refer to these groups of people has been considered carefully and is explained prior to the text.



socially engaged citizens (SECs) .....local Viennese who are part of a civil  
organisation which aims at the inclusion of  
immigrants and refugees in Austria

socially involved refugees (SIRs).....refugees who participate in activities  
organised by a civil organisation which aims at  
the inclusion of immigrants and refugees in  
Austria

locals .....local citizens of Vienna

refugees .....people who seek refugee in Austria

# 1 Introduction

Two weeks after a friend of mine had left for Japan to work and study there for six months, he told me in a video-call that he had not expected to still encounter a society where English "could not 'help' him at all". After some time, he discovered that he *could* employ English as a means to communicate with the locals, they were, however, reluctant to use it because they felt inferior to European speakers of English. I am starting my paper with this anecdote because it illustrates that speakers of English have certain assumptions about what this language 'can' or 'cannot do' for them in international encounters. As in the anecdote, these assumptions seem to emerge from the orientation towards native-speaker Englishes and an unreflected acknowledgment of "the unprecedented global role of English" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 28). Exploring how these assumptions take effect in specific communicative encounters is the primary concern of this research project.

The anecdote indicates that speakers of English have great expectations of 'this' language as an international medium for communication and that it seems to be developing to "something like a taken-for-granted cultural technique" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 136). Statistics show that speakers have good reason to make 'English' their default option in international encounters. English is, by far, the most taught foreign language in Europe. As regards the Austrian context, in 2014, 77.3 % of pupils studied English as a foreign language in primary schools, and 94% in secondary education (Eurostat 2016). This phenomenon is not specific to Europe. Particularly relevant to my study, Dashti (2015) explains that English also dominates the language curricula in the Arab world. In Kuwait, it is also "the most prestigious language" (Dashti 2015:29). The foreign language teaching policies of Austria and countries of the Middle East are of relevance because the case study I am presenting is a case study on speakers of English with a learning background in these contexts. It is a case study on the availability of linguistic resources in a very particular space of international communication: the encounter between refugees and locals.

In the summer of 2015, Austria saw a significant growth of international communication both, within and at its national borders. As a consequence of the wars in Syria an increased number of refugees left their homes to seek asylum in Austria or other European states. In many cases refugees and locals use English as a lingua franca (ELF) for the communicative purposes of their encounters. The contexts in which locals and refugees meet range from official institutional settings to volunteer services provided by charities

and every-day encounters such as grocery shopping. The importance and frequency of ELF use in encounters between refugees and locals is outstanding<sup>3</sup>, which is also illustrated in the second anecdote I would like to share: When I was volunteering in a housing institution for refugees in Vienna, I observed a colleague who was distributing meals and tried to start a conversation with the two men and a child she was serving. My colleague addressed them in English. Her interlocutors did not respond apart from paying her an attentive look. Still, she carried on in English, although this is not her first language (L1). 'English', or more specifically ELF, seemed to be her default option in the communicative space of the encounter between refugees and locals. One might ask the question, whether it would be more logical to use the language one speaks most fluently, when there is no shared language anyways; – As my first anecdote has shown, language choice and practice do not follow logical rules and are influenced by factors beyond shared language knowledge. Hence, good reason and knowledge do not suffice to explain why speakers chose a certain linguistic resource for communication or not.

The linguistic repertoire is more than the sum of 'the languages' it contains. Hence, the linguistic repertoire is not a "tool box" but "should be conceived as a complex space of resonance encompassing different voices, codes and discourses which are related to different biographically relevant spaces and periods of time" (Busch 2014: 35). Factors from individual biographical, contextual, situational and social dimensions take effect in any communicative encounter and influence the more or less consciously chosen language practices of a speaker (Busch 2013: 31). Following from this understanding, the question of the logic of language choice is irrelevant because it is formulated on the grounds of a reductionist understanding of language use. Instead, it is necessary to ask which factors determine the availability of linguistic resources in encounters between refugees and local citizens of Vienna. What restricts and what liberates the speakers in communication?

In this paper, I am examining this question in order to get a better understanding of the complex network of factors that influence speakers' language practices. I investigate the problematics of reductionist conceptualisations of language, language use, and English

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<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, no official numbers are available to support this claim. In personal conversations with the organiser of a refugee housing institution, members from other inclusion organisations, as well as the organisation I have engaged in myself, English was always described as significant.

and discuss possible origins and potential solutions. These discussions are based on theoretical groundwork on the linguistic repertoire and language use, and existing studies about language practices in immigration domains. In addition, I have conducted a case study of the availability of linguistic resources in encounters between several refugees and local citizens of Vienna which provides rich data about the participants' language experience, rationales and concepts. Given the current societal relevance of the refugee-volunteer encounter and the susceptibility of immigration domains to sustain and construct social injustices, this research project goes beyond pure description. Rather, the objective is to obtain a better understanding of how societal discourse, concepts and practice are intertwined and manifest in the daily lives of citizens of a globalized world. As a researcher, teacher of English and a socially engaged citizen of Vienna, I am also following a personal and political interest with this research project. Through engagement in the research field, I have entered "a process of learning, with others, by doing" (Kemmins and McTaggart 2005: 568). I have been moving back and forth between the research field and the research itself to better understand how people interact in translingual and transcultural encounters and to aim at contributing to social empathy and change.

Highly alarming studies (Guido 2008; Maryns 2012; Rienzner 2009) show that communication between locals and refugees in institutional spaces discriminates against refugees and linguistic minority speakers. Under the conditions of a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 2008; Maryns 2012), asymmetrical power-relations, and the neglect of acknowledging a shared responsibility for successful meaning negotiation, multilingual speakers in immigration domains are facing severe constraints in their freedom to make themselves understood. In particular where speakers depend so heavily on language, such as in immigration domains, it is critical to care for the safeguarding of human linguistic rights. It is an ethical and legal obligation to provide linguistic frameworks that allow speakers to exploit their full communicative repertoires, so that they can engage in "establishing common linguacultural ground" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4).<sup>4</sup> By exploring how linguistic frameworks affect the speakers involved, I am aiming at a better understanding

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<sup>4</sup> I am adapting this as terminology from now on.

of what makes these frameworks discriminating and where speakers and officials could intervene to construct juster language regimes.

In this paper, I am investigating the availability of linguistic resources, ELF in particular, in communicative encounters of refugees and locals in Vienna. Specifically, I am taking the perspective of socially involved refugees (SIRs) and socially engaged citizens (SECs) who are participating in activities offered by an organisation aiming at the inclusion of refugees and immigrants in Austrian society. The currency of the socio-political developments in relation to migration offered a rich research field for analysing the relationship between discourse on EIL, the use of ELF, and the exploitation of this linguistic resource by the participants involved. Moreover, like the participants of the study and probably the readers of this paper, I am a citizen who is embedded in a complex and heterogeneous socio-linguistic world. The insights that can be obtained by research on the communicative spaces of refugees and locals are, therefore, also of great personal relevance. The paper is structured as follows.

In chapter 2, I am reviewing how 'English' has been conceptualised and in how far it is necessary to re-conceptualise 'the' language as appropriate to the language phenomena of a globalised modern world. It is emphasised that speakers in international encounters "are involved in de-territorialized speech events" in which "establishing common linguacultural ground [...] becomes an intrinsic part of every encounter" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4). The 'English' investigated in this study is ELF and, therefore, must be differentiated from localised varieties of English and native speaker standards of 'English'. It needs to be emphasised that, where I as a researcher speak of ELF, the users themselves may not conceptualise this differentiation and subsume it under 'English'. Where the concept of English is referred to rather than English as language use, quotation marks are used.

In Chapter 3, the specific context of communication in immigration domains is analysed and a short overview of key literature on language practice in encounters between refugees and locals in different European countries is provided. The studies referred to (Guido 2008; Maryns 2012; Plutzar 2009; Rienzner 2009) revealed alarming insights about institutions' discriminatory language practices towards refugees. Based on the scholars' findings and considerations, a theoretical and methodological framework is developed for accounting for the diversity of English and the experience of

multilingualism in this particular context. The applied thinking tools presented are *the transnational and translanguaging space* (Jacquemet 2005; García and LiWei 2014; LiWei 2011), *ELF* and fluid categories of 'language' (Seidlhofer 2011b), *multilingualism/heteroglossia* (Busch 2013), and *the linguistic repertoire* (Busch 2013, 2012; Gumperz 1964). Additionally, the practice of employing *stand-by interpreters* as an alternative to the restrictive either-or choice between institutionalised standards and regular interpreters (Maryns 2012) is introduced.

Chapter 4 presents an investigation of the characteristics of the encounter between refugees and locals. It is argued that as a transnational and translanguaging space (LiWei 2011) it has a high potential for transformative power. In agreement with similar studies in the educational field (Gogolin 2008, 2013) and socio-economic development (Soto et al. 2012; URBACT 2016), the micro-level of human interaction is recognised as a driving force for innovation. Additionally, I argue for the necessity of changing from the originally intended methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the Mediated Discourse Analysis approach (MDA).

The specific methods (language diary based interviews) employed in the case study are described in detail in chapter 5. In addition, methodological considerations and self-aware reflections on my personal involvement with the participants are delineated. Linking the empirical field with the theoretical framework, the field induced research questions for data analysis are presented in subchapter 5.3.

In chapter 6, I introduce the SIRs and SECs who have shared with me their experiences and rationales about language and language use in the form of language diaries (LDs) and language diary based interviews (LDIs). Chapter 6 concludes with a list of abstracted availability factors that have been found to be the most influential in the participants' language experience and practice. I emphasise that this list of abstract categories needs to be re-contextualised by investigating how these factors are manifested differently in the individual participant's life. Their experiences constitute the basis of the research findings. Therefore, an extensive analysis and exploration of the listed availability factors is provided in chapter 7. The list is divided into three sections according to the groups of factors: *A. Individual factors*, *B. Social Factors*, and *C. Situational factors*. The extent length of this chapter reflects the richness of data that could be obtained in collaborative and dialogic data collection with the participants. In order to ensure transparency and

comprehensibility of the patterning and inferences drawn, I am supporting these with excerpts and quotes from the LDIs. In addition, a summary of the findings is provided in chapter 8.

In chapter 9, I focus on the language practices the participating SIRs and SECs engage in to tackle the challenge of meaning negotiation. It shows that despite dominant monolingual norms in the communicative spaces, as well as in their own minds, they do not always conform to these established rules of language use. Particularly in encounters where speakers cannot rely on a common linguacultural ground, it becomes most crucial to understand that language is constituted in the sociality of human beings (Humboldt 1995 [1836]). The linguistic forms and systems we draw upon, i.e. 'language', cannot guarantee successful communication. It is the speakers who, in the specific situation, have to make their use of 'language' meaningful to the interlocutor. 'Language', from this perspective, is *action* rather than system. To emphasise this aspect of language, I am using 'languagING' where speakers actively and more or less consciously engage in the negotiation of meaning. To give an idea about how to conceptualise languagING, concrete languagING practices that have been found in the data are presented. In addition, chapters 9.1 and 9.2 address the question of how the findings and the awareness of the significance of language practices could be exploited to promote social change. Accepting my responsibility as an English language teacher, I am pointing to important implications for ELT and teacher education that arise from my research project. Particular attention is drawn to the accountability of ELT in the dissemination of reductionist language ideologies.

Chapter 10 concludes this paper and summarises the most significant findings of the study as regards the questions of what makes a linguistic framework restrictive and in how far speakers themselves, refugees and locals, could contribute to linguistically juster languagING practices.

Returning to the anecdote I provided at the beginning of this paper, my friend in Japan adjusted his assumptions about EIL by acknowledging the reality he was encountering. With this research project I have been investigating the reality of refugees and local citizens in Vienna, attempting to understand what it means to act as a language user in this particular multilingual context. Getting to know someone/something requires personal engagement. My role as an 'insider' in the field, overall, has been an asset for the

study (see chapter 5). Mindful of possible influences of this subjective involvement, I have followed a self-aware and highly reflective research approach as proposed by Meyer (2001: 19). Relevant information on methods and emergent thoughts, as well as self-reflective considerations of my personal role in the research field, are provided to ensure transparency and enhance reliability of the study.

Finally, as to the importance and currency of the issues discussed, I am arguing that studies that aim at generating better understanding of habitualised language practices could help to find ways and strategies to overcome old thinking patterns and the monolingual norm that is disregarding the multilingual realities of people today.

## **2 Conceptualising English now and then**

Today's status of English as a means of communication all around the globe, in the most diverse first language (L1) combinations, has the effect of theoretical models of the past no longer applying smoothly to the social and linguistic phenomena of the modern world - in research, as well as in daily-life. According to Jacquement (2005: 260), the origins of this concept-reality conflict lie in the early modern establishment of "[the] linkage between territory, cultural tradition, and language". Since the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century researchers and laypeople would have been describing and constructing the world by using this thinking tool and, thereby, re-enforcing the legacy of conceptualising speakers as members of homogeneous groups who live in a clearly identifiable community within demarcated boundaries. The unprecedented and multifaceted uses of ELF all over the world, however, have demanded researchers to reconsider legitimised concepts of English and language.

### **2.1 Conceptualising ELF**

Seidlhofer (2011b: 17) emphasises the need to acknowledge the different nuances of English today and calls for "conceptual clarity". She differentiates between EFL, which is oriented towards "where the language comes from, who its native speakers are, and what cultural associations are bound up with it" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 17), and ELF. ELF is defined as "*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option.* [original emphasis]" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 7).



The use of ELF has expanded to the most diverse functional areas and, unlike the traditionally defined languages, its 'territory' is not confined to particular communities and geographic areas. As Meierkord and Knapp (2002: 9–15) summarise the need for, and the uses of lingua francas have been growing significantly since the name-giving use of 'lingua franca' between European and Arabic traders in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of the need and use of lingua francas is a sign of the contact of speakers of different L1s. Over the course of history such encounters have emerged from historical events related to colonialism, religious conversion and the political and economic developments after World War II. More recently, "migration and resulting diaspora cultures have caused the functions exercised by lingua francas to become extended" (2002: 12). Based on this understanding, the conceptualisation of ELF renounces traditional thinking patterns of the territory-culture-language legacy described above. ELF may be used as a communicative resource wherever speakers "are involved in de-territorialized speech events, so that establishing common linguacultural ground [...] becomes an intrinsic part of every encounter" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4). As evident from observed language practices in asylum-seeking interviews and communication in immigration domains, a speaker's readiness towards taking over communicative responsibility through active engagement into the negotiation of common linguacultural ground is absolutely fundamental to the establishment of a just and fair linguistic framework. I will further elaborate on these observations in chapter 3.

## **2.2 De-constructing habitual thinking patterns through the concept of ELF**

As regards conceptual adaptation in research, despite growing recognition of English as an international language (EIL), the traditional conceptual triad (territory, cultural tradition, and language) appears to keep undermining genuine re-conceptualisations of 'English' encompassing "the experience of de- and reterritorialization, and the sociolinguistic disorder it entails" (Jacquemet 2005: 273).

Graddol (2006: 110), for example, recognises the need for re-considering existing concepts and sees linguists in "a crisis of terminology". He points out that, as a consequence of the developments English has been going through, Kachru's well established three-circle model (Kachru, Braj B., 1932- 2006) could no longer grasp the diversity of English out there. Instead, he suggests addressing Kachru's later adaptation of the model, which is intended to describe the global use of English more appropriately

to the actual phenomena. Under scrutiny, however, it transpires that the adapted model is equally re-constructing the native speaker as the rightful speaker of 'the' language. In consequence, the newer model, as the original, disregard that English "is no longer the preserve of a group of people living in an offshore European island, or even of larger groups living in continents elsewhere" (Widdowson 1994: 382).

In Graddol's graphic illustration of the model (2006: 110), the inner-circle 'native speaker' is replaced with the 'high-proficient speaker' of English. By measuring 'proficiency' against the native speaker norm, the model is basically confined to a one-sided perspective of the learner as *learner*, widely disregarding her/him as potential *user* of English. Such constructions of proficiency are enforcing the dominance of native speaker norms in English language teaching (ELT) and ignore the fact that ELF "has taken on a life of its own, *in principle independent* to a considerable degree of the norms established by its native users [my emphasis]" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 8). In consequence, ELF is best understood as "the use of globalized EIL [which] is something that people engage in across all three 'concentric circles'" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4).

Similar to Graddol's illustration, Phillipson's (2009: 86) understanding of the spread of English as an imperialistic, "normative project [...] powerful [anglophone] forces are keen to bring about", is oblivious to the bottom-up processes influencing 'the' language. While it has been shown that the native speaker norm does have an influence on language practices in various domains, as, for example, the already mentioned ELT domain (Radinger 2015), studies show that *users* of ELF do not necessarily (want to) adhere to native speaker norms (Wang 2013; Jenkins 2007; Choi 2015). Rather, they appropriate the language according to their communicative needs (Seidlhofer 2011b: 120).

Following the idea that language is shaped by its users and according to "what it has to do" (Halliday 2003 [1973]: 309), the acknowledgement of the diversity encompassed in what is called 'English' today, must be considered prerequisite for developing 'realistic' concepts of English. Such conceptualisation of language and English carry 'fluidity' and 'flexibility' as essential characteristics and are, therefore, more adequate and sustainable as regards the increasingly complex and mobile society. In recognition of the co-constructive relationship between language, world, and language user, Phillipson's scenario of an imperialistic language spread of English must be considered refuted. "[I]t

is simply not the case that English emanates from the native speaker 'centre' in a way that is designed to benefit its native speakers" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 141).

To disentangle the ambiguity of 'English', Seidlhofer offers a useful tool to think about the different 'realities' of 'English'. She suggests conceptualising the different 'realities' of English as the particular realisations of an underlying linguistic basis. According to this basis we identify the concrete realisations as 'English'. Following Widdowson (1997; 2003), she calls this underlying linguistic resource "virtual English" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 109–111).

### **2.3 Language concepts and language reality**

So far, the problematics of conceptualising English and language as enclosed linguistic systems has been captured with regard to the adequacy of linguistic descriptions of what language is, and how the failure to acknowledge bottom-up influences on the linguistic system of 'a' language constructs non-conformist appropriations of it as 'mistakes' and 'erroneous' uses. In reference to other critical scholars, I have argued that the native speaker oriented concept of English produces theoretical models of 'the' language and its use which ignores the diversity of use and millions of users of English who are not part of 'the inner circle'. For the researcher who produces these models, reductionist conceptualisations will remain a matter of theoretical discussion. For the social actor, i.e. the speaker who is constructed by and subject to these concepts, however, the problematics manifest as practical consequences.

Particularly, where power relations are asymmetrical and where speakers are constructed to fit traditional concepts, the conceptual neglect of understanding "[t]he identification and establishment of common ground itself [...] as a major challenge in the process of communication" (Jacquemet 2005: 273), may have severe consequences for the subjects involved. As Guido (2008: 21) has shown, such is the case for refugees in immigration domains. Her findings will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter. Speaking from a constructionalist point of view, in how far the individual may take over the roles of a re-constructor or de-constructor of concepts, and in how far the individual her/himself is constructed by established concepts, is strongly tied to power relations and legitimised conceptualisations.

Following Butler's (1993) further development of Althusser's (1997) theory of interpellation, "matter" (i.e. substance and bodies, individuals) need to be understood as the product of

*a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter. That matter is always materialized has, I think, to be thought in relation to productive and, indeed, materializing effects of regulatory power in the Foucaultian sense [original emphasis] (Butler 1993: 10).*

Furthermore, by constituting the individual, regulative norms determine what is accepted as the legitimised framework of agency of the created subject. While Butler has been discussing this interrelatedness of discourse, power and individual under the aspect of gender, the constitutional power of legitimized concepts and practices is equally relevant to other social domains, such as immigration, which is shown in the following chapter.

### **3 Institutional language practice(s) in immigration domains**

Investigating ELF interaction in immigration domains, Guido (2008) has drawn attention to the repressive language regimes in immigration domains. Her studies reveal that institutional language practices are based on an "unconditional recognition of the privileged status of the English language in the world [which] does not in fact acknowledge the communicative needs of other non-native - and, crucially, non-Western - speakers of English" (Guido 2008: 21). Rienzner's (2009) investigations show that similar effects can be observed in Austrian asylum seeking procedures. In her discussions she provides an extract of an asylum seeking interview (Pöchhacker; Kolb 2007, qtd. in Rienzner 2009: 88) illustrating an interpreter's difficulties in understanding the "exotic" (term used by the interpreter) African pronunciation of 'the Lord's Prayer'. Rienzner points out that the effort in a communal construction of meaning is soon ended with the interpreter's terminating remark of „Das versteh ich nicht [I don't understand this]“. Complementing Guido's findings, Rienzner (2009: 89) reveals that

AsylwerberInnen, die in ihrem Sprachrepertoire Standardvarietäten europäischer Verkehrssprachen aufweisen, verfügen in diesem Kontext über "passendere" sprachliche und kommunikative Ressourcen, als AntragstellerInnen, die "nur" afrikanische Varietäten dieser Standards beherrschen. "Einfaches", "dialektales" sowie "exotisches" Sprechen bringt weit weniger Autorität und Macht mit sich, wie "richtiges", der Norm entsprechendes und "weltgewandtes" Sprechen.

[asylum seekers who hold standard varieties of European lingua francas in their linguistic repertoires, have command over more "appropriate" linguistic and communicative resources than asylum seekers who "only" know African varieties of these standards. "Ordinary", "dialectal" and "exotic" use of language entails much less authority and power, than "correct" and norm conform and "sophisticated" use of language.]

Rienznier's findings suggest that asylum seekers' language use is judged against unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL. The orientation towards legitimised uses of English reminds of what has been discussed above in relation to Graddol's and Phillipson's conceptualisations of 'English' as an international, but native speaker centred understanding of 'the' language. Such understanding similarly perpetuates the disregard of ELF users' agency and their influence on the form and use of language. The reductionist understanding of 'language' and the co-relating unreflected assumptions about EIL basically carry two problematic conceptual implications: Firstly, the belief in *given* shared meaning through shared language, and, secondly, the belief in the guaranteed availability of English as a communicative resource.

In how far these beliefs materialise to concrete consequences for language users in multilingual environments, particularly the immigration domain, will be discussed in this chapter. Additionally, I am elaborating on suggestions of alternative concepts suitable to addressing the languagING phenomena of a multilingual world. These concepts provide the theoretical framework for the case study I have undertaken.

### **3.1 Expecting shared meaning from shared language ?**

From what has been discussed so far, it can be said that one problematic aspect of the unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL is constituted in the ignorance of the rightful and, in reference to the native speaker ideal, equally legitimate 'Englishes', out there. In particular, conceptualisations often fail to disentangle the cognitive unity of territory, culture and language. Dissolving this conceptual triad, however, is prerequisite to re-thinking 'language' and language use as inherently fluid, and thereby account for language phenomena in the "deterritorialized world of late modern communication" (Jacquemet 2005: 261).

The belief in guaranteed successful communication, given the involved interlocutors have 'proficient' language knowledge of English, presupposes a self-evident point of convergence in universal norms. Due to the wide-spread belief in the supremacy of the

native speaker, particularly in ELT (Anchimbe 2013), the 'universal' norms are dominantly derived from native speaker uses. The consequential measuring of language proficiency against native speaker norms keeps feeding the belief that misunderstandings in conversations held in English are the consequence of 'incorrect' uses by non-native speakers. Maryns (2012: 301), for example, has shown that Belgian officers in asylum seeking procedures are conceiving of the asylum seekers' English as "a very special dialect" with "strange" pronunciation. In encounters where power relations between the speakers are asymmetrical, StE language ideology can lead to covert discrimination by ignoring that the parties *share* responsibility for the effectiveness of communication.

As Guido's studies (2008) have revealed, by applying the norms of StE to ELF narrations, professional mediators, actually trained and employed to assure successful communication in asylum seeking reports, in fact misconstrued the original context of the oral reports from asylum seekers "only to be made coherent with the trainee mediators' own professional schemata" (2008: 96). Guido (2012: 221) explains that such practices are the consequence of ignoring that ELF users,

appropriate the English language by adapting its meaning potential not only to the different pragmatic modes through which they express their own communicative needs, but also to the different social-semiotic functions (Halliday 1978) and experiential schemata (cf. Langacker 1991) grammaticalized in the forms of their native languages.

In order to create a linguistically just framework of agency for all participants involved in ELF interactions, it is, hence, crucial to understand that the use of 'English' as a medium for communication in multilingual settings is not *per se* a guarantee for successful communication. Rather, it is necessary to acknowledge that "all the participants in the communicative exchange in ELF attempt a cooperative manipulation of the context" (Guido 2008: 252). Interlocutors, thus, are called to cooperate in the meaning-making process, and refrain from trying to impose and fit the people into existing norms and patterns of legitimised standards - i.e they need to engage in languagING.

### **3.2 Understanding the world as 'Anglosphere' ?**

The second problematic aspect of unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL is centring on the availability of 'English' as a communicative resource. The global spread of English certainly enlarges the communicative and actional radius of English users all over the world, however, it would be ignorant to assume that it as a key to all

communicative spaces. The availability of English as a communicative resource cannot be taken for granted. English simply might not be a constituent of the interlocutor's linguistic repertoire. Or, less obviously, English may be unavailable because of emotional, experiential and chronotopic<sup>5</sup> influences which take effect in current interactions. As Busch (2013: 31) emphasises,

[d]ie Wahlmöglichkeit, vor der ein sprechendes Subjekt steht, wird nicht nur durch grammatikalische Regeln und das Wissen um soziale Konventionen begrenzt, sondern es können zum Beispiel bestimmte Sprachen, Codes oder Sprechweisen so mit emotionalen oder sprachideologischen Konnotationen besetzt sein, dass sie in bestimmten Momenten nicht oder nur eingeschränkt zur Verfügung stehen.

[a speaker's possibility to choose is not only limited by grammatical rules and the knowledge of social conventions, but, for example, certain languages, codes and ways of speaking may carry such strong emotional and language ideological connotations that they are not, or only partially, available in specific moments]

The range of linguistic resources we can choose from, hence, depends on biographical experiences, language ideologies, and language regimes (Busch 2013).

While an interlocutor cannot directly affect the associations a speaking partner has made with a certain linguistic resource in the past, he/she has considerable influence on what is accepted as an appropriate use of language in the present encounter. For example, the interlocutor's adherence to an established language practice or language regime is decisive for what is considered acceptable language use. It follows that speakers in a communicative encounter significantly contribute to the construction of the interlocutor as subject and agent of language. Particularly, where power relations are asymmetrical, the more powerful party has considerable authority over the languagING practices accepted in the encounter. Language use thus involves constructive power, and, hence, calls upon the speaker to recognise his/her responsibility as a language user. Butler (1997: 27) emphasises that "[t]he responsibility of the speaker does not consist of remaking language ex nihilo, but rather of negotiating legacies of usage that constrain and enable that speaker's speech".

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<sup>5</sup> Term coined by Bakhtin (1981 [2008]) to express the inseparability of space and time.

In her exploration of the performative nature of *hate speech*, Butler (1997) argues that the addressee of words that are intended to hurt can appropriate and thereby re-signify these. Given the iterability of language, appropriation of words can be exploited for socio-political transformation. Such an act, however, requires a high degree of language awareness and the acknowledgement of the responsibility that comes with language use. It must be pointed out that re-contextualisation of words is not *per se* transformative. Following Butler (1997: 160), "[t]hat moment in which a speech act without prior authorization nevertheless assumes authorization in the course of its performance may anticipate and instate altered contexts for its future reception".

As I will argue in chapter four, the transformative potential of the communicative space of SECs and SIRs may constitute a site characterised by a similar socio-political potential for change. Institutions in immigration domains, by contrast, have been acting carelessly towards their responsibility as constructors of 'language' and the subjects it produces, which has been revealed by Maryns (2012), Plutzar (2009), and Rienzner (2009). Their results must be considered highly alarming as regards the safeguarding of linguistic rights. Immigration domains are characterised by an "asymmetrische Machtverteilung in Bezug auf das Rederecht und die Thematisierung von Inhalten [asymmetrical distribution of power with regard to the right to speak and the topicalisation of contents]" (Plutzar 2009: 26). In face of this asymmetrical power relation between speakers in institutions like schools, medicine, and courts, these and the institutional representatives at the micro-level, have enormous responsibility over safeguarding linguistic minority speakers' language rights.

Maryns' (2012) investigations into institutional language practices in multilingual legal settings have disclosed that the acknowledgement of linguistic diversity given through the statutory right to an interpreter, in fact, does not guarantee linguistic justice. As her results have revealed, the institutional habitus "actually privileges a very specific type of multilingualism that imposes a set of either/or options on the linguistic minority speaker" (2012: 310). Language practices designed to address multilingualism, hence, might actually turn out to have restrictive effects on a multilinguals' linguistic agency. This kind of covert linguistic discrimination of minority speakers reminds of the consequences of unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL in the modern world.



Failing to genuinely conceptualise multilingualism, the institutions' adaptations of their language practices are foundering on old thinking patterns that have emerged from the monolingual norm. Consequently, the institutions' communicative tools, developed to account for multilingualism, are actually inapt to granting full multilingual agency. Maryns (2012: 310–311) concludes that the observed institutional language practice,

is thwarted by a curtailing ideology of language that assumes choice where linguistic minority participants face constraints. [...] Linguistic minority speakers are encouraged to express themselves either in their 'own' language through an interpreter [...] or directly in the institutionalized standard [...]. In either case, they are compelled to isolate one language from their linguistic repertoire [...] while the other resources in their repertoire, no matter how valuable for them to constitute their identity, are disqualified and suppressed.

As a consequence, it is crucial to the safeguarding of an individual's agency over expression that institutions acknowledge their power *and* concomitant responsibility over the client's (linguistic) agency. I am using square brackets here to emphasise that, particularly in asylum seeking procedures, the asymmetrical distribution of power has fateful consequences for the refugee, which lie beyond linguistic matters. It is to be recognised that verbal recounts are often the sole basis for the judicial decision on granting the asylum status, or not (Rienzner 2009: 17; Busch 2013: 165). Hinnenkamp (1991: 108) reminds us that "[t]he ethnic, social and linguistic habitus certainly do not define the action; they do define, however, the *competence of acting in a particular way* [my emphasis]". In face of the uneven distribution over the refugee's "competence of acting in a particular way", I am arguing that continuous scepticism towards habitual language practices, corresponding considerations and measurements must be constituted as fundamental duties of institutions involved in asylum seeking procedures.

As regards the Austrian context, Plutzar's investigations (2009) show that communicative practices of institutions involved in asylum seeking procedures are characterised by a covert abuse of institutional power. In agreement with other scholars (e.g. Scheffer 2001), Plutzar's (2009: 13) findings display that

die potentielle Darstellungsmacht der Asylwerberinnen zugunsten der Entfaltung einer faktischen Darstellungsmacht der Behörden gebrochen wird [asylum seekers' potential *Darstellungsmacht* ('power of presentation') is overridden to the benefit of expanding institutions' factual power to construct].

As to the institutional conflict between the interests of protecting the state from illegal immigration and the preservation of people's right to asylum, actors find themselves in a field of contradictory practices. Plutzar's data indicate that this conflictual framework of practice is leading to heavy psychological pressure on all actors involved. Institutional representatives, for example, would describe it as particularly psychologically demanding, "wo Diskrepanzen zwischen dem offiziellen Auftrag und den tatsächlichen Anforderungen vor Ort auftreten [where discrepancies arise between the official commandment and the actual requirements on-site]" (Plutzar 2009: 109).

Re-connecting these insights with the problematics of an "unconditional recognition of the privileged status of EIL in the world", as described by Guido (2008), the critical point of interest lies in the recognition of the power and responsibility institutions have with regard to refugees' factual competence of acting through language. Furthermore, the Austrian studies show that institutions are employing monolingually normed language practices to a multilingual reality. In consequence, less powerful speakers suffer severe discrimination. Through the restraint on language practices and institutionalised standards, refugees are limited in the linguistic resources they can draw upon in communication. Confined to what is accepted as 'appropriate' speech, the refugees are required to fulfill unreflected expectations towards language and its use by those who determine the language regime of the communicative space.

### **3.3 Conceptual alternatives acknowledging multilingualism**

In the previous chapters I have explored dominant conceptualisations of English and language. Based on existing studies on language practices in immigration domains and institutional language use, I have examined in how far reductionist and unreflected assumptions about linguistic resources manifest as discriminating against speakers in communicative encounters. What follows from these elaborations is that addressing multilingualism, be it in research or practical life, requires a conceptual fundament that genuinely acknowledges the linguistic diversity a globalised society brings about. In the research project I am presenting, multilingualism and mobility are key characteristics of the research field (the encounter between refugees and locals). Any attempt to better understand the linguistic repertoire and the languagING choices of its speakers, hence, must be pre-dated by a development of a theoretical and methodological framework that can account for a multilingual world. I am developing and basing this framework on the

findings and suggestions that followed from the researches presented above. The most important elements of it are presented in the following subsections and constitute the conceptual basis under which the multilingual and multicultural space of the communicative encounters of SIRs and SECs is approached.

### **3.3.1 Translanguaging**

The translanguaging approach as suggested by Garcia and LiWei (2014), and LiWei (2011) accounts for the necessary fluidity and complexity that characterise language use in multilingual settings. The notion of translanguaging goes beyond traditional understandings of how speakers draw upon different established categories of 'language', like 'English', 'French', 'Chinese', etc. and conceptualises the fuzziness of these. Thereby, it can account for language use where the boundaries between 'languages' dissolve and explore multilingualism beyond language-separatist understandings of 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing'.

Recent studies, like Mazak and Herbas-Donoso's (2015) investigation of translanguaging practices in bilingual university classrooms, indicate the advent of "a paradigm shift that calls into question the existence of 'languages' as identifiable, distinct systems" (2015: 699). Initially, their study was set to investigate code-switching practices. It was soon realised, however, "that the bilingual nature of interactions in this classroom was much more complicated than the traditional notion of 'code-switching' could capture" (Mazak and Herbas-Donoso 2015: 703). The practice of 'switching' between languages, then, can be conceived of as bilinguals selecting "from their entire semiotic repertoire, and not solely from an inventory that is constrained by societal definitions of what is an appropriate 'language'" (García and LiWei 2014: 23).

Following from these insights, provided that the researcher approaches the communicative space from a translanguaging perspective, it is reasonable to assume that the absence of translanguaging phenomena in a communicative space and encounter points to a linguistic framework that is based on a monolingual understanding of language and language use. Transferring these insights to the present study, particular attention has been paid to *if* and *where* language users employ translanguaging strategies.

In addition, the translanguaging approach offers a fundamental notion of language that is characteristic of the activities set up by inclusion organisations which provide room for

SIRs and SECs to get to know each other. Both authors (Garcia and LiWei 2014; LiWei 2011), emphasise that 'language' is, first and foremost, practice rather than form and reflect this in writing by adding the actional suffix '-ing' to the term. This understanding of language lies at the heart of the research interest and researched phenomena I am presenting in this paper. I am, therefore, using the symbolic written representation 'languagING'.

In any use of language, meaning is sought to be transferred and exchanged between the interlocutors. LanguagING, then, is best to be understood as activated language. I conceive of it as language use where speakers, following a more or less deliberate decision, actively engage in the negotiation of meaning and acknowledge that establishing common linguacultural ground is the responsibility of all interlocutors involved. LanguagING is not a new phenomenon and develops naturally in any encounter where the speakers have a genuine interest in getting to know the other. However, other interests supersede the prime mover of communication, i.e. the sociality of human beings, where language practice is tampered with habitualised monolingualism, rigid language regimes, and asymmetrical power relations. It can be said that the translanguaging approach is re-invoking the emphasis on the sociality of language described by (Humboldt 1995 [1836]). Language is considered to be constituted in the interaction of 'you' and 'I', while, at the same time, 'you' and 'I' only constitute themselves in language (or languagING).

### **3.3.2 ELF and the fluidity of categories**

The notion of translanguaging lays emphasis on the speakers' active engagement in the meaning-making process and that they exert constructive influence on the legitimised linguistic forms and systems through their language use. Having said this, the reader might now object to ask, if focusing a study on ELF would not risk the re-construction of the monolingual tradition, by demarcating it as a category amongst others. This objection can be refuted, since the conceptualisation of ELF, as suggested by Seidlhofer (2011b: 110), stands in an inclusive relationship to the concept of translanguaging. 'ELF' equally stresses the inter-dependence of form and function, the agency of the speakers and the fluidity of categories. It is understood that "ELF is not a variety of English with clearly demarcated formal linguistic properties to be set against some institutionalized norm of the so-called standard language, but as the variable exploitation of linguistic resources" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 110).

In recognition of the participants' multilingual potential to exploit their full linguistic repertoire, a focus on ELF, hence, should not lead to a lapse into traditional thinking patterns. Rather, the inclusive relationship between the concepts of ELF and translanguaging builds the condition for approaching the communicative spaces of SIRs and SECs with a user-centred understanding of language. Language use and languagING are conceptualised as socially embedded actions of individuals which are influenced by, but at the same time, are influencing, the construction and de-construction of 'language' as established systems of form and constitutive power (Butler 1993).

### **3.3.3 Multilingualism/Heteroglossia**

The acknowledgement of languages as fluid 'categories', entails a reconsideration of the term 'multilingualism' as formulated by Busch (2013). According to her, the fuzziness of language categories requires us to understand 'multilingualism',

nicht [als] eine Vielzahl von Einzelsprachen [...] sondern ein Konglomerat das in Bachtins Sinn heteroglossisch ist [not as the sum of many single languages (...) but as a conglomeration, which is heteroglossic in the Bakhtinian sense of the word] (2013: 11).

"Heteroglossisch [heteroglossic]", as Busch (2013: 10) explains in reference to Bakhtin, means "die vielschichtige und facettenreiche Differenzierung, die lebendiger Sprache innewohnt [the multilayered and multifaceted differentiation inherent in living language]". Following this understanding, multilingualism is constituted in the many different ways a speaker is exploiting his/her linguistic repertoire in the different spaces and situations of everyday life. This includes non-established 'languages' such as dialects and sociolects. In order to grasp the complexity of the factors involved, Busch (2013: 10–11), following Bakhtin (1997) abstracts three dimensions of multilingualism:

"Multidiskursivität", refers to the (co)presence of specific world views and discourses which are connected with particular spaces and times and which are articulated in speech;

"Vielstimmigkeit", points to the positioning of the subject within and towards the particular world views and discourses. On the one hand, these voices allocate positions in the social structure, at the same time, however, by 'borrowing' the voices that have been there, the subject also positions itself to these worlds;

"Sprachenvielfalt", is conceived of as the reflection of socio-cultural differentiation. It is understood that social practices form ways of speaking, hence, Busch (2013: 10) argues "[m]an hat es nicht mit einer Sprache, sondern mit Sprachenvielfalt zu tun [it is not language that we deal with but language diversity]".

Following Busch's approach in the endeavour to produce a genuine account of multilingualism and the languagING practices of SIRs and SECs, the data, hence, have been screened for possible influences of the speakers' past experiences and future anticipations, indicators of dominant 'voices' of discourse, and the significance of particular language practices in a particular communicative space.

### **3.3.4 Stand-by interpreting**

As a consequence of her observations of the restrictive options offered to linguistic minority speakers in legal settings, Maryns (2012: 311) questions the institutionalised practice of addressing multilingualism with *either* the legitimised standard *or* an interpreter. She calls for alternatives that account for multilingualism without curtailing the richness of the speakers' linguistic repertoire. As one possible strategy, which has been adopted in the study I conducted, Maryns (2012: 311) suggests the use of stand-by interpreting and argues that it "move[s] beyond mere canonical conceptions of interpreting, anticipating the grey area between mediated and non-mediated interaction". Stand-by interpreters function as a kind of mediator on situational demand. In contrast to regular interpreters and translators, they only intervene when they observe problematic misunderstandings or lack of clarity, or if the speakers ask them to do so. In my study, the participants have been provided with the possibility of employing a stand-by interpreter during the interview. Additionally, the participants have been given the freedom of writing the LD in the language(s) of their choice, independent of the researcher's, i.e. my own language knowledge.

### **3.3.5 The linguistic repertoire**

In the endeavour to develop a conceptualisation of language and language use that acknowledges the fluidity and creativity in language practices, Gumperz's (1964) concept of the *verbal repertoire* provides a valuable basis for researchers (Busch 2012: 512). It

allows to move away from the idea of 'languages' as bounded and separate entities in a speaker's linguistic repertoire. Instead, communication is understood "as a process of decision making, in which speakers select from a range of possible expressions. The verbal repertoire then contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication" (Gumperz 1964: 137).

Busch (2013; 2012) further develops Gumperz' model of the linguistic repertoire and relates it to the bodily, the emotional, and the discursive historical-political dimensions in which language users (have to) act. She emphasises that freedom to use one specific resource is dependent on past, present, and future factors emerging from these dimensions. Busch's further development of the linguistic repertoire has been adopted as theoretical basis for the research project I have carried out. It provides for a user-centred and experiential perspective of the language practices and experiences of the SIRs and SECs who participated in the study. In addition, her model of the linguistic repertoire allows to focus on one of its linguistic resources, i.e. ELF, without disregarding the others.

### **3.4 Summary**

In this chapter I have summarised the findings of several studies on communication in immigration domains. These revealed that unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL contribute to the production of discriminatory language practices against refugees and linguistic minority speakers in institutional settings. It has been explained that these unreflected assumptions result, firstly, from an ignorance of the diversity of what is called 'English' today and, secondly, from a disregard of the influence language users exert on the form and function of the language(s) used. The studies showed that the ideologies of Standard English, the native speaker supremacy, and the belief in homogeneous communities of language speakers, are amongst the traditional thinking patterns which are undermining thorough re-conceptualisations of multilingualism. As a consequence, language practices, actually designed to safeguard linguistic rights, fail to provide multilinguals with full agency over their linguistic repertoires. Additionally, due to the uneven distribution of power in institutional settings, refugees and linguistic minority speakers heavily depend on the established language practices in the institutional language regime. Consequently, as argued above, the results of the studies mentioned in chapter three must be considered genuinely alarming, since they disclose severe discrimination of immigrants *through* and *in language* in immigration domains.

#### **4 The micro-level of discourse as a site of re-production, de-construction and innovation**

Owing to the studies outlined in chapter 3, it was possible to take the objective of research on communication in immigration domains a step further. Instead of focusing on where language practices discriminate against multilinguals, the focus of my research project could be laid on when and how speakers appropriate available linguistic resources and invent new practices according to their needs as social actors in the communicative spaces they encounter. Additionally, better understanding of the factors that determine the availability of certain linguistic resources could raise awareness of restrictive language regimes and help to construct juster frameworks for languagING. Following these reflections, I have conducted a case study on the language/languagING experience, choices and practices of SIRs and SECs in Austria. Ethnographic and socio-linguistic methods have been combined in order to produce a descriptive and critical account of the observable and non-observable forces that affect speakers in the encounters between refugees and locals.

This paper, then, shares the aim of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches, i.e. "supporting their [dominated groups'] struggle against inequality" (van Dijk 2001: 96). With a focus on individual language experience and choices, however, the research project presented moves beyond textual levels of discourse. It does not only aim at giving voice to suppressed groups of speakers but, moreover, intends to add perspective by laying emphasis on their very own languagING competence and the value of their experiences.

In this chapter I explore the communicative space of refugees and locals who engage in activities organised by civil organisations aiming at inclusion and integration<sup>6</sup> of immigrants. It will be argued that their micro-level encounters constitute a valuable ground for finding languagING practices that provide for the multilingual reality of the speakers involved. As the studies discussed above have shown, the presence of multilinguals does not *per se* make a communicative space 'multilingual'. If interlocutors, however, are creating a space where people consciously seek contact with 'the other', SIRs and SECs, locals and refugees are more likely to engage in "negotiat[ing] what is interactionally relevant, accommodat[ing] to each other, mak[ing] creative use of their

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<sup>6</sup> For a detailed discussion of models of social integration, see, for example, Friedrichs (1999).



diverse linguistic repertoires, and cooperat[ing] in the co- or re-construction of the 'English' that they learnt" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 23).

Gogolin (2008) investigated the language practices of teachers who face a multilingual student body and showed that the individual teachers have ambiguous feelings about the institutional framework and their role as social actors and representatives of the school. Her study suggests that teachers are able to better adapt their language use to the reality of multilingualism when they meet students as individuals, rather than as a representative of the institution. The micro-level of discourse, i.e. the face-to-face encounter of language users, thus, can be considered a test to established concepts of language. Gogolin's study shows that, even within a rigid habitus of monolingualism, the discrepancy between 'language' in actual encounters and 'language' in the institutionalised framework of practice does not pass unnoticed by the social actors involved. There is evidence (Gogolin 2008; 2013) that teachers function as re-productive enforcements of the dominant monolingual habitus, while, at the same time,

[sind die LehrerInnen] vom Prozeß der sprachlichen Ausdifferenzierung ihrer Schülerschaft in ihren Überzeugungen nicht unberührt geblieben [...]. Und sie sind auch in ihren Praktiken der sprachlichen Erziehung und Bildung nicht unbeirrt geblieben

[the teachers' beliefs and conceptualisations of the linguistic differentiation of their students has not remained unaffected (...). Nor have the teachers remained unaffected in their practices of language pedagogy and education] (Gogolin 2008: 257).

Following Gogolin's observations, the multilingual reality seems to cause teachers to reconsider legitimised practices of monolingualism in specific interactions. As a consequence, the monolingual norm is losing its self-evident status and is put under stress. Gogolin (2008: 256), however, points out that a change of practice is happening only slowly. In institutions like schools, recognition of the personal transformative potential

wird wohl zumeist überlagert, konterkariert durch die empfundene Strenge der institutionellen Bedingungen des Arbeitens. [...] Solange die Schule »Lebensraum« ist, kann sie [die Lehrerin, die über ihre Erfahrungen berichtet] als Lehrkraft Vielsprachigkeit zulassen, fördern - und für sich selbst genießen. Sobald sie aber »Lernraum« ist, ist Deutsch die alles dominierende Sprache.

[is likely to be thwarted by the experienced rigid nature of institutional working conditions. (...) As long as school is »lebensraum«, the individual, as

teacher, can allow for multilingualism, support it – and enjoy it for herself. As soon as school, however is »a space of learning«, German is the all-transcending language.] (Gogolin 2008: 256)

In consequence, traditionally monolingual language regimes, despite their dominance in institutional domains, can be said to be facing de-constructive forces through the bottom-up processes induced by the language users' agency as practitioners of language. While, the studies above have shown that monolingual conceptualisations of language are dominant, there are signs of a paradigm shift towards the multilingual 'reality' at the micro-level of discourse which indicate that the monolingual habitus "besitzt vielleicht nicht mehr unangefochten in allen Räumen das Monopol [may no longer have an unchallenged monopoly in all spaces]" (Gogolin 2008: 256).

Based on these findings, it is reasonable to assume that, where language users are not bound by insitutionalised frameworks of practice, speakers may experience more freedom in exploiting their linguistic repertoires. At the same time, other regulative forces of discursive, societal and individual origin influence the speakers' languagING choices. Speakers' narratives of language experience and languagING choices, therefore, could offer profound insights into dominant factors influencing the availability of linguistic resources. Since the presence of languagING resources other than ELF must be considered a factor in the speaker's choices, the data for the present study needed to comprise all linguistic resources available. Hence, I have aimed at obtaining a 'panoramic' view of the participants' general languagING practices.

At this point, I would like to point out that the micro-level of social structures has also been discovered as a valuable research field for finding alternative patterns of practice by researchers and organisations in other disciplines. The European Union, for example, has invested considerable financial and ideational means in the investigation of small communities. As it is believed that small communities may provide problem-solving potential that could be applied to bigger structures (Soto et al. 2012), so called "community-led local developments" are promoted under the project *URBACT*.<sup>7</sup>

In chapter 5, I will explain in detail why the ethnographic methods of the language diary and language diary based interviews were chosen as the most appropriate research tools to exploit the problem solving potential of the micro-level of discourse as fully as possible.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://urbact.eu/> (10 May 2016).

Before, however, the particularities of the specific research field will be presented in detail. On the grounds of these it has been decided that the originally chosen research approach of CDA could not provide an appropriate methodological framework for the study. The following three subchapters provide arguments why Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA), instead of CDA is considered the preferable option for accounting for the objectives followed in this research project.

#### **4.1 The research field: Communicative spaces of socially involved refugees and social engaged citizens**

In 2015, Austria saw a considerable rise in numbers of immigrants, and, at the same time, enormous human engagement by local citizens and civil initiatives who provided help where state-forces were struggling or failing, and who engaged in activities aimed at social inclusion of immigrants and political change. Since the second half of 2015, I have been engaged in a civil organisation called *FremdeWerdenFreunde*<sup>8</sup> (Germ. for 'foreigners become friends') that was initiated due to the need to co-ordinate and represent civilians who wanted to get involved in refugee work and to take measures

zur gesellschaftlichen Inklusion von MigrantInnen um einen Beitrag zur Beseitigung von Vorurteilen, Intoleranz und Rassismus zu leisten, sowie die Lebensumstände (insbesondere von Flüchtlingen) durch ideelle und materielle Unterstützung zu verbessern.

[to promote the societal inclusion of immigrants and to contribute to the elimination of stereotypes, intolerance and racism, as well as to improve the living conditions (particularly of refugees) through immaterial and material support] (*FremdeWerdenFreunde* 2015: § 2).

Following its functions, the organisation is undertaking activities to bring together *Menschen, die da sind & Menschen, die hierher gekommen sind* 'people who are here, & people who have come here' (*FremdeWerdenFreunde* 2016); ranging from German courses to dinner evenings, cultural excursions, and musical jam sessions.

Since my personal engagement has been to participate in team meetings, hold German classes, as well as to take part in activities like playing table tennis, I am involved in the research field myself. This personal involvement allowed me to build rapport with the people and develop greater empathy for their individual situations and perspectives. The

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.fremdewerdenfreunde.at/> (20 April 2016).

private relationships allowed me to conduct language diary based interviews in a personal, informal and relaxed atmosphere, which, in turn, contributed to the appreciation of the participants as individuals and the development of trust towards my taking over the role of a researcher. Mindful of the subjectivity involved in participatory approaches to the research field, possible influences on the research are discussed below (chapter 6).

Reading the organisations' statutes against the background of the theory of social transformation, the endeavour of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* can be described as intending to open up a space of "cultural translation" (Bhabha 1994). This space, "is not a space where different identities, values and practices simply co-exist, but combine together to *generate new identities, values and practices* [my emphasis]" (LiWei 2011: 1223). It follows that an understanding of language as a means of social action is crucial to research in this field. Therefore, a research approach is required that provides for the meaningfulness of action and the sociality of language on a theoretical and methodological level. In the following sections it is discussed why CDA could not account for these requirements.

## **4.2 Field-induced considerations on the research approach**

At the crossings of individual, institutional and discursive practices of language use, the research approach needs to provide a framework in which all of the corresponding levels can be taken into account. Additionally, it needs to ensure a considerable degree of reflection and certain flexibility of methods that allow to adapt to the requirements of the research field and its social actors. Thereby the danger of linguistic determinism can be reduced and counteracted. Since ethnographic research involves a relatively high degree of subjective involvement by those who provide the data as well as those who collect the data, moving back and forth on the "permanent bottom-up and top-down linkage of discourse and interaction with societal structures" (van Dijk 2001: 118) was regarded as key to ensuring reliability and valuability of the research project.

CDA was considered an appropriate approach, for it offers the necessary flexibility and degree of self-reflection. In particular, context models as described by van Dijk (2001: 108-111) were regarded as apt frameworks for obtaining a genuine picture of the participants' perspectives and experiences of language. Owing to the self-critical character of CDA, however, it was considered that due to its weakness in "relating the

linguistic dimension with the social dimensions (problem of mediation)" (Wodak 2001: 12) CDA cannot provide for the necessary requirements of the specific research field. Its primary concern with text was considered to be causing a blind spot and a consequential neglect of the status of the participants as social agents *of* and *in* language. As pointed out by Widdowson (2004: 14) CDA's focus on text causes a "dissociation from the pragmatic process which realizes it" and, in consequence, risks an analysis without point.

In the public discourse between the most radical positions towards immigrants and refugees ('refugees welcome' vs. 'refugees NOT welcome')<sup>9</sup> engaging in conversations with the respective other already carries meaning that cannot be grasped when setting aside this particular action "as a question of context" (Scollon 2001: 176). In order to account for the importance of meaning that is created somewhere between text and action, 'discourse' would need to be understood in the broadest sense, i.e. as a "concept [that] includes all objects in the material world including other social actors" (Scollon 2001: 146). As I will explain in greater detail below, the MDA approach, which is closely related to CDA, provides the necessary understanding.

#### **4.2.1 Critical considerations on Critical Discourse Analysis**

While this paper is sharing the endeavour of CDA to reveal reproductive practices of power abuse and domination (van Dijk 2001: 95), I would argue that CDA's focus on text is undervaluing individuals' role as agents (of language). Thereby, signs of transformation and change induced by speakers who consciously or subconsciously take on their responsibility as constructors of the world<sup>10</sup>, might pass unnoticed. This is considered to be problematic for two reasons.

Firstly, because this blind spot could lead to a form of linguistic determinism as described by Widdowson (1998b: 137), in that the focus on text limits the range of what will be interpreted as influences on language practices. As argued above, and as the data reveal<sup>11</sup>, speakers' take more or less conscious decisions on how to exploit their linguistic

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<sup>9</sup> To get an overview of the concrete positions, the reader is advised to consult Austrian newspapers from summer 2015 onwards.

<sup>10</sup> As Butler (1997: 158) describes in her writings on the performative nature and illocutionary force of injurious language, the meaning of words like 'queer' and categories like 'black' and 'woman' have been affirmatively reappropriated and revalued in this manner.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Wedat's comment on how much he thinks about language choice since he has arrived in Austria (discussed in section 7.1.4).

repertoire in face of the situational requirements. Agreeing with Scollon (2001: 143), CDA's notion of 'context' does not adequately reflect the relationship of social action and discourse. Particularly in the encounters of refugees and locals, it becomes evident that action is a carrier of meaning (see chapter 7.3). Secondly, if the researcher's focus is limited to discriminatory practices, CDA's failure to acknowledge the speakers' agency could actually contribute to a re-enforcement of constructing the discriminated as 'victims'.

Widdowson (2004) has raised similar objections against CDA as regards its confusion of text and discourse (2004: 1-16). In addition, he stresses that CDA's focus on text puts a limit to its reliability as a research approach. He emphasises that

[n]o matter how detailed the analysis of a particular text might be, the textual features that are activated in interpretation are those which are perceived, consciously or not, to be contextually and pretextually relevant. If that is so, then what we need to enquire into is how different contexts and pretexts can act upon the same text to give rise to different interpretations (Widdowson 2004: 165-166).

I would argue that the approach to multilingualism/heteroglossia as developed by Busch (2013) which constitutes the basis for my research project (chapter 3) provides a valuable theoretical and methodological basis for analysing how "text, context and pretext" (Widdowson 2004) take effect in interactions. From this perspective follows that, due to its limitation to text, CDA cannot provide the necessary understanding of discourse that is required to grasp the meaningfulness of social action in relation to language use. In the study I have conducted, I am enquiring into how refugees and locals are embedded in discourse and the socio-political landscape of Austria (and Vienna in particular) and in how far contexts and pretexts manifest themselves differently for the individual social actors involved.

Complementary to Widdowson (2004), Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 456), in reference to Blommaert's earlier work (1997), criticise that "the use of context in some CDA work as narrative and backgrounding" is characterised by an "'uncritical' acceptance of particular representations of history and social reality as 'background facts' in analyses". The authors, however, point out that there are researches that have managed to close the gap between text and social reality, such as those who are blending ethnography and sociolinguistics (2000: 259). Such a blending also characterises the approach employed

in the data collection of the case study I am presenting, which was conducted through language diaries and language diary based interviews. In a similar manner, data analysis followed the participants' comments and narratives on the background of their individual and societal embeddedness in a globalised world. The combination of ethnography and sociolinguistics, according to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 459) could lead "to very productive and nuanced treatments of context as produced both on-line and situationally, yet tied to larger conditions of production and circulation of semiotic resources in empirically verifiable ways".

Despite the outlined objections against CDA, it is acknowledged that CDA studies make social problems visible and discussable and, therefore, constitute a valuable instrument for social change. I fully agree with Widdowson's (2004: 164) acknowledgement of the achievements of CDA by emphasising that it has made us aware of how "language is used, with sickening hypocrisy, for the distortion of truth and the suppression of human rights". Importantly however, the logical sequel to detecting problematic practices must be the endeavour to find alternatives and to recognise the 'dominated' groups as *constructed by*, but also, as *constructors of* reality. Similar thoughts have been expressed by Gogolin (2008). Borrowing from her observations (2008: 257), it can be argued that the small number of studies on individuals' taking agency within and beyond the dominant socio-linguistic framework given, "zeigt vielleicht ein Moment der strukturellen Trägheit der Wissenschaft in einem Augenblick, in dem die Praxis längst begonnen hat, sich zu bewegen [may show a moment of inertia of science when reality has already started to move on]".

Having pointed out the limits of CDA, this paper aims at adding another focal lens to research on social problems by acknowledging speakers' potential agency within the discriminatory systems they enter through an emphasis on languagING practices as *mediational means* of action. As I will explain in the following section, MDA is considered an enriching and valuable perspective and approach to language as social action.

#### **4.2.2 Relating discourse to social action through Mediated Discourse Analysis**

As I have emphasised before, language has performative power (Butler 1993; 1997). At the same time, performances, i.e. actions may carry meaning that might not be expressed through language. It is considered that the micro-spaces in which locals, refugees, SIRs and SECs engage are heavily influenced by their role as representatives of a certain group

of society. Through his/her behaviour the individual positions him/herself more or less consciously towards "relevante Andere, Räume und Zeiten, an denen wir uns orientieren [relevant other individuals, spaces and times, by which we orientate ourselves]" (Busch 2013: 30). When citizens in Austria decide to take part in inclusion activities set up by civil organisations, they are positioning themselves towards the discourse on refugees and 'the refugee crisis'. Engagement in inclusion activities, therefore, is pre-dated by a conscious decision and positioning in society. Hence, the participants in the study need to be understood as social actors, not only as language users. This is also supported by the data. Anticipating data presentation, I am providing reflections on the role of civil engagement for socio-political change expressed by two participating SECs.<sup>12</sup>

Firstly, I am presenting Caroline who, mindful of the vigour required for social inclusion of immigrants, states that her work as a volunteer and her participation as a SEC in the activities with refugees, may be a "Tropfen auf dem heißen Stein [a drop in the ocean]", however, successful management of the new societal developments could only function from within the system, i.e. by civil initiative. By acting as role models, individuals could spread their attitude and values to both, "Neue WienerInnen [newly arrived Viennese; i.e. the refugees]" and "Alte WienerInnen [longterm citizens of Vienna]" (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015). Also for Maria it is clear that both, refugees and locals, have to engage in the endeavour to change society for the better. At the moment, however, refugees could not contribute much yet, and the local society would be adapting to the new situation only slowly. This is expressed in the following excerpts from the interview with Maria (23 March 2016):

- (I) **P1:** Es ist einfach nur wichtig das zu thematisieren und den Raum dafür bereitzustellen. (O) Wenn da jemand kommt der sich da wirklich einbringen kann und mitmachen möchte, auch auf einer intensiveren Ebene, dann wird er das tun; Also einfach weil wir auf den warten.
  
- (II) **P1:** Und bei ihnen (refugees) ist halt schon auch oft das Thema, dass sie sich ganz oft bedanken für die Sachen. Weißt du, man bekommt dieses Gemeinsame noch nicht so richtig hin und das ist ja bei uns in der Gesellschaft so auch noch nicht angekommen. Dieses Inklusionsthema ist einfach ganz etwas Neues im Migrations- und Flüchtlingsbereich - und das...das find ich ok. (O) Wir haben uns so entschieden. Also das war halt vor allem meine Sache, die haben das

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<sup>12</sup> Detailed information about the participants is given in chapter 6 and the subsequent pages. Information about the interviews is provided in the appendix.



Wort (Inklusion) ja gar nicht gekannt die anderen (InitiatorInnen). Und das mit dem bin ich auch reingegangen, dass das einfach der Rahmen dafür ist, der dieses Thema einfach verbessert und bearbeiten kann. *Wir würden es ja nicht tun, wenn es so selbstverständlich für alle wäre*

These observations of Caroline and Maria point to their awareness of their role as social innovators.

The study I have conducted is an investigation into the availability of linguistic resources, in particular on ELF, and the related communicative practices SIRs and SECs employ in their daily encounters. Language, therefore, plays a central role in the investigation and, according to CDA, analysis of the texts produced in such a 'context' requires an understanding of language as subject-constituting and reality-constructing (e.g. Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Discourse, however, is more than text (Widdowson 2004). As I have emphasised throughout, language is constituted in social action and follows from social interaction (Humboldt 1995 [1836]). In the analysis of the languagING practices of SIRs and SECs, language use develops naturally from their interest of seeking contact to 'the other'. Language, hence, is subordinate to their action of meeting each other. It follows that text alone cannot be considered a satisfactory basis for analysing the discursive forces that come into play in actual encounters. Rather, text must be understood as "an epiphenomenon. It exists as a symptom of pragmatic intent" (Widdowson 2004: 14).

As regards the research approach of CDA, it follows that its concentration on text may mean that "[m]ore often than not, [...], the texts themselves would be studied and the question of how they are being used in this particular action" (Scollon 2001: 176) is neglected. Scollon is offering an alternative to CDA. By reconsidering the relationship between language and action defined in the programme of Fairclough and Wodak (1997), MDA "takes it that power relations in society are not only discursive or just discursive but are grounded, instead, in practice" (Scollon 2001: 141). The change to MDA in the present research project provided for the required understanding of language as the product of social action. Thereby the relevance of languagING decisions in the specific communicative spaces of the participants could be recognised. Building on the sociality and significance of language use, MDA provides the necessary conceptual and analytical framework to conduct a study on languagING, rather than on 'language'. Two concepts

which are of particular relevance to understanding the language practices of refugees, locals, SIRs and SECs, are briefly explained here: 'action' and 'mediational means'.

In MDA 'action' is understood as a carrier of meaning and this meaning is mediated through *mediational means*, i.e. "the semiotic means through which a mediated action, that is any social action, is carried out (communicated)" (Scollon 2001: 148). Complementary to Busch's understanding (2013: 10) of 'multilingualism/heteroglossia' described in section 3.3.3, 'mediational means' are considered to be "inherently polyvocal, intertextual, and interdiscursive" (Scollon 2001: 148). In keeping with what was explained before about a speaker's agency over his/her linguistic repertoire in specific situations, MDA understands "historical affordances and constraints" as affecting the availability of mediational means in particular actions (Scollon 2001: 148). For this study, this means that ELF is understood as *one* mediational means amongst many and that its availability can only be analysed if its position within a network of present and absent mediational means is revealed. As to the limitations in scope, however, it is 'language' and 'interlocutors' as mediational means that constitute the focus in the study. In principle, however, MDA takes into account "all material objects in the world which are appropriated for the purposes of taking a social action" (Scollon 2001: 148).

In addition to the concept of 'mediational means', MDA is providing the ideas of the 'nexus of practice' and 'community of practice' to describe how individuals may employ mediational means to construct a languagING reality. Referring back to Caroline's view of an individual's function as role model in promoting social change, her explanations reflect what MDA defines as the "technologization of a nexus of practice" (Scollon 2001: 151). A *nexus of practice* is understood as "the intersection or linkage of multiple practices such that some group comes to recognize 'the same set of actions'" (Scollon 2001: 151). The engagement in shared activities of SIRs and SECs constitutes a nexus of practice by producing a discernible way of dealing with the "refugee crisis"<sup>13</sup>. Their engagement itself has become meaningful and may be employed as a mediational means. The product of the 'technologization' of a nexus of practice is defined as *community of practice*:

a group of people who regularly interact with each other towards some common purpose or goal. [...] In MDA we reserve the use of community of

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<sup>13</sup> A term which, together with verbal images of 'catastrophy', has dominated media since summer 2015. See also Klatzer (2015).

practice to these cases in which some nexus of practice somewhat self-consciously produces itself as such a community" (Scollon 2001: 151).

As the excerpts of the interviews with Caroline and Maria above demonstrate, the degree of self-awareness in the decision of participating in civil initiatives towards inclusion and integration of refugees may be relatively high.

In conclusion, MDA was considered a valuable alternative to CDA, for it better reflects the meaningfulness of certain languagING practices and actions, which is of particular relevance to understanding the availability of individual linguistic resources in certain spaces. As Scollon (2001: 141) explains, "MDA sees discursive practice as one form of social practice, not the foundational or constitutive form of practice out of which the rest of society and the resulting power relations arise".

## 5 Methodology

In this chapter the methods, specific tools and the process of data collection employed in the study are presented. Following the critical reflections on the research approaches of CDA and MDA, methods that would place the speakers at the centre of research were considered to be an essential criterion for validity. In the following subchapters I will explain why a combination of language diaries and language diary based interviews meets the demands of the research interest and the multilingual research field.

When, initially, the focus on ELF was followed with reference to its functional deployment, on-site recording and video-taping were considered possible tools for data collection. However, mindful of possible influences that could have resulted from my personal involvement in the field, these options were dismissed for ethical as well as practical reasons. Firstly, it was considered that taking over the researcher role in a space where I usually appear as a participant myself, would have led to 'unnatural' behaviour and a possible mistrust and threat to the relationships built over several weeks. Additionally, the activities organised by members of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* usually take place in noisy and busy environments (e.g. table tennis hall, football field, big rooms for teaching). It is doubtful that individual voices could be filtered out from the recordings. In fact, it was precisely these obstacles that made me aware of the importance of recognising the individual participants as agents of languagING in the first place.

In order to avoid the focus on ELF inviting linguistic determinism and skewing reliability of the descriptive account of multilingual language practices of SIRs and SECs, the first research phases were guided by the most general research question, formulated as follows: *How much English is there?; How is it exploited to fulfill the communicative purpose?; and, how is it experienced?* Throughout the research process, as the following chapters will show, the aspect of *availability* of particular linguistic resources has become the center of attention, leading to the eventual research subject of the speakers' underlying and explicit rationales behind their languagING practices.

In the following section considerations regarding the selection of participants are outlined. Afterwards I will describe the process of data collection, which is comprised of three steps: (1) The preparatory meeting and the creation of participant profiles; (2) The language diary (LD); and (3) Language diary based interviews (LDIs). In each of these sections, relevant variables of influence on the study are examined and discussed. Leading over to the presentation and interpretation of the data, chapter 5 will be concluded with three focused research questions that have been generated for data analysis.

## **5.1 Sampling**

As already mentioned, the data providing the empirical material for this research have been collected from SIRs and SECs participating in activities organised by a civil organisation which aims at social inclusion of refugees and immigrants in Vienna. Participants have been selected according the criterion of obtaining a sample that could cover experiences of SIRs and SECs who are, firstly, involved in the activities of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* to different degrees and in different ways, and, secondly, different as regards their knowledge and use of ELF as a communicative resource, so that a range of possible languagING strategies could be investigated. The sample consists of three SECs (Maria, Caroline and Anne) and three SIRs (Haias, Laith and Wedat) from Arab speaking countries who have arrived in autumn 2015. The participants have been numbered chronologically according to when the interviews were conducted. Detailed information about the interviews can be found in the appendix.

Despite having the participants' permission to use their real names in the presentation of the data, it has been considered to be in their interest to use aliases. After consultation with the organisation's team members, it has been decided, to use the real name of the civil organisation *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. The organisation also has an interest in having

their name published, since the support of research projects has been defined as a statutory measure. The organisation understands that supporting research projects is one means through which they want to contribute to the social inclusion of refugees (*FremdeWerdenFreunde* 2015: §3).

Additionally, the role of the civil organisation as regards this research project was reduced to providing social space and room to get to know the research field and its actors to which I could establish rapport through long-term participation as a local inhabitant of Vienna myself. The results are *results of and about individuals* who engage in activities organised by the initiative, not about the organisation as such. However, *FremdeWerdenFreunde's* role is significant to the regard that it allowed me to explore the transformative potential of the actors and spaces in this field. By letting me enter their organisation, not only as a SEC, but also as a researcher, the research project could be directed at the aim of developing empathy for 'the' other's experience of language, and to raise awareness of habitual practices of communication. In further development, the results of this study may contribute to the organisation's aim of creating a community of practice as regards the inclusion of migrants into local society (*FremdeWerdenFreunde* 2015: §2).

Detailed information about the individual participants and my personal relationship to them is given in chapter 6. As the reader will notice, all participating SECs are female, all SIRs are male. This gender bias could not be avoided. As regards the gender distribution of SECs and SIRs in *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, however, this seems to be a reflection of reality. Out of 36 members in the organisation team of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, only nine are male<sup>14</sup>, and only two of them have been attending the monthly meetings regularly since autumn 2015<sup>15</sup>. At the same time, participants in activities and the German courses, are dominantly male, which is also indicated by Caroline's experience that most of the participants in the cultural excursions are young and male (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015).

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<sup>14</sup> Information based on the members in the facebook-group (20 April 2016), the most used tool for organisation and information exchange of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*.

<sup>15</sup> This information is based on personal observation.

## **5.2 Collecting data sets**

For each of the participants, a data set, consisting of a Participant Profile (PP), the Language Diary (LD)<sup>16</sup>, LD-based preparation for the interview, interview recording and interview transcript/report (TR), has been collected. Additional material (AM) from facebook, field-notes, and not recorded material from personal conversation has also been taken into consideration, where available. Through the triangulation of data and data-based generation of categories and codes, I could reduce possible disadvantages of subjective involvement in the research field. In addition, the whole research project has been conducted under great self-reflection and caution towards influence of (sub)conscious prior-study assumptions and possible biased views on languagING practices. Agreeing with Meyer (2001: 30), I have aimed at conducting a study that is based on the understanding that

[t]riangulation among different types of data, participants' definition of significance and issue based analysis to establish the significance of the sites of engagement and mediated actions under study, are suited to bringing the analyses back to participants in order to get their reactions and interpretations.

How I have realised this understanding in the study conducted is described in the following sections.

### **5.2.1 Preparatory meeting and the creation of participant profiles**

In the first meeting the participants received a folder (in digital and/or hard-copy form) containing the information sheet and three copies of a suggested template for the LD<sup>17</sup>. Additionally, I offered paper notebooks to them as an option for taking down notes about their languagING practices. Information about the research procedures was provided through oral explanation as well as in written form in order to ensure that participants could take time to go through the procedures, and to grant participants agency over making informed decisions on whether they would like to provide particular information or not. The information sheets were provided in the L1s of the participants (German and Arabic), as well as in English.

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<sup>16</sup> For templates see appendix.

<sup>17</sup> See appendix.

In addition to preparing the participants for their role as co-researchers, a profile of the participants was generated by filling in the participant questionnaire<sup>18</sup> together. Already at this stage, some participants expressed first reflections about their linguistic repertoire, their languagING practices, and influences from the past, such as language learning experiences. For one participant (Caroline), due to her busy schedule, this meeting could not be arranged, so the preparation took place via written exchange of information over e-mails and telephone conversations.

In the preparatory meeting, which sometimes followed non-study related activities, like playing table tennis, the participants have been informed about my research interests their role as participants in the collection of data. It needs to be pointed out that careful thought has been devoted to which information the participants should be given. Considerations on social desirability, linguistic determinism and possible influences of my own languagING practices with the participants were taken into account. As the availability of ELF could only be analysed from a panoramic view of all linguistic resources present in the participants' repertoires, I explained my general interest in their language use. The focus on ELF was not explicitly mentioned, since this could have contributed to a reductionist representation of their actual languagING practices. As a consequence, the data would not have been appropriate to analysing the position of ELF towards other languagING practices in multilingual settings. Linguistic determinism and a reductionist interpretation of data would have been the locigal consequence of such a proceeding. Furthermore, the monolingual habitus would have been re-enforced through the disregard of the multiple linguistic resources defining the participants' realites.

To counteract these tendencies, I have taken care to employ means of providing information, material and language use on the basis of a multilingual norm. The focus on ELF, then, plays a more dominant role in the analysis of the data (chapter 7). This means that the presented interpretation under the aspect of the exploitability of ELF serves as a filter and focus, while more information about the languagING practices is contained in the richness of the collected data. To the degree the scope of this paper allows, it has been attempted to account for the affluence of researchable aspects the data provide.

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<sup>18</sup> See appendix.

### 5.2.2 Language diary

The possibility of using LDs and LDIs for my study was inspired by Jonsson (2013), who employed these methodological tools for her study on *translanguaging and multilingual literacies*. In reference to pioneers (Martin-Jones et al. 2009; Jones et al. 2000) who developed these methodological tools as critical instruments for ethnographic and socio-linguistic research, Jonsson (2013: 111) argues that LDIs could be an ethnographic method able to break with the monologous perspective of the researcher, also criticised as "armchair theorizing" (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005: 283) by some researchers.

In combination with the dialogic creation of profiles about their past experiences with languages and language environments, and the follow-up interviews which are based on the participants' records, unclarities, particularly emphasised narratives, and experiences noted down in the LD could be discussed and collaboratively analysed in the interviews. In addition, agreeing with Jonsson (2013: 111) the combination of LD and LDI is considered to "compensate for most limitations of the format in the grid" which result from the necessity of meta-linguistic commentary to relate to some kind of category of 'language' that "may signal a view of languages as bounded units".<sup>19</sup>

In addition, LDIs were considered to be a form of data collection that could account for the chronotopic and heteroglossic nature of language experience. Agreeing with Martin-Jones et al. (2000: 323) I consider LDIs as a research tool that allows for "situat[ing] the language and literacy practices of the participants in space and time, focusing on routines and specific events in people's lives". Furthermore, LDs and LDIs give insight into languagING practices, as well as languagING attitudes and concepts. The meta-linguistic comments of the speakers could indicate their positioning towards (language) ideologies and language regimes (Busch 2013: 32–35). The data, hence, contain information of discourse-, narrative- and ethnographic analytical interest and allow for obtaining a cross-dimensional picture of a network of influences on the availability of ELF. The combination of having multiple sources of data and different analytical foci allows for a reasonable attempt to better understand the complexity of the factors exerting power over individual languagING practices, however, it is clear that a full picture of the actual forces will remain a theoretical ideal.

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<sup>19</sup> The adaptation of the grid I used can be found in the appendix.



In the concrete research procedure I have asked the participants to record their languagING practices over a time-span of three or more days. It was explicitly encouraged to use the language, form and actually recorded days according to their own preference. Since patterns and habits of practices of the individual language user may become more visible when longer periods of time would be recorded, the study can only provide a first apprehension of the complexity of factors exerting influence on individual languagING practices. However, since the study conducted is focusing on the influences of the present socio-linguistic environment of the participants, it is considered that the time-span of three days could already offer insightful material for the purpose and scope of the research project.

### **5.2.3 Language diary based interviews**

After the participants had recorded their languagING practices in their LDs, I either collected them or received them via e-mail. Based on their notes, I could generate topical fields of significance that could provide conversational foci for the interview. In order to reduce researcher bias, the interviews were semi-structured and characterised by a high degree of flexibility. Attention was paid to granting the participants room for expressing their own experiences in the form of narrations, anecdotes or descriptions of feelings. As already mentioned above, the participants were given freedom over which language(s) they would use in the interview. Additionally, the option of a stand-by interpreter was introduced to the participants with whom I usually used ELF or GLF. In agreement with the participant, I asked a stand-by interpreter to support Laith and myself in the LDI, since we have had considerable difficulties in negotiating meaning in our previous encounters.

Taking into account that the participants were asked to recount personal experiences of their every-day lives, it is considered that the pre-research relationship to them was generally an advantage to the study conducted. While my relationship to the individual participants could not be considered to be close friendships, the first acquaintance with them has been made under the role as a SEC, rather than as a researcher. As an 'insider' with genuine experience and knowledge of the research field, the research benefitted from the pre-study existence of rapport, since I could approach the participants in a matter that is related to relatively intimate information about their feelings and perspectives. The participants could rely on an already established bond of trust, which, in turn, could have

contributed to their willingness to report about private spaces and personal views and feelings related to the language experiences they have made.

In addition, the participants could choose the place of the interview. Two of the interviews were held in cafés, two were held in the private flats of the participants, one of them was followed by an informal dinner. Haias chose his favourite bar and Caroline invited me to do the interview at her workplace. The selection of places indicate that the participants felt comfortable and confident in trusting me. While the interviews had many characteristics of informal and private conversations, at the same time, the participants seemed to be aware of the fact that I was interviewing them in the role of a researcher. In concern of ethical issues related to participatory research, this awareness is considered to be a positive sign for safeguarding the interviewee's rights. The following excerpt from the interview with Haias points to his awareness of being recorded and the interview being a conversation between himself and a researcher:

The first time, when I came to Austria, and I was really not using any language but I was like completely ready to use my English, I was like really feeling lonely. So, on the metro, I once heard the girls talking. They were like three girls speaking – *I know this is a little bit of privacy, but* – I didn't speak to the girl. They were like on the metro speaking only English. And I just wanted to get closer to them and hear what they talk, so I can feel more like home, or more like a human. (*Interview Haias, 23 March 2016*)

Haias meta-commentary (emphasised by italicisation) indicates that he is aware of the degree of intimacy he is revealing. Additionally, at an earlier point in the interview, Haias had also asked me to stop the recording, when he wanted to tell me about a romantic relationship he had in the past. His constant awareness that I was addressing him as a researcher and friend at the same time, confirmed that I could establish conditions of research that enabled "[s]ubjects [to be able] to choose 'freely' to participate in research" (European Commission 2016: 3). Under these conditions it could be assured that the participants' could refuse to share information at any point in the study.

Adopting Jonsson's (2013) approach, the first question "*How did you experience the practice of writing a language diary?/Where there any surprises or particularly interesting insights you got?*" was intended to set the focus on the participants' perspective, to encouraged them to think of themselves as observers, and to feel that it is them who decide which information they are ready to share. Basing the interview on the participant's own accounts of experience and practice shifts "the positioning of researcher

and researched, so as to try to minimise the possibility of imposing our agendas as researchers and so as to be able to collaborate as far as possible on equal terms with the participants in our studies" (Jones et al. 2000: 323).

While the advantages and validity of the methods employed as regards the research purpose are considered to outweigh the relatively high dependence on the participant's engagement with the study, I was aware that I was asking a remarkable degree of reflective skills from the participants. Since the production of narratives about languagING practices require "den expliziten Bezug auf einen Gegenstand, der bei der habitualisierten, routinehaften Sprachproduktion nicht im Fokus der Aufmerksamkeit steht [the explicit reference to a matter, which is not in the center of attention during habitual and routine production of language]" (Busch 2013: 35), depth of the participant's meta-linguistic commentary will depend on his/her level of reflection and reliability will be limited by post-experiential rationalisation and phenomena related to certain "Zugzwänge des Erzählens [forces of narration]"<sup>20</sup> (Busch 2013: 33; 35). Meierkord and Knapp (2002: 17) point out that speaking decisions may be "reactions to a perceived gap between their own [the speakers'] and their interlocutor's linguistic competence rather than *a priori* theoretical considerations. [original emphasis]". Building on their argument that the co-constructive character of lingua franca situations encourages the seizure of communicative agency by the speakers (2002: 17), it can be argued that as a result of the participants' enhanced need to deal with language(s) and language use as multilinguals in spaces of monolingual, or multilingual language regimes, may have already sharpened their skills of thinking about language-related matters. These assumptions are supported by the deep level of reflection characterising the narratives of Maria, Wedat and Haias (see section 7).

Additionally, following the aim of empowerment of discriminated linguistic minority speakers and multilinguals, the ethnographic methods employed in this study might actually contribute to the competence of taking agency over the construction of communicative spaces. LDs and LDIs open up spaces in which people can "articulate their thoughts and reflections about language practices, identities, etc. [...]. Self-reflection and awareness [...] can, in turn, lead to empowerment" (Jonsson 2013: 112). As a positive

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<sup>20</sup> Described, for example, by Foucault (2007: 289) under the "Technik des Selbst".

effect, by providing the opportunity for taking a meta-perspective over one's own languagING practices, biography, and linguistic repertoire, these research tools, like, for example the multimodal tool of the *Sprachenportrait*<sup>21</sup>, can

im Sinne der Aktionsforschung dazu beitragen, sich sprachlicher Ressourcen [...] vermehrt bewusst zu werden, das eigene Repertoire neu zu bewerten und im Hinblick auf eine Stärkung von Eigenmacht zu valorisieren.

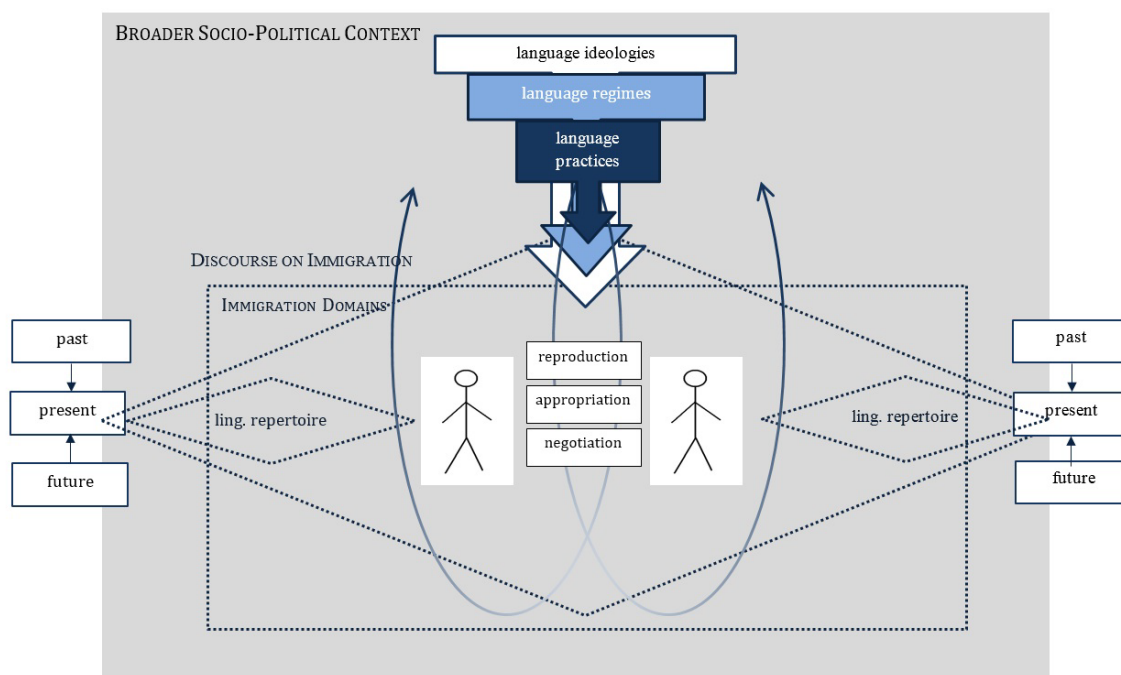
[in agreement with the understanding of action research, contribute to becoming increasingly aware of linguistic resources (...) to re-value one's own linguistic repertoire in regard to empowerment of individual agency]  
(Busch 2010: 62)

### 5.3 A focus for data analysis: the availability of ELF

The final research questions, under which the data were analysed, may be seen as the product of the reflections that resulted from theoretical and methodological issues as well as from the process of data collection. Since dominant ideologies, like the native speaker supremacy, questionable assumptions about the 'Anglosphere' and convergence in 'English', as well as the individual's linguistic repertoire and his/her experience in the concrete situations, determine the availability of ELF, the central focus of attention – the individual speaker – is equally crucial for data analysis, as it is for data collection. Eventually, it is the agent of language him/herself, who has to act within and upon the 'reality' encountered and close the gaps between flawed assumptions about language(s) and languagING and 'reality'. The centre of interest, hence, is constituted in the individual as an agent in a different socio-linguistic spaces of action. Within these spaces, the individual is embedded as *zoon politicon echon*, i.e. as a social and rational creature equipped with the capability of speech (Aristotle 2009 [2013]). Reference to these antique terms is helpful for illustrating the theoretical framework, under which this study has been conducted. The terminology represents a conceptual bonding of the emotional, social, and cognitive dimension of a languagING individual. As to the complexity of factors involved in determining the availability of and eventual decisions on linguistic and mediational means of communication, Figure 1 provides a visual representation for better understanding.

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<sup>21</sup> For more information see <http://www.heteroglossia.net/Home.2.0.html>, Busch (2012).



**Figure 1: The languagING space.**

Figure 1 illustrates that language ideologies, like those related to the unreflected assumptions about the global status of EIL and the monolingual norm discussed in chapter 3, manifest through the language regime as concrete language practices, regulated by what has been established as acceptable and legitimate use of language in a certain communicative setting. The regimes determine the availability of communicative resources a speaker could draw upon, as well as the speaker's role in the setting. At the same time the speakers are influenced by past and present experiences, and future aspirations. In and through their languagING practices, speakers, may re-produce, appropriate and negotiate accepted ways of communicating. Thereby they may contribute to the maintainance or transformation of legitimized regimes and ideologies.

As a result, the questions on the languagING practices of SIRs and SECs, as regards their exploitation of ELF, centers on the availability of particular communicative resources as mediational means, determined by the language regime of the situational context and the biographical factors that shape the speaker's experience in a communicative encounter. The following questions were generated to address the transnational, transcultural, and multilingual spaces of SIRs and SECs in Austria:

- i. Which factors determine the availability of ELF and other languagING resources in the linguistic repertoires of the participants?*
- ii. How do these factors influence the availability of ELF in the individual participant's linguistic repertoire in concrete situations? How is this linked to the meaning of different languages as mediational means in the communicative spaces the participants (socially involved refugees and socially engaged citizens) encounter in their daily lives?*
- iii. In how far do the participants' languagING practices reconstruct/deconstruct monolingual norms?*

Questions i.-iii. have been addressed under the focal question of ELF. However, as ELF constitutes only *one* mediational means, and only *one* linguistic resource in the repertoires, the research, in principle, has been conducted under recognition of influence and presence of other means of communication. In the following chapters the results of the study are presented and discussed in detail.

## **6 Participant profiles and data-based categories of availability factors**

As the actual language practices are the result of the unique coming together of individual, situational and spacio-temporal factors, the data collection and presentation is centered on the perspective of the individual who experiences and acts in the communicative space encountered. Following research question *i*. I could extract patterns of language experience and use that are related to the availability of ELF and other linguistic resources. I have generalised these patterns to categories of factors. The necessary process of demarcation that is involved in categorisation, was based on the data and aimed at reflecting where the participants themselves put emphasis, either explicitly or through frequency and indications of problematic or contradictory issues. To give insight into these patternings, I am providing an explanation of codes in the appendix. Moving back and forth between theory, data, and the generation of categories, a genuine set of categories of availability factors that reflect the participants' "own *emic* perspectives on the literacies in their lives [original emphasis]" (Martin-Jones et al. 2009: 50) could be compiled. Therefore, it is reasonable to follow these categories in the presentation of data as a means to help the reader with taking over the participants' perspective. Before the

concrete influences of these factors on the availability of ELF and other languagING resources is discussed, however, I am introducing the individual participants, so that the reader is given the necessary information to re-contextualise the experiences described below. Additionally, information about the relationship between the individual participant and myself as a SEC and researcher is shortly described. Possible influences on the study are discussed where relevant. As an additional instrument, synoptic participant profiles are provided in the appendix, so that the most essential information about the individuals can be retrieved quickly.

### **6.1 Maria (P1)**

Maria is 30 years old and a founder and very active team member of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. Maria has considerably contributed to developing and pushing forward the idea of inclusion as the guiding ideal for the initiative (which she also explicitly mentioned in the interview). Born in Bosnia, she moved to Austria in her early childhood and acquired German as her 'second' L1. While she still uses Bosnian a lot when speaking with her mother, who also lives in Vienna, German is the language she uses mostly. Maria lives with her husband whose L1 is Arabic. Together with her mother, they are raising their daughter trilingually. Maria herself speaks Arabic very rarely and could only lead very simple conversations. She has never taken any language classes in Arabic. She speaks English fluently and also says that she enjoys using it. Maria has completed a degree in economics and took language classes in Russian and French, however, she would not use these languages today and, according to her, she has forgotten everything.

As regards my personal relationship with Maria, I can say that we have not spent much time together apart from some activities from *FremdeWerdenFreunde* and the team meetings. Still, our relationship is characterised by intimacy and trust, since we have also attended supervision together, which the organisation has established as a means of supporting SECs in refugee work.

### **6.2 Haias (P2)**

Haias is a 26-year old refugee from Iraq. He arrived in Austria in September 2015 and, at the time of the interview, is holding a white card, which grants him the right of residence

until his asylum application has been fully proceeded.<sup>22</sup> Although he is still waiting for a positive asylum status, Haias is busy building his future in Vienna. He is taking preparatory courses to start his studies at the technical university in Vienna and, unlike many other refugees, most of Haias' social contacts are dominantly locals. To these people, like his flatmates, he has already built very close relationships. In general, it can be said that his housing condition is rather untypical, since most refugees whose application is still in process are accommodated in big refugee camps run by welfare organisations like Caritas. In addition, Haias has had an Austrian girlfriend for a few months now.

In Iraq Haias had a small company providing informatics services. While he mostly used his first language Arabic, Haias explains that he also needed English a lot in his work. He learnt English at school, however, according to him, he would not be able to speak English if he only had his 'school English'. According to Haias, he learnt English through watching movies and TV-shows in English. In the same manner, he reported to have learnt Japanese, in which he can lead simple conversations. For four months he has been taking German classes now and according to a test score, he would have been able to pass A2 level at the time when we did the interview (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016).<sup>23</sup> In order to be allowed to take courses at university, Haias needs to reach B2 in German. At the moment, however, he says, he is using English mostly. He uses it with his flatmates and with his girlfriend. If the situation or the interlocutor demands it, however, he tries to use German, although he has the feeling to look really "goofy" when speaking it (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016).

### 6.3 Laith (P3)

Like Haias, Laith (23), is from Iraq and is currently holding a white card. In contrast to Haias, however, who came alone, Laith fled with his family and a befriended family from his hometown in Iraq. Laith has grown up in a largely monolingual environment. When travelling to Iran, he has learnt some basic conversation skills in Farsi. With his two brothers and his mother, he is currently housed in a big refugee home in the west of Vienna. He generally uses Arabic to speak with them. Since they have started to learn

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<sup>22</sup> For Austrian law on asylum seeking consult BMI (*BGBl. I, 100/2005*) (also available online).

<sup>23</sup> The levels he is referring to are the levels defined in the *Common European Framework of reference for languages* (Council of Europe 2001).



German, however, they sometimes use German to practice the language. Similar to Haias, Laith plans to study at university and needs to reach B2 in German to be allowed to take courses. Laith has already reached A1 in German and says that he feels confident in using it in simple conversations. Unlike Haias, Laith uses mainly German to address locals and has very few social contacts in the local communities.

As regards the relationship between myself and Laith, I am one of his few regular contacts from local communities. I got to know Laith in one of the German classes I held as a volunteer teacher for *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, however, I only taught him twice. As our first acquaintance took place in the setting of a German class, Laith could have been influenced to emphasise his use of German in the LD, as well as in the interview. However, it is more likely that his relatively rare use of English is the consequence of his very basic English skills, which are notably less developed than those of the other participants. As I know from our personal conversations he could not sustain a conversation by using English only. He mentions in the interview that he exploits his lexical knowledge in English where he has not learnt the German equivalent yet (*Interview Laith*, 24 March 2016). At the time of the recording, our relationship has the character of a beginning friendship and, since Laith has also spoken to me about very personal concerns and worries, I am convinced that the informal and confidential bond we had already established enriched the interview. While Laith and I use German as a lingua franca (GLF) and exploit English as a resource for vocabulary to negotiate meaning, deeper levels of conversation about feelings and experiences usually require a lot of effort from both of us. Therefore, with the consent of Laith, I asked a stand-by interpreter to support us in the interview. As to the absence of financial funding of this research project, it was clear, that the stand-by interpreter could not be hired with regular payment. In addition, it was assumed that an 'outsider', i.e. someone who was not part of some socially engaged organisation, would have uncomforted the interviewee. Given the wide social network and co-operative relations amongst civil organisations in Vienna I had access to as a SEC myself, the employment of an Arabic and German or English speaker from this network appeared as a reasonable and practicable choice. Eventually, a young SEC with an Egyptian migration background, Hanife<sup>24</sup>, who has lived in Vienna since her childhood

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<sup>24</sup> Alias name used here.

and who has been engaged in the founding of another civil initiative in Vienna, volunteered to support Laith and me as a stand-by interpreter. Hanife has almost finished her studies of translation and interpretation at the University of Vienna, therefore, as well as for her 'insider' status and her welcoming personality, she could be considered to be the right person to support us as a stand-by interpreter. Before the interview, I introduced her to Laith and we had about half an hour of relaxed and informal conversation. This atmosphere could then be continued in the interview. I addressed my questions directly to Laith, with the stand-by interpreter providing translations where required. Throughout the interview, the presence of the stand-by interpreter made it possible that Laith and I could lead a conversation of greater depth than we had been able to do in previous meetings without Hanife. At the same time, however, the presence of the stand-by interpreter seemed to make us increasingly reliant on her, leading to a decrease in the effort spent on the direct negotiation of meaning amongst Laith and myself. When I noticed this during the interview, I started to pay particular attention to addressing Laith more directly again and adapted my German accordingly. Depending on the complexity of the topic, we then required more or less support of Hanife.

#### **6.4 Wedat (P4)**

Wedat is a 39-year old refugee from Syria. His first language is Arabic and he speaks English fluently. After his graduation from university, where he studied English literature, he moved to Kuwait for three months and then to Qatar, where he worked in an international company for seven years, before moving back to Syria again. During his studies he also took classes in Spanish and Hebrew, however, he claims to have forgotten most of it because he has not used it much since then. From his studies onwards, as well as throughout his career, English has always been a very prominent language in Wedat's life. According to Wedat, English could be considered the second official language in Qatar, because it takes over such an important role in doing business (*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016). Wedat also chose English for his language diary and the interview.

Wedat has acquired basic conversation skills in German since his arrival in Austria in September 2015. He would like to intensify his studies in German, once the public authorities have processed his application for bringing his wife to Austria. Different from Haias and Laith, Wedat has been granted the asylum status soon after his arrival in Austria, which also allows him to take up a regular professional occupation. Wedat could

already find a good job in an international company based in Vienna. In the company English is the official language. Additionally, Wedat rents his own flat, which he is preparing as a home for his wife and kids in the future.

As regards our personal relationship, I got to know Wedat in the first team meeting I attended in autumn 2015. At that time, the organisation tried to include more refugees into the organisation procedures to balance out power relations and change the notions of contact between 'SIRs and SECs', 'receivers and givers' to a more equal relation of 'friends' who are interested in getting to know each other.<sup>25</sup> It was this gradual inclusion of refugees into the team that I originally intended to study and investigate which language strategies the participants would employ in this particular communicative setting. Already in this team meeting, however, it showed that the inclusion of refugees into the team would take a long time. The individual actors seemed to need more time to adapt their habitual language practices in the organisational setting and to spend effort on communicative strategies where a lot of energy is already consumed by the development of future plans, organisation of activities and discussions of financial and ideational matter. Since the team meetings are often joined by more than 15 people, communication and getting and paying attention, in general, is already taking a lot of energy.

As to the limited time frame for this research project, a longitudinal study observing the development of including refugees into the team, needed to be abandoned. By virtue of these initial research intentions, however, I could include the recording and field notes taken at the first meeting with Wedat as additional research material into the data. It was a coincidence that Wedat referred to this meeting when he described his feeling of boredom and the resulting preference of contributing to *FremdeWerdenFreunde* as a translator in writing, rather than as an attending team member. In conclusion, the relationship between Wedat and myself has started in this first meeting, in which, we both participated as 'freshers'. Since we both have not been able to contribute much yet, we seemed to bond somehow.

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<sup>25</sup> More information on this will be provided in 7.3.1.

## 6.5 Caroline (P5)

Caroline is 32 years old and has been born and raised in Vienna. She works for a big national newspaper and is usually working long hours. Since the newspaper has initiated its own project in supporting immigrants, Caroline is volunteering as a kind of study-buddy for young children once or twice a week. In addition to this, Caroline is organising cultural events and activities with *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. As explained in 7.1.3 Caroline sees herself as a multilingual, which she explains through having language teachers as parents (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015). Caroline has repeatedly spent longer periods of time in other countries (specifically in France, Italy, and Ireland). Since I could not arrange an introductory meeting with Caroline, she filled in the participant portfolio herself and, without being asked to do so, indicated the degree of competence to speak the language with a figural scale from 1-5, with 5 referring to the strongest. German is Caroline's L1. For both of her second languages English and French, she gave a 5, with French being the language which would appeal most to her (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015). Additionally, Caroline speaks Italian and estimates her language knowledge at around 2,5. Still, she would feel confident to use it for the purpose of travelling and for leading simple conversations. Unfortunately, Caroline, despite she reported to have written a LD, never handed it in, which is why I could only ask for her actual use of language in the interview. Nonetheless, the interview provided rich information about her languagING practices and also revealed insightful information on the co-operation of civil organisations and one of the biggest and partly tax-funded museums in Vienna.

I got to know Caroline when *FremdeWerdenFreunde* was organising a big party for refugees, SECs and other organisations to celebrate what has been reached so far. Together with Caroline, I was organising the wardrobe for the guests, which we ran together throughout the evening. While we spent a considerable time together at this party, we have not met anywhere else before the interview. In combination with her busy work life and her active engagement in the charity project of her work, this might have hindered to establish close rapport with Caroline.

## 6.6 Anne (P6)

Anne is a 32-year old SEC whose life, as evident from her LD and the LDI, is transcended by multilingualism and transnational literacies. Anne has three children and is married to a native speaker of English. While she dominantly uses German to speak with their kids,

her husband speaks English to them. Anne and her husband use English, however, in the interview, she expressed the wish to use German too (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016).

From her data it is also evident that Anne recognises that, depending on the interlocutor, she is using different variations of German. While her parents who grew up in an Austrian province use their original dialect (more or less so in dependence of the communicative space and its interlocutors), Anne herself does not use but understands it well. With refugees her use of German carries the characteristics of a lingua franca. As she observes, she appropriates the level of complexity to the interlocutor's language knowledge. She also does this in English, however, to a lesser degree (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016). Additionally, in her volunteer work as a language teacher of German and in her professional life as a language teacher for refugee children in Austrian public schools, she uses German as the language of instruction and teaching. Next to English, Anne has also learnt French and Latin at school. During her studies, Anne took Russian and Spanish classes. Since she has not practiced and used these languages much, she does not speak them very fluently.

Anne's engagement with refugees transcends her private and her professional life. She accompagnies and supports a family she got to know in one of her language classes at *FremdeWerdenFreunde* by being there for them as a buddy and friend. As her LD shows, she also invites them to family dinners and integrates them into her private life.

As regards our personal relationship, Anne and I have seen each other frequently in activities and have both been engaged in teaching German for *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. Like Maria, Anne has also visited the supervision session that I attended. Together, we discussed very personal issues and how we feel about certain experiences with refugees. Therefore, I can also say that our relationship is built on trust and confidentiality.

## **6.7 Factors determining the availability of ELF**

In this section I am presenting the codes, or categories of factors that have been generated from the data. The box below shows the list of factors that stood out as the most significant influences on the availability of ELF and other languagING resources. Since it is the participants who have selected what to narrate, they have contributed considerably to which factors I could identify as significant influences on their languagING behaviour. In addition, through the collaborative creation of data in the LDIs, the participants could

determine how much they would elaborate on a particular experience. Hence, through the dialog with the participants, factors that I, as a researcher, had erroneously assumed to be significant, could be disqualified and prevented from skewing the results. The following availability factors have been filtered as the most significant in determining the participants' language experience and use, and follows as an answer to research question *i. Which factors determine the availability of ELF and other languagING resources in the linguistic repertoires of the participants?*.

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| <p>A. Individual factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>01 Language knowledge</li> <li>02 Language learning/using history and experience</li> <li>03 Familiarity with multilingual settings and the use of ELF</li> <li>04 Associations with language(s) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Conceptual notions</li> <li>ii. Emotions</li> <li>iii. Bodily/Personality experience</li> <li>iv. Functional usability</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>B. Social factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>08 Relationship (of power) among the interlocutors</li> <li>09 Interlocutors' attitude towards the discursive stereotypes of people</li> </ul> <p>C. Situational factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10 Purpose of interaction</li> <li>11 Language regime</li> <li>12 Interlocutor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Language knowledge</li> <li>ii. Willingness to put effort into the negotiation of meaning</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
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**Figure 2: Availability factors.**

The factors listed are the product of a three-dimensional approach to multilingualism as described by Busch (2013: 10–11) and are understood to be exerting influence across dimensions of time and space. On the most general level, the factors can be grouped into three categories: Factors primarily resulting from the participants' individual linguistic repertoire are subsumed under category 'A. Individual factors'. Factors mainly resulting from the speaker's relationship to the particular interlocutor in the interaction are grouped under 'B. Social Factors'. External factors which depend on the particular communicative space are listed under category 'C. Situational factors'.

The list of factors presented can be considered to represent the most generalised results of this study. Like any generalisation, however, abstractions may cause an alienation effect, "[a]n effect sought by some dramatists, whereby the audience remains objective and does not identify with the actors" (*Oxford Dictionaries* 2016). In the endeavour of presenting findings that can help to better identify with the actors, however, it is the opposite effect that I am seeking as a writer of this paper. Hence, I am emphasising that the list of factors can only serve as a thinking tool to pattern and grasp a speaker's languagING reality and how he/she is embedded in a complex network of societal and local discourses on language and language use. Readers are, thus, encouraged to take over the perspective of the participants and attempt to comprehend and reproduce the participants' experiences and their position in the concrete spaces they encounter as languagING individuals.

## **7 Language experience, languagING choices and the meaning of language**

The previous chapters serve as a preparation to better understand the concrete language experiences and underlying languagING rationales of the individual speakers. While the list of factors presented under 6.2 invokes an outside perspective on the participants, I am inviting the reader to fill the abstracted categories with the concrete experiences of the participants which are presented and discussed in the subsequent sections. As it is the individual speakers who have to act as social actors and language users between unreflected assumptions about what language(s) 'can do' for its speakers, monolingual world views and the actually encountered 'reality', it is their languagING rationales and their concrete behaviour that is crucial to finding alternatives to monolingual and unjust language regimes. Therefore, this chapter is considered the heart of the research project.

Equipped with the thinking tool of generalised availability factors, I have structured the presentation of the data according to these. Under each factor concrete experiences of the participants are interpreted and discussed in relation to the research questions *ii.* and *iii.* I am reminding the reader that the factors are abstracted and fuzzy categories which are intrinsically linked. Therefore, some experiences could be discussed under different factors. Any attempt at drawing universal conclusions is considered to be reductionist and in disregard towards the particularity of each single participant. Therefore concluding

comments are provided for each section individually. Additionally, the findings are summarised in chapter 8 and structured according to the research questions *i. – iii.*

## **7.1 Individual factors**

In this section, I am providing extracts and discussions of the participant's experiences and rationales which are indicators for influences related to the biography and personality of the individual speakers. Firstly and for the most obvious reason, the availability of ELF is dependent on the presence of English in the interlocutors' repertoires. As the data show, however, depending on the competence and fluency in English, the exploitability of ELF may take on different forms for the individual users. Secondly, the role of learning experience is discussed in relation to the speakers' language knowledge, as well as their experience as *users* rather than *learners* of English. Thirdly, the comparison of the participants' narratives revealed that experience with multilingual settings and communication in such seems to influence how successful they are as 'managers' of communication in multilingual encounters. As a fourth factor under category A., the most dominant languages in the participants' repertoires, 'English', 'German', and 'Arabic', are explored with regard to what associations they have made with the different languages and how they perceive of these as mediational means in the spaces they encounter.

### **7.1.1 Language knowledge**

The first and probably most obvious factor that is determining the availability of ELF as a communicative medium is the *language knowledge* of the participant. This is most evident from comparing the participants' ways of exploiting English as a resource in their linguistic repertoires. All participants, except from Laith, have, according to their reports, as well as my personal observation, sufficient knowledge of English to maintain conversations, also on a deeper and more complex level.

Laith reports that his English is 'worse' than German which he has only started to learn in October 2015. He explains that he mainly uses German and only draws upon his knowledge of English as a lexical resource, when he has not learnt the German word equivalent yet (*Interview Laith*, 24 March 2016). In contrast to Laith, Haias, who also has undergone school education in Iraq, is a confident and fluent user of English. As Haias explains, his English could only become so fluent, because he has watched American TV-



shows and movies in English (LD Haias; *Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016). Conceptualising himself as a user of English is likely to have bootstrapped Haias' language learning process, resulting in his fluent and confident use of English today. In reference to Dörnyei (2005), Lamb (2011: 299) points out that "learners who envision their future selves as L2-users (i.e. have an 'ideal L2 self') will be strongly motivated to work towards becoming L2-users in order to reduce the discrepancy between this vision and their current state". As will be discussed later, the ideal towards which Haias has been working is 'ENL' rather than 'ELF'.

Returning to the availability of ELF as influenced by the factor of 'language knowledge', the data suggest a strong correlation between the speaker's self-image as a learner and/or user of English and the use of it in multilingual encounters. Further investigation into this correlation will follow in the subsequent section.

Concluding factor '01 language knowledge', all participants have linguistic knowledge of English, which, in principle, makes ELF an exploitable communicative resource. Depending on the quality of English language knowledge and the level the participants perceive to be holding, ELF may be chosen as a means to communicate (or not).

### **7.1.2 Language learning/using history and experience**

Haias (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016) reports that, since he left school, he has used English a lot. As he tells me, he used it for customer care in his workplace (Haias owned a small company in Iraq), for written and spoken conversations on Skype with international friends, and for watching English and American films and TV-shows. Since Haias seems to have conceptualised himself as a user of the language, he appears to have backgrounded the aspect of learning at an early stage. According to him, the ELT he has been exposed to in Iraq has not contributed much to his fluent use of English today.

Like Haias, Maria does not recognise her language learning in school as the origins of her fluency in English today. In fact, Maria had made negative experiences during her schooltime, which she could only overcome by eventually using the language in a situation where the context genuinely required her to use English. As the recount of Maria about her experience as a student of English indicates, she had always conceived of herself as a learner until a visit to relatives, who are native speakers of English and live in London.

This could have considerably intimidated her in using English and caused her bad marks in school. This is illustrated by the following excerpts of the interview with Maria:

Was ich in der Schule gelernt hab, ja, bis zur HTL das war alles sinnlos. Ich hab da nicht Englisch sprechen können. Und da hab ich eben diesen Fünfer gehabt in der Schule und musste- und bin dann einen Monat nach England gegangen. Genau. Und da hab ichs dann- da hab ichs dann- also in dem ganzen Alltag, weil meine Familie halt- also meine Tante oder Großtante oder was das ist, ist Engländerin und die reden nur Englisch. Das heißt ich war komplett dieser Sprache nur ausgesetzt hab dort in einer Schule gearbeitet mit Kindern und dann war das erledigt das Thema von da an glaub ich. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

Maria's experience strongly points to a failure of the ELT she has undergone to provide her the opportunity of 'authenticating' the language she was learning/using. Only when she was confronted with a situational context in which she could "develop the capacity for authentication" (Widdowson 1998a: 715)<sup>26</sup> she eventually could perceive herself as a user of the language and find the confidence to appropriate it according to the situational communicative needs.

Der Moment, der entscheidende, dass ich irgendwann zum Reden begonnen hab und das hab ich die ganze Schulzeit über nicht gehabt. Da hats keine kon- also nicht dieses norm- also *es war immer ein Lernen*. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

Today, Maria recounts, she is a confident user of English and does not care much about speaking 'correctly'. She has not had any negative experiences with English since she finished school.

Haia's and Maria's comments explicitly report about a (perceived) irrelevance of their experience in learning English in school for their eventual uses of it in the 'real' life. Their reports point to a failure of the ELT they have undergone to encourage their self-images as users of English. From these insights it can be said that the experience of language learning and using seems to stand in an interdependent relation to how a speaker perceives of, and actually holds, English as a resource in his/her linguistic repertoire.

In addition, Haia's data show that the availability of ELF may be granted by language knowledge, at the same time, however, his failure to conceptualise the difference between

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<sup>26</sup> Agreeing with Widdowson (1998a), 'native' speaker context must not be confused with 'authentic' context.

EFL and ELF, may cause communication problems in actual ELF interactions with Austrians. Although he shortly hesitated to say this, he confirms that he considers his English to be 'better' than the English of many people he has met here in Austria. He assumes that this might be the reason why Austrians often do not understand his jokes or the poems he is publishing on *facebook*. Trying to prove his knowledge of English to me in the interview, Haias lists idiomatic expressions of ENL and what he refers to as "complex words", which suggest that Haias is considering these as indicators of 'proficiency'. This is revealed in the second half of the following quote:

If you are in college, they use these terms to describe like, this term is called this. And this is to show how advanced you are in the language. And this is like a little bit scaring me. Even though I will speak, I won't be able to express myself in German. *But I already know English* and I know like words like infinity, bla bla bla. And *stuff like that*. Sorry but- we talk a lot so *you will see I am capable of talking it*. But when I put them in example right now they are a little bit small. (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

The quote shows that Haias is considering himself as 'not proficient' in German because he lacks "stuff like that" (i.e. idiomatic expressions and formal register). In English, however, he is confident in his 'proficiency' and "capable of talking". It can be concluded that, where Haias is actually exploiting his 'English' as a lingua franca, he may not be able to exploit its full communicative potential due to his native speaker oriented conceptualisation of English. Twice in the interview, Haias comments about the importance of learning idiomatic expressions in English and German.

Regarding his future plans for staying in Austria, learning local norms in German is a reasonable aim, since the purpose of learning German is characterised by the need to act according to the locally established norms. At the same time, uses of German between refugees with different L1s and local native speakers or L2 speakers of German in Vienna will also be uses of German as a lingua franca (GLF). As Caroline and Anne point out, they have observed that they are appropriating their German to the needs of the interlocutor.

Proving his knowledge of ENL expressions to me, Haias seems to have followed his "future self-guide" (Zheng 2013) of the approximated native speaker of English, which may have encouraged him to continue learning and using English outside and after school. The excerpt of the interview above, however, also shows how negatively native speaker norms can influence the learning experience (in particular the first half of the quote). By measuring proficiency against native speaker norms, in English, as well as in German,

Haias is anticipating that he will never be able to express himself 'adequately' in German. In consequence, his experience of learning German is accompanied by insecurity and fears.

Summarising the discussions on the factor related to language learning experiences, it can be said that the participants' perceived 'learner Englishes' are remote to their actual uses of English. The closure of the gap between the 'English' they have learnt and the 'English' they use eventually seems to be related to whether they manage to perceive themselves as users rather than learners of the language. In addition, Haias' meta-linguistic comments show that availability of ELF may be given in principle but his insistence on ENL norms may cause communication problems in actual ELF interactions.

### **7.1.3 Experience with multilingual settings and as a user of ELF**

Having *experience as a user* of English, particularly in *multilingual settings* as lingua franca, constitutes another factor that could have an influence on ELF availability and the languaging practices of the language users. From all participants, Laith shows least experience with multilingual settings and, despite his knowledge of the dominant local language German being the most advanced, he seems to experience the most difficulties in communicating with locals.

Maria's life has been characterised by multilingualism since her early childhood. Moving from Bosnia to Austria at the age of four led to her early acquisition of German which, today, is the language she speaks mostly. Since then she has been learning English, French and Russian. Her husband's L1 is Arabic and until a few years ago, ELF has been the established medium in their relationship. Their daughter is being raised tri-lingually under the one-parent-one-language method, with her mother being the third party speaking Bosnian.

Wedat's life has been shaped considerably by his career and his living abroad from Syria in different Gulf States. Arabic and English characterise his past. Having worked in companies where English was either the dominant, or the official language, Wedat has collected considerable experience in using ELF as the language of business. Additionally, since he worked in customer sales service, he has gained and trained his skills in calming upset customers, negotiating reimbursement deals, and convincing people of the benefit of agreeing to a particular service in English. In Austria, he is now also working in a similar

occupation in a company whose official language policy is to use English. Also Haias reports that he has used English to communicate with speakers of different L1s and that there were speakers of many different languages in the area where he used to live. In his comments, he also expresses his appreciation for this linguistic diversity.

As regards Caroline, it is most significant that she seems to naturally perceive of herself as a 'multilingual'. Despite the fact that Caroline spends a lot of time at work where she only uses German, she firmly explains to me that her life has always been characterised by multilingualism. As her parents are both language teachers, she has grown up in a multilingual environment. Thanks to her parents' affinity for languages, Caroline explains, she has always enjoyed learning and using foreign languages, even though some of her teachers had been really daunting. Caroline has visited a school with focus on foreign languages and, generally, seems to hold a confident user-concept as a speaker of other languages than her L1.

Finally, Anne's present life is transcended by multilingualism. Often, Anne takes over the role of a mediator between speakers of different languages. She adapts her language use and languagING strategies to the language knowledge of the interlocutors and frequently uses German and English as lingua francas. If the situation requires, she reports that she switches between languages from one instance to another. Her languagING practices seem to be including frequent uses of translanguaging, which are signs of language regimes that are based on multilingual norms (see subchapter 3.3.1). Multilingualism seems to be so present and normal in Anne's life, that it often passes unnoticed how significantly she contributes to the effectiveness of communication between the speakers in her social environment. Her own readiness of making an effort in the negotiation of meaning and her skilled employment of languagING practices seem to become a languagING strategy for others.

Her husband, for example, has been in Austria for 12 years, still, however, at family dinners Anne takes over the function of interpreter and mediator between her German speaking parents and her husband. At the Easter dinner, she describes in her LD, she actually seems to be required to spend more energy on negotiating meaning between her family members and her husband, than the shortly arrived members of the refugee family, who use their German knowledge to communicate directly with Anne's parents.

**P6:** Und ich <Lengl> switch</Lengl> halt irgendwie immer so, je nachdem mit wem ich grad red.

**R:** Das heißt du bist dann so der <Lengl>mediator</Lengl> zwischen allen, du verbindest alle ein bisschen.

**P6:** Ja, na vor allem geht's da meistens um den [husband], weil mit den Flüchtlingen haben wir ja auch, die sprechen ja auch nicht gut Englisch.

(Interview Anne, 4 April 2016)

Over her lifetime, Anne seems to have acquired particularly good skills in exploiting the languages available and adapting her languagING practices in a way, so that meaning could be negotiated effectively. In combination with her readiness for making an effort in communication and her empathy towards the interlocutors, Anne seems to become a meaning making instrument for other speakers, who reduce their own effort in communication by relying on her skills. As I will explain under the categories of social and situational factors (7.2 and 7.3), the willingness and readiness for making an effort constitutes a decisive aspect of the interlocutor variable influencing the availability of linguistic resources.

In sum, the participants Maria, Haias, Wedat, Caroline, and Anne seem to benefit from their biographical languagING experience in multilingual environments, their knowledge of English and their experience in using ELF. By having a range of strategies for exploiting their situational linguistic repertoires according to the requirements of the interaction, they seem to have a clear advantage over Laith who lacks languagING experience in multilingual environments. Particularly in the convergence efforts of locals and refugees, their multilingual experience may promote the ease of building relationships to speakers of other languages significantly. In contrast, next to societal and personality factors which are not covered in this study, Laith's relatively small repertoire of languagING options may reinforce his reported experiences of troubles with expressing himself and negotiating meaning in interactions with local Viennese. In further consequence, compared to the other refugees participating in the study, this could be a reason why Laith is experiencing big troubles with integrating into society. In comparison to Haias and Wedat, Laith's LD also shows the least contact with locals.

#### **7.1.4 Associations with language(s)**

As delineated in chapter 3, certain linguistic resources in a speaker's repertoire can carry such heavy emotional or ideological connotation that they are unavailable in particular situations. I have emphasised before that the 'languages' a speaker holds in his/her

repertoire cannot be considered separate entities. While in research the monolingual view of bilingualism has been widely rejected, the "'two monolinguals in one person' view" still seems to dominate the minds of laypersons (Grosjean 2002). In this sense, language categories are fundamental to the analysis of speakers' languagING choices. Agreeing with Busch (2012: 519), simply ignoring categories would mean "forgetting that dealing with categories is always a matter of hierarchies, opposites, and conflicts". Hence, acknowledging the power of categorisation<sup>27</sup> is key to better understand why people (can) chose to perform a certain communicative practice or not (Busch 2012: 519–520).

In addition, the ethnographic method of recording one's own language practices in a LD, requires the participants to adopt a meta-perspective on themselves as users of language in their daily lives. On this meta-level, the participants are recording and describing what they are doing with language, which necessarily demands for some kind of recognisable categories that can verbally express what actually happened. As the data show, the categories of 'language' did not necessarily inhibit speakers from recognising different degrees of deviation from the established 'language' in their uses of these. Anne, for example reports that the writing of the LD made her realise that she is using different kinds of 'German' with different people (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016). In sum, categories of 'language' are not only a necessary analytical tool but need to be taken into account because the speakers themselves make these categorisations and because this study is a study of the individuals' perspectives.

From the researcher's perspective, I would like to point out that reference to categories does not constitute a lapsus of rigid thinking patterns and the illusion of clearly demarcated language entities, *if* fluidity and constructedness of categories are thought of as essential characteristics of language. Once more, it is emphasised that the idea of 'virtual language' (Widdowson 1997; 2003; Seidlhofer 2011b: 109-111) may provide a useful thinking tool for understanding language categories as fluid. It allows for understanding *used* language as *realised* language that is drawing on "some virtual *capacity* for exploitation [original emphasis]", be it in English, German, or Arabic. "[U]sers, whoever they are, are not bound by established rules and conventions" (Seidlhofer 2011: 110).

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<sup>27</sup> See Foucault (2014).

The data suggest that the participants appropriate language according to the needs of the communicative situation. In contrast, the data also show that the monolingual norm and the native speaker ideology seem to be dominant in their conceptualisations of language and English in particular. In comparison of the reported language practices and the perceived notions of language, it is revealed that the participants are influenced by established conventional views of language ideologies, like the native speaker ideal and the monolingual norm. In many of their practices and attitudes, however, they actually diverge from these concepts. For example, when I asked Wedat if he sometimes used several languages to communicate, he says,

I know lots of people who mix Arabic with English with French. I never had *this problem*. And erm I don't like - *I like to separate*. If I speak English it's *only* English (.) if I speak Arabic it's *only* Arabic. (Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016).

Notably, Wedat refers to language mixing as a 'problem', which indicates that it carries a negative connotation for Wedat. This view on language 'mixing' is reflecting traditional ideas which interpret it as a phenomenon of insufficient proficiency in one of the respective languages used. Past researches (e.g. Macnamara 1966) have contributed to the legitimacy of this view.

More recent research approaches and studies (eg. Bialystok 2005; Costa 2005), however, have added a new understanding, suggesting that interferences and mixing of lexical, grammatical and phonological type are characteristic to the bilingual experience. It is now acknowledged that "[t]he bilingual is not only a mental juggler but also a language user who is not simply two monolinguals in the same mind" (Kroll 2008). Since it is understood that all languages of a bi- or multilingual person are simultaneously active, interferences from other languages are no longer reduced to signs of insufficient language knowledge but can also be interpreted as the result of reducing the processing effort that would have been required to inhibit the language not targeted in a specific interaction.

While the notion of code-switching re-invokes the idea of clear boundaries, Myer-Scotton (2011) emphasises that the availability of more than one language, each carrying specific meaning in a particular society, could actually empower bilinguals and subvert legitimised hierarchies. Similar arguments are put forward by the translanguaging approach of Garcia and LiWei (2014: 25) and LiWei (2011), which I have described in chapter 3. Returning to the data of the present study, Wedat's judgement on the 'problem'



of mixing languages, therefore, points to an underlying monolingual perspective on multilingualism. Contradictory to that, Wedat also reports that he does not hesitate to use words from different languages in his repertoire, if the situation requires it (*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016).

Contradictory in a similar way, Haias' evaluates his 'mixing' of German and English negatively and describes the experience of it as being "awesome" at the same time:

**P2:** and they are some- sometimes intertwined with the- like with the <Lger> deutsch </Lger> like (.) these days I want to say like STOVE and I forget I remember <Lde> herd </Lde> from <Lger> deutsch </Lger> and I am mixing them like oh (.) on the <Lger> herd </Lger> and they are saying <imitating> oh okay? good </imitating> (.) and it's like (a concert) of mind and I feel like my mind is stuck sometime (.) and I'm learning new language (.) and so it's like (.) thank god there are the same letters? <un>xxx xx xx</un> of like some: some:=

**R:** yeah. so you feel like you're mixing them

**P2:** yeah. a bit

**R:** mhm

**P2:** actually it's ruining my english in complete. but that's *awesome* (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

In the following subsections I am describing how the different languages are conceived of in comparison to ELF, or English, and in how far these associations influence the individual participant's languagING choices and practices. Of course, the research I have carried out can only attempt at obtaining a glimpse of the complex network of associations a speaker has built over his/her lifetime. However, the findings can still provide an idea of how linguistic resources in a speaker's repertoire carry emotional and biographical connotations. In turn, these insights can help to encourage empathy with the participants and better understand what it means for them to enter a specific communicative space.

In order to provide the reader with a comprehensive but accessible account of the individual participants' linguistic repertoires, the discussion of the associations the speakers have made is structured into three parts, accordingly to the most dominant languages of the speaker sample: English, German and Arabic. Doing so, I would like to re-emphasise the fluidity of categories and languages.

#### **7.1.4.1 English**

All participants in the study have undergone ELT during their time as students. Despite the fact that some report on negative experiences with learning English, five out of six

explicitly state that they are enjoying, feeling at ease, or having fun using English today. Laith, the only one not mentioning this in the interview, is also the only one who does not or cannot use English as the sole medium of communication in interactions. The other participants seem to have reached a high level of competence and confidence in using English and have made positive associations with the language. Wedat and Haias, for example, have used English in their rather successful careers. Also Maria, who actually made the experience of being graded negative in English at school, has eventually developed a very positive attitude towards English. The following quote points to her great confidence in speaking English:

Wo ich sicher bin, da ist es mir egal welche [Sprache] ich da red und das ist zum Beispiel bei Englisch auch so. Ich weiß nicht ab wann das angefangen hat bei Englisch, auch wenn ich jetzt Englisch sicher nicht perfekt spreche oder so, *es ist mir egal wenn ich das Wort nicht richtig sag und es ist mir egal ob ich das schreiben oder im Gespräch dann eben sag* <imitating>*ok ich weiß jetzt nicht wie das heißt, wie könn ma das* </imitating> *also ich versuch mich dann einfach mit dem zu verständigen* und ich hab da noch nie irgendwie ein negatives – also, so mit dieser Offenheit einfach zu reden, hab ich jetzt was Englisch betrifft nie irgendwelche negativen Erfahrungen gehabt, außer halt in der Schule davor, aber jetzt, in letzter Zeit, in den letzten Jahren nie. (*Interview Maria, 23 March 2016*)

Additionally, expressing emotions, feelings and humour does not seem to be a problem for those participants who use English frequently. Haias, for example writes poems in English and Wedat is participating in a play directed by a Viennese theatre. The play is starring refugees who are telling stories about their lives in English or through an interpreter, who is also a refugee. Furthermore, Wedat explains that he is only prevented from using English when he is upset for the same reason he would not find words to express himself in Arabic – the inappropriateness of using “bad” words (i.e. swear words), in which one should not “express oneself in front of an audience” (*Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016*).

In addition, Maria, Haias and Anne have led, or are currently having romantic relationships in which English is exploited for communication. This indicates that they have enough confidence in the language to establish close relationships with people. While Maria and Haias have used it with non-native speakers of English, Anne is speaking English with her husband, who is a native speaker of a variety of American English. Maria reports that she would probably still be using English (as LF) with her husband, if her

mother had not felt so excluded (her mother speaks English only a little). When her husband had reached a certain degree of competence and fluency in German, Maria's mother told Maria to finally give up English.

Wär da meine Mama nicht gewesen, die kein Englisch spricht oder sich ur schwer tut mit der Sprache, mir dauernd gsagt hat <imitating> Hör auf endlich! Hör auf endlich! </imitating> *Ich würd immer noch mit ihm Englisch reden. Ich versuch's immer noch manchmal, aber ja.* (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

Her remark saying that she sometimes would still be trying to use English with her husband, attests Maria's attitude as regards her feelings towards English and German. In the interview, she explicitly expresses her preference of English over German: „Mir wär ja Englisch viel lieber als Deutsch“ (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016). The fact that her husband is a competent user of German today, does not seem to make German the first choice for Maria. Although German (one of her L1s and the dominant local language) would already be available, English still seems to be an appealing option for Maria. In how far this is related to her view on German will be discussed in the section on German.

In contrast to Maria, Anne does not have another option in communicating with her husband than English. Anne's wish to use German (her L1), particularly when she is tired from the hassles of the day and when she wants to express certain feelings (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016), indicates that the established monolingual habitus of 'English' between Anne's husband and herself manifests as a limitation on her expressive power in a space that is characterised by intimacy and the wish to share emotions.

For Haias, English is not only the language through which he can connect to people all over the world, but, moreover, a language in which he would have different personality traits than in his first language.

So it (\_the use of English\_) is like making you feel like you are in the society with that character. That's really fun for me to be part of it. (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

In English Haias explains, he is more outgoing and confident, while in Arabic he is a shy person. In fact, these feelings could contribute to his relative ease of integrating into Viennese society. For Haias, therefore, 'English' is coupled with power, agency, and confidence.

In sum, the participants mainly have positive associations with English. The underlying rationales of the SECs, however, seem to show a preference of German or GLF, if 'English'

is perceived to be equally effortful as German. This might point to an ideological conceptualisation of English in which convergence is granted by 'sharing' the language knowledge. As a consequence, their readiness to make an effort in negotiating meaning in ELF, is reduced.

Anne, for example says that in English she usually does not feel the need to adapt the level of language difficulty to the interlocutor. In the interview, however, she reported that when she was writing the LD, she realised that she was using her L1 differently and according to the interlocutor's language knowledge of German (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016). Similarly, Caroline does not associate English with heightened communicative effort, as indicated in the following quote: "Dadurch, dass das nicht meine Muttersprache ist, red ich einfach, und geh immer davon aus, *ja der kann das dann eh auch, irgendwie, halbwegs, ja*" (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015). Furthermore, Maria reports that she has often discussed the language choice between English and German with refugees. Usually, she would start with an apology expressing that she would prefer to use English, if possible:

Also mit jedem der gut Englisch spricht, sprech ich über das thema – so, es tut mir echt Leid aber, – *es ist schon so anstrengend, alles irgendwie*; auch mit der ganzen Kommunikation, dass ich mich dann einfach total freu wenn jemand richtig Englisch sprechen kann – also nicht richtig –aber so einfach, *dass du das Gefühl hast, ok, der hat mich jetzt echt verstanden, weißt? Wo du einfach normal – so wie wir jetzt – reden*. Ob man da jetzt ein paar Wörter erklären muss oder nicht, aber wo es einfach schon so eine Kommunikation gibt. Und dann ist es für mich halt wieder so ein Verlust Deutsch zu reden. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

In reference to Maria's comments, it can be said that the engagement in establishing relationships with refugees, in general, is an engagement that requires great effort and devotedness to the ideal of social inclusion. The degree of perceived effort may be even higher for the refugees. Given that most of them encounter Vienna as a linguistic environment in which their L1 is mostly unavailable (mostly due to the absence of Arabic language knowledge of the local interlocutor), it is likely that many will make the experience of communication with locals being inevitably laborious. These considerations support what Jacquemet has said about the requirements of a global society: "The identification and establishment of common ground itself must be understood as a major challenge in the process of communication" (Jacquemet 2005: 273). Keeping endurance

in facing and trying to overcome this challenge may be a key factor in the success or failure of inclusion ambitions.

In conclusion, as regards the use of ELF, the participating SECs seem to conceive of it as a communicative resource that could mean some relief in their efforts to building relationships with refugees. These findings support the view that "'[l]ingua franca' [...] conveys a sense of liberating additional means of communication, increasing the repertoire of languages that speakers rely on to function effectively in all areas of their professional and private lives" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 80). Some of their meta-linguistic comments, however, point to an ideal of given homogeneity in 'English'. As the data reveal, if the interlocutor's English is perceived to be fluent enough to lead a 'normal' conversation, English is the default choice for them. As soon as the speakers have the impression of ELF being similarly effortful as the use of German, however, they would rather reside to using German or GLF.

#### 7.1.4.2 German

In contrast to ELF, the use of GFL between SIRs and SECs seems to be naturally associated at a considerable cost of communicative effort. It is reasonable to assume that the reason for this lies in the fact that most refugees do not have German language skills when they arrive in Austria. The refugee participants in the sample did not know any German at the time of their arrival, but they all have acquired basic conversational skills since then. As already explained above, the participants' tolerance towards how much effort is demanded in negotiating meaning, particularly for the SECs seems to be higher in German than in English.

As regards the status of German in the linguistic repertoires of the participating SECs, Caroline and Anne seem to have a positive or neutral position towards German as their L1. Maria, by contrast, who has two L1s (Bosnian and German), seems to have difficulties in accepting German as one of her L1s. In the following excerpts of the interview with Maria, she dominantly gives negative associations with German, while her comment that she could actually express every feeling in German, contradicts these (in the excerpts negative associations with German are printed in italics, positive remarks about multilingualism are underlined).

- (I) **P1:** Na manche Sachen kann man einfach besser ausleben. Zum Beispiel Deutsch find ich überhaupt *nicht lustig*, im Vergleich zu Bosnisch.

- (II) **P1:** Ich find im Deutschen sind diese, da wo die Sprache diesen, einen sozusagen Mehrwert hat als das Englische, dass es diese Unterscheidungsmerkmale gibt, wie eben, 'Du und Sie' <un> xx </un> das find ich total *sinnlos*. Da gibt's zum Beispiel im Arabischen noch viel mehr von der Sprache. Die Gefühle, die du da ausdrücken kannst. Das sind aber dann andere Gefühle, zum Beispiel, und noch mehr Sachen, die es im Deutschen gar nicht gibt. Und das was es halt im Deutschen mehr gibt, das 'Du und Sie' und 'der, die, das', das find ich eigentlich ziemlich *überhaupt keinen Mehrwert* und einfach nur dieses *Schubladeneinkategorisierungsding*. (O) Das *macht überhaupt keinen Sinn*, das ist *total bescheuert*.  
**R:** Das heißt das Kategoriendenken hängt irgendwie mit dem Deutschen viel mehr zusammen?  
**P1:** Ich find irgendwie schon.  
**R:** Das heißt Englisch?=  
**P1:** =ist so clean  
**R:** Ja. Ist neutraler?  
**P1:** Mhm. Neutraler ja.

Maria's comments evoke the impression that, for her, German is neither a language in which great fun could be experienced, nor in which one could really feel comfortable. Moreover, she perceives German as a language which enforces unjust power hierarchies and prejudice. Once more, Maria explicitly mentions a preference for English over German and describes German as a means to an end - a means she *has* to use, simply because it is the language that is spoken 'here'.

- (III) **P1:** Und ich hab auch ganz oft dieses Thema. Für mich ist Deutsch einfach ein Mittel zum Zweck. Also das ist einfach die praktische Sprache, die *muss* ich hier reden, darüber brauch ich gar nicht zu diskutieren, dass ich die nicht ...

In the interview, Maria seems to realise that she actually uses the language she likes least, the most:

- (IV) **P1:** Lustig gell. Wenn man die Sprache die man am meisten spricht, die man gar nicht am meisten mag.  
**R:** Ja. Irgendwie...  
**P1:** Naja. Damit muss ich leben.  
**R:** Aber gleichzeitig hast du auch die beste...also zu deiner Tochter zum Beispiel schon über Deutsch die beste Beziehung oder  
**P1:** Ja, ich kann ja keine andere Sprache so gut.  
**R:** Ja.  
**P1:** Das ist ja das. *Ich kann die anderen gar nicht nehmen*.

Despite her negative representation of German, she still seems to value it as part of her linguistic repertoire. As a reflection on her expressed feelings, I ask Maria if she has the feeling of being 'trapped' in German. A long break follows. This break could indicate that she was trying to position herself towards 'her' German. Eventually, she says, she is glad

to have many languages through which she can experience the world, and through which she can express herself.

(V) **R:** Fühlst du dich in Deutsch gefangen?

**P1:** (6) Naja, gefangen. Naja. (4) Wow, das ist ja eine Frage. Wahnsinn.

(O)(Scherzt darüber, dass sie das Thema in der Supervision ansprechen sollte.)

**P1:** Nein, gefangen nicht. (.) Ich bin froh, dass ich alle meine Sprachen hab. Also ich glaub, es gibt gar nicht die Sprache wo alles geht. Ich bin froh, dass ich meine, also ich glaub es ist ganz wichtig mehrere Sprachen zu kennen. Und aber auch so dass man sie wirklich auch kann, dass man sie spürt. Das find ich, ich finde es trotzdem etwas ganz anderes Deutsch, Englisch, oder Bosnisch zu reden.

From her comments it seems to be the case that Maria finally has found a way to acknowledge German as a language in her linguistic repertoire by considering it as a contribution to her multilingualism, through which her experience of the world is being enriched.

(VI) **P1:** Das ist einfach eine lustige Erfahrung. Also eine total bereichernde, weil du, das kann man gar nicht verstehen (...) also ich versuche das manchmal Leuten zu erklären, die so nur eine Sprache haben, es gibt halt viele, die nur eine Sprache haben, die verstehen das dann aber irgendwie überhaupt nicht.

For Maria, German appears to be a language of pragmatic function, which she is obliged to use by the simple fact of its dominance in the country she lives in. This association with German is paralleled by the experience of German the participating SIRs report on. The perceived demand to use German seems to play an integral role in immigrants' experience of the language.

Like Maria, Haias also expresses meta-linguistic ideas about characteristics of German that would be inherent in the language itself. As he explains, every language has its own humour and, while he laughs a lot when he watches English or American TV shows and films, he has not had much fun in German so far. In his view, German is a very precise language, which would be the reason "why Germans are so good in engineering" (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016). Additionally, for Haias, German does not work as a language in romantic relationships, as he reports to have stopped using German with his German speaking girlfriend.

Haias and Wedat have already built friendships with locals and used English (ELF) for that. Still, all participating SIRs clearly express that they feel a need to learn German. For all of them, however, learning German appears to be a requirement, rather than an

independent wish. Like Maria, they seem to conceive of German as a means to an end resulting from the conditions under which they live. Haias, for example reports to have postponed his learning of Japanese, in which he has an intrinsic interest, because of his affinity for Japanese mangas. A refugee friend of him, who is a native speaker of Farsi, has asked Haias to help him with learning Arabic. Haias, however, reports to have answered he should better concentrate on German now, before studying any other language.

In <Lger> Deutschkurs </Lger > which I go to, I speak English to a Farsi guy. He speak Urdu and Farsi and we are like friends. Speak like the other stuff that's happening like hostility, and when it comes to actually speak English, he is not that good in English but he is a good guy, and he is learning <Lger> Deutsch </Lger> with me. We speak English like friends even so the difference. He wanted to learn Arabic actually (...) because his best friend in the camp is a Arabic guy. So I tell him forget about the Arabic learn <Lger> Deutsch </Lger> now and then you can do whatever you want. (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

Additionally, Haias says that it is important to learn idiomatic expressions in foreign languages, since it is only through understanding these that you could connect to the local people. Following his belief in the importance of native speaker norms, Haias also expresses some fears as regards the level he could reach in German. He reports that someone has told him that native speakers of German would show how educated they were by using a lot of 'complex' expressions:

If you are in college, they use these terms to describe like. This term is called this. And this is to show how advanced you are in the language. And *this is like a little bit scaring me. Even though I will speak, I won't be able to express myself in German.* But I already know English and I know like words like infinity...bla bla bla. And stuff like that. Sorry but, we talk a lot so you will see I am capable of talking it but when I put them in example right now they are a little bit small. After I finish B2 I need to learn this stuff. So I can me a more advanced. When you want to express you need those words. *You really need it, so you can show, whatever.* Like you have a boss, and you want to elaborate your work (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

Haias seems to have the impression that he would only be accepted as a legitimate member in the society, if he eventually achieved native-like competence in German.

Like Haias, Wedat's comments indicate that the learning of German is conceived of as a requirement, rather than an intrinsic wish. Different from Laith, Wedat can postpone his studying of German, since his knowledge of English has already allowed him to build a secure existence in Vienna. Wedat told me that he would wait for his wife to come to Austria, so that they could start learning the language together. Laith however, does not



seem to have an alternative towards learning German if he wants to integrate into society. In comparison to Wedat and Haias, the description of his feelings about German seems to carry grave emotional load and a feeling of pressure to learn it.

On the side of the SECs, the feeling of needing to support the refugees in learning German as providers of native speaker input seems to be an essential factor in this kind of engagement. Caroline, for example, clearly defines her role as source of language and culture transmission. She points out that through providing SIRs with cultural activities, they can engage in much more than just the actual content of what is being presented. Beyond, the SIRs are introduced to certain organisational procedures like reserving a ticket for the museum with her, or checking how to get to the museum.

As regards her use of German with the SIRs, Caroline says that she corrects them in face-to-face conversations in German. In response to my question whether her conversation partners would demand this or like her to do this, Caroline answers that she does so totally "unreflektiert [unreflected]". She reports that no one has ever said she should stop doing so, and only seldomly has she recognised disapproval in the reactions of the refugees. Caroline clarifies that she does not insist on 'correct' German and, actually, if a refugee choses to speak German with her, she feels such appreciation, that she just lets them talk. Teaching of German, eventually, takes place in their German classes anyway:

Die, die mit mir Deutsch sprechen, da bin ich eh schon so happy, dann da drüber dass die Deutsch sprechen können, dass ich sie einfach reden lasse. Weil sie haben dann eh einen Deutschkurs. (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015)

A similar feeling of appreciation also seems to play a crucial role in the communicative spaces where regular locals interact with the participating SIRs in every-day encounters like at the supermarket (see 7.2 Situational factors). For Caroline, a refugee, and any other speaker with a different L1 than hers, is expressing his/her value and appreciation of her language by using German:

**P5:** Wenn sie bewusst versuchen mit mir Deutsch zu sprechen, merk ich für mich persönlich, dass ich mich erstmal total für die freu. Und dass dann nochmal so, das klingt jetzt wahrscheinlich total schlimm, aber dass ich mir dann nochmal mehr Mühe gebe, für sie die Gesprächssituation zu verbessern.

**R:** Einfach, weil man sieht, da kommt was zurück.

**P5:** Mhm. Das heißt ja nicht, dass sie mit English nicht auch was zurückbekommen würden, aber da frag ich dann halt einfach nach, was ist los und so weiter. Und dann (.) der [refugee], zum Beispiel, ist jemand, der kann

nicht so gut Englisch, und deswegen, versucht er tausend mal noch besser Deutsch zu sprechen, und das finde ich sehr beeindruckend. Und ist, also der versucht das total wett zu machen, das find ich super.  
(*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015)

The experience she describes seems to reflect her general theory about the interactions between speakers of different languages. As she reports, she also addresses Italians with her basic Italian language skills, rather than using English.

Weil ich glaub, sobald du halbwegs versuchst die Sprache anderer Menschen zu sprechen, bist du schon einen Schritt auf sie zugegangen, und implizierst nicht, dass sie dich verstehen müssen und das spüren sie und die Reaktion kommt dann auch immer zurück. Wenn du nicht davon ausgehst, dass du mit Englisch durch Frankreich kommst, und mit Englisch durch Italien kommst, sondern (.) dann wirst du weit, (2) also glaub ich auch, das spürt das Gegenüber (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015)

In conclusion, as a consequence of its official status and dominance in the Austrian, Viennese, context, German is transcending all spaces and lives of the participants. As an impact of its dominance, the relatively high pressure of learning the language seems to translate into a rather negatively connotated learning experience for the refugees. In addition, the ideology of the native speaker ideal appears as a cause of learners' fears and anticipations about their future and a possible (non-)acceptance by the local speakers of the language. The correlation of the native speaker ideal with the circumstantial requirement of having to learn German, seems to block positively connotated intrinsic motivations. In consequence, the participants perceive German as a means to an end, rather than a language one would chose to speak if one had the choice.

Considering that German, particularly for the refugees, is associated with the language of their future life in Austria, the initial and rather negative experiences with this language may constitute a problematic starting position for the refugees to integrate German as a language in their repertoires they could identify with. While this cannot be considered a holistic explanation of Mary's difficulties in acknowledging German as an appreciated language in her linguistic repertoire, her early immigrant experience seems to show parallels to the refugees'. These observations support the thesis that for language learners it is not only the referential meaning of words that is acquired in the language learning process. Rather, the words themselves acquire subjective iconic and symbolic meaning that are mapped onto words and the new language. Negative connotations with the

foreign language may explain "why some learners cannot identify with the persona that the words create for them" (Kramsch 2009: 32).

Finally, German seems to be conceived of as a means to connect to the local society and to show appreciation of local conventions. The meaning of German as a mediational means in conversations between refugees and locals appears to be crucial in how willing the interlocutors will be to engage in languagING (see 7.3.5).

#### **7.1.4.3 Arabic**

For Haias, Wedat and Laith, Arabic is their L1. While Wedat speaks a Syrian variety of Arabic, Haias and Laith speak an Iraqi variety. Except from Maria, whose husband is a native speaker of Arabic, the language was hardly mentioned in the LDs and LDIs of the participating SECs. Additionally, in comparison to Laith, Wedat and Haias, who mostly use ELF in their daily lives, have reported very few instances of Arabic use in their LDs. This difference may arise from the fact that Laith has come to Austria with his family, while Wedat and Haias have come on their own. They use Arabic mostly in telephone and skype-calls with their relatives and friends in Iraq or Syria.

From the records and the interviews, Arabic very much seems to be the language of Wedat's and Haias' past and the language they are speaking mainly with the people, who have been left behind in their home countries. For Haias, who has reported to have a shy personality in Arabic but a confident and outgoing one in English, his L1 actually seems to lose ground against English and German. For Laith, by contrast, the high pressure of the need to learn German to build a future in Austria, and his reported difficulties in establishing closer relationships with local German speakers, appear to be enforcing the status of his Arabic as his strongest language.

Since I got to know Laith he has frequently mentioned how hard it is to learn German and how intimidating it is not to be able to express oneself as one would like to. As he associates German mainly with effort, pressure and the tedious learning experience, Arabic, in contrast, may appear stronger to him than ever before. Although this is a very subjective impression, in the interview I experienced Laith to be much more confident and outgoing when he was using Arabic with our stand-by interpreter. When he was using German, his posture seemed to change to a more crouched position and his narratives seemed to be told in a more hesitating and reluctant way. On the question which language

he would consider strongest at the moment, he immediately and clearly answered "Arabic – of course!" (*Interview Laith*, 24 March 2016).

The observations I have made can be explained with Kramsch's (2009) somatic and ecological perspective on the multilingual subject. She emphasises that language has a bodily dimension and that learning a new language is more than a cognitive process, which would explain the observed change in Laith's posture when speaking Arabic or German. Furthermore, Laith's language learning experience with German may enforce the strength he feels to have in Arabic. Kramsch's (2009: 57) finding showed that speakers of American English, discovered "the essence of Americanness" through learning another language. The strength of/in Arabic Laith perceives, therefore, may be triggered by his emergent recognition of the Other.

The absence of Arabic in the interviews with Caroline and Anne may indicate that the language, although they frequently engage in interactions with Arabic speakers, is not given much room in the communicative spaces they are encountering. Anne reports that she tries show her appreciation of the L1s of the refugee kids she is teaching at school by letting them translate words for her and by showing them that it is also difficult for her to learn a foreign language (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016). However, no serious attempt at learning Arabic seems to be involved here. However, for some SECs the work with refugees has triggered interest in learning the language. Haias, for example, tells me about his German language teacher who is also teaching German classes for *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. His teacher is able to speak seven languages already and is now learning Arabic too. He says that she also use her acquired Arabic skills in the German lessons, which very much contributes to motivating the students: "She gives them a motif" (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016).

From the experiences of the participants, Arabic appears to trigger excluding mechanisms for refugees, as well as locals, often on the simple grounds of absent language knowledge on the local speakers' side. Inclusion and exclusion, however, are, of course, always a matter of perspective. At the flat party, about which Haias reports in his LD and the interview, there was an Arabic musician who sang a song in a Syrian Arabic dialect. As they were the only Arabic speakers at the party, it would have been them alone, who knew that the song everyone was enjoying and dancing to, was actually "a funny song. Like something when you sing about <Lger> scheiße </Lger> and other stuff. (O) So it was only

me and giggling about it because I knew what this means and they really liked it" (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016). Hence, in dependence of the speakers' intention and the situation, the use of Arabic can create small groups of inclusion, or exclusion.

Particularly concerning is Wedat's narrative about his reluctance to use Arabic in the underground when his wife calls him from Syria. As he says, the latest incidents (the interview was held three days after the terrorist attacks on Brussels airport) <sup>28</sup> have made him especially sensitive to reactions of the local population, which is why he tends to avoid speaking Arabic in public.

**P4:** I don't want to give the: erm the chance to anybody=

**R:** =to judge

**P4:** yeah. to judge or even to? even if it's verbal abuse  
(*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016).

Complementing Wedat's fear of being judged in a negative way by the Viennese public, Laith reports that people on the underground usually stare at him and his family when they are using Arabic. In contrast to Wedat, however, he would continue to use it (*Interview Laith*, 24 March 2016).

In summary, the use of Arabic of the SIRs, seems to be reduced to having conversations with Arabic speaking family and friends - people, who are often miles away, representing relationships that have been built in a past life. In the local Viennese community, Arabic use seems to be rather absent, although many refugees speak it as their L1. In face of the pressure to learn German as a means to building a future, Arabic appears to be losing ground to English or German. At the same time, the experienced absence of alternatives to German may cause immigrants difficulties in identifying with the language on the long run. In addition, using Arabic may have inclusive and exclusive functions for the L1 speakers of Arabic. Depending on the perspective and intentionality of the speaker, this may be experienced as negative or positive. Furthermore, in some places, particularly in public places where people can overhear each other's conversations easily (like the underground), the use of Arabic seems to be associated with hostile judgment and dismissal by some locals. As a consequence, native Arabic speakers, like Wedat, decide not to use Arabic until they reach a space of privacy where it feels safe to do so again. Following this, Arabic seems to be losing functionality for the participants, not only as a

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<sup>28</sup> For news reports seem, for example, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/brussels-attacks>.

consequence from the dominance of the German language and the absence of Arabic in most of the Viennese population's linguistic repertoires, but also because of certain discursive meanings that limit its availability in public places. In consequence, Arabic is very much reduced to being a language of privacy, spoken outside the view of the local society.

## **7.2 Social factors**

In this chapter I am describing the participants' experiences and rationales concerning language and language use in connection with the kind of relationship they are having with the interlocutor. It will be shown that regular and close contacts to friends or partners are also following certain established conventions of language use, i.e. their language regime. As regards the use of ELF between non-native speakers of English, it seems to be the case that a change in language could also mean a change of power relations to the speakers. Due to discursive views on immigration in the greater socio-political context of Austria, the participants, refugees in particular, are often constructed according to stereotypes of 'the' respective group of society. These stereotypes, in turn, seem to play a significant role in how interlocutors' react towards being addressed by 'a' refugee. The participants' experiences indicate that 'the' refugee's choice of language can be crucial to the interlocutor's engagement in active negotiation of meaning.

### **7.2.1 Relationship (of power) among the interlocutors**

This factor describes that speakers differentiate their languagING practices in dependence of the kind of relationship they are having with the interlocutor. Particularly in close relationships like long friendships and romantic relationships the participants seem to preferably use ELF. In many cases the rationale behind choosing ELF seems to be linked to power relations and the power that appears to be attached to being a native speaker of German in Austria. As the relationship between the speakers is also connected to the purpose of interaction this factor is closely related to situational factors. In relationships involving a local native speaker of German and a learner of German, the interlocutors sometimes seem to prioritise different purposes. As a consequence, the speakers may feel a tension between the purposes of 'having a conversation to get to know each other' and 'having conversation in order to learn and practice German'. As the data show, in close relationships this may be perceived as a threat to the balance of power

between the speakers, which was reported by native speakers as well as non-native speakers of German.

As regards Haias' romantic relationship to a native speaker of an Austrian variety of German, it seems that his confidence in English allows him to consider his girlfriend and himself as equal speakers of the language. When they change to using GLF, however, this does not only seem to lead to an imbalance of equality as regards language, but also as regards their position to each other:

I get the feeling that she is superior to me but she is no better, and after that I get angry, of course, natural status of- but I really like smile because I am learning from her in a lot of way. (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016).

Already after a few sentences in German, however, Haias explains that he is changing to using English again. As he says, "I can't take it, because she is my girlfriend". Significantly, Haias seems to appreciate of corrections by his girlfriend in English. While he says he is grateful that his girlfriend corrected his American English 'slang' words to a 'better' English, he reports that he could not bear if a girlfriend was checking the language level he had achieved in German:

Cause it's like really foolish. Even with my ex-girlfriend, in Graz. She wanted to see how much I advanced since the moment I know her. So I told her I won't speak because she would take another whole expression on me. (*Interview Haias*, 23 March 2016)

The data show that learning German is a main priority to many refugees, even if they successfully use ELF to handle their daily affairs, lead complex discussions, or romantic relationships. Refugees' prioritisation of 'learning German' is, along with other reasons, likely to be a manifestation of western-European migration politics. As Busch (2013: 114) explains, these are

gekennzeichnet durch die Herausbildung von Machtdispositiven, die im Sinne von Michel Foucault (1978) Diskurse und die (freiwillige) Unterwerfung unter diese [...] umfassen

[characterised by the emergence of dispositions of power which are, in the sense of Michel Foucault (1978), constituted in discourse and (voluntary) submission to these

Contradicting dominant discursive positions postulating refugees' need to learn German, Maria does not consider learning German the prime concern of refugees. As a result, she has more freedom in choosing which language she could employ as lingua franca when

she speaks with refugees. The first priority, in her view, is getting to know each other and establishing social networks between refugees and locals. In which medium of communication this happens, would be of no matter, as long as communication is possible. For her, the dominance of 'the need to learn German' may actually pose a threat to established relationships to refugees.

Und mich nervt dieses Deutschlernen halt dauernd. Und das Thema haben wir zum Beispiel oft auch mitn [Person1]. Der sagt dann, bitte red mit mir deutsch, – ,Ok, aber *ich hab dich eigentlich nicht kennengelernt um mit dir Deutsch zu lernen.* (Interview Maria, 23 March 2016)

The differentiation between meeting to learn German and meeting to have conversation also seems to be a decisive factor for Anne, who gives German classes for *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. In her LD, she noted down that before the class, she was talking to a woman who was a native speaker of Arabic and could speak English fluently. Like Anne, the woman had a baby with her, so she asked about Anne's child and other mothering-related matters. The conversation was held through using ELF, while, shortly after, in the class, the main medium used was German. According to Anne, with the start of the German class, she gradually moves towards using German: "Und dann, geht man halt so über zu Deutschsprechen" (Interview Anne, 4 April 2016). In addition, Anne reports on her friendship with an immigrant and learner of German outside the refugee domain. Over several years now, they have built their relationship and used ELF to speak with each other. When her friend wanted to change to German, Anne felt obliged to take over the role of a teacher. This experience appears to be disturbing the equality between herself and her friend (see also 7.3.4).

In conclusion, the closeness of relationship between the interlocutors can be considered a decisive factor in how speakers may experience the use of a certain language. As a consequence of the all-encompassing issue of 'the need to learn German, which reflects legitimised discursive patterns, native speakers who participate in activities to get to know refugees seem to feel instrumentalised by learners of German, particularly, if ELF was an available and less effortful option. Following this feeling, some might experience a threat to or breach of the friendship established. On the learner side, ELF as a medium between non-native speakers seems to be a languagING practice where speakers feel more equal towards each other.



### **7.2.2 Interlocutors' attitude towards the discursive stereotypes of people**

If the speakers do not have a closer relationship with each other, the attitude towards the speaker as a representative of a particular group of society (like 'the refugee') has shown to be decisive for the availability of linguistic resources. Particularly outside the communicative spaces opened up by civil organisations like *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, 'the' refugee's choice of language seems to be crucial in determining the course of the conversation. In activities organised by *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, it is clear that speakers are interested in meeting 'the other'. In spaces where people meet out of other circumstances, like in a supermarket, the refugee cannot estimate if the interlocutor is willing to adapt to his/her linguistic repertoire and share the responsibility over the successfulness of the communication.

Wedat, for example, reports that he is usually addressing locals with an apology in German, saying: "Entschuldigung, ich bin neu hier in Österreich. Ich spreche ein bisschen Deutsch". Depending on the reaction of the interlocutor, he then asks if he/she was accepting to use English, or if they could help him to communicate what he is trying to ask (Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016). Particularly as regards 'the refugee' as an interlocutor in public spaces, locals' reactions seem to be highly influenced by the wider societal discourse on refugees and immigration. As the roles of the interlocutors in the encounter are closely related to situational factors, their roles and constructive power in the different spaces will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

### **7.3 Situational factors in different communicative spaces**

In this section I am describing and discussing the concrete experiences of the participants that are primarily related to availability factors that emerge from the situational and present composition of the encounter. The two most decisive variables detected are the interlocutor and the language regime of the macro-space, like a service-encounter in a supermarket. For the interlocutor variable, the most significant aspect observed is his/her willingness to actively contribute to the negotiation of meaning and to share responsibility over effective communication. In addition, the legitimised language practice of the macro-space considerably influences which linguistic resources are available. On the micro-level, the languagING decisions of the interlocutor are decisive for whether language regimes are imposed on the linguistic minority speaker or if the communication can benefit from a certain degree of flexibility.

To present the data, the concrete situational contexts have been generalised to the following categories of communicative spaces, which constitute daily spaces of action in the participants' lives: 'Inclusion organisations', 'Public authorities', 'Public institutions', 'Private spaces', 'Public sphere and service encounters', and 'The work place'. Explanations of the single categories will follow below. As the role of the interlocutor is characterised by the communicative space, the factors of 'language regime', 'interlocutor's language knowledge' and 'willingness to put an effort in the negotiation of meaning' are taken together to be discussed respectively with the individual spaces described.

### **7.3.1 Inclusion organisations**

In general, the organisations found by SECs to promote social inclusion of refugees and immigrants, open up a collective space for people who are interested in encountering refugees, or, vice versa, local citizens. This is the essence of this macro-level space. In how far languagING realises in the encounters, i.e. on the micro-level depends on the interlocutors and the concrete situation. Therefore, the macro-space has limited influence on the actual languagING practices. Encounters in the context of inclusion organisations, however, can be assumed to transfer the essence of the interest to meet 'the other' to the micro-level. Thereby, it is more likely that the interlocutors are willing to actively engage in the negotiation of meaning. In addition, there is no 'institutionalised' practice locals and immigrants are obliged to follow. The actual practices will very much depend on the individuals and the factors listed under 'Individual factors'.

The initiators of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* have decided to found the organisation as association mainly because charities, like Caritas, who provide homes and care for refugees, appeared to be in need of identifiable bodies who have an overview over SECs and can coordinate locals interested in connecting with refugees (information derived from personal conversation with one of the founders of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*). As a result, many different sub-groups are practically organising themselves under the umbrella-organisation of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*.

The organisation is characterised by a flat hierarchy and an extensive network of people interested in engaging in activities that could bring together locals and refugees. The language regime of the organisation, hence, is not established and not clearly defined. However, as already mentioned in 4.2.1, the engagement in activities organised to connect

locals and refugees already signals the interest in 'the other' from both SIRs and SECs and, therefore, can be interpreted as a sign of willingness to devote oneself to establishing common linguacultural ground. The organisation itself, hence, may be seen as a distinguishable macro-space, characterised by a highly flexible 'language regime', where all participants are invited to contribute and take their share in shaping a community of practice.

As reported by Anne, for example, she initially checks the availability of the languages she speaks by asking the refugees questions in different languages, in her case, English and German: "Seid ihr zum ersten mal hier? First time here?" (*Interview Anne*, 4 April 2016). Depending on the response of the interlocutor she then chooses the main medium and, depending on the course of the interaction, she adapts the language, and the languagING practice to the needs of the situation.

Representing the organisational level as a founder of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, Maria points out that the dominance of German and 'this big issue of learning German' actually annoys her and is also not the first priority to tackle, although she does acknowledge the wish or need of refugees to do so. In reference to a psychotherapist who is offering free talks and supervision for SECs who are working with refugees, Maria highlights that connecting to each other would be the main priority, rather than imposing German on them:

Auch zum Beispiel jetzt am Freitag, war ja auch einer beim tischtennis, der hat total gut Englisch gesprochen. Ja wir haben uns richtig gut unterhalten. Und da geht's halt im ersten moment um das (.) um das miteinander reden. und ich find das wichtiger jetzt muss ich sagen. Also ich find, *ich finds wichtiger, dass wir uns verstehen dass wir miteinander kommunizieren, als wie irgendwie mit Händen und Füßen ihnen jetzt irgendwelche Wörter beizubringen*. Das ist jetzt einfach grad eine wichtigere Priorität. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

'Kommunizieren [communicating]' then can happen through any linguistic resources that are available and can be used for negotiating meaning. Depending on the interlocutors' language knowledge, ELF is a frequently exploited resource in the encounters. Maria, still, recognises the importance of learning German; the time to do so, however, does not necessarily have to be the time refugees cross the border.

Ich finds schon sehr sehr wichtig nur ich glaub der Zeitpunkt– also der Zeitpunkt muss passen. Also nicht nur Zeitpunkt, sondern da geht's einfach um ganz viele Rahmenbedingungen und wenn die einfach dem total

widersprechen dann kann man den Menschen auch nicht sagen, ok weg ihr habt nicht Deutsch gelernt. Sie haben- so viel hab ich darüber noch gar nicht nachgedacht- weil es gibt diesen leichten Zugang zu dem nicht. Also Deutsch jetzt zu Lernen in der Situation als Asylwerber dass ist nicht einfach. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

In addition, she believes that not everyone learns best by learning a language in language classes. She points out that other, more practical, approaches should be offered as well. Offering this is what she sees as one of the aims of the organisation - opening spaces of getting to know each other that do not centre around the need to learn German.

Also ich glaub, dass man die Sprache eher anders lernt. Also einfach nur aus meiner Erfahrung glaub ich, dass andere Zugänge wichtiger sind. Und an dem versuch ich eben zu arbeiten, was *FremdeWerdenFreunde* einfach abgesehen von dem ist, dass am- nicht nur die Deutschkurse. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

While Maria explicitly states that it is problematic that learning German is widely treated as the main priority for refugees in order to integrate, she also points out that it would be necessary that some people do enforce the use of German, simply because the transition from using English to using German would be a very hard one, if you had relied on English for a long time.

Und ich denk dass aber ganz ganz viele Leute dieses Ding im Kopf haben, dass dieses Deutschlernen so wichtig ist – was auch gut ist find ich weil die machen das dann natürlich viel strenger dass sie mit ihnen Deutsch reden– die sind da nicht so wie ich. Und das ist das find ich nicht schlecht. weil wenn man- ich glaub, dass dieser Umstieg dann einfach schwerer ist. Wenn ich jetzt jeden- irgendwie haben sie 20 Freunde die alle Englisch sprechen -na super! Die werden kein Deutsch mehr lernen. Man siehts ja, die kommen einfach so gut schon durch. Man siehts ja bei den Amerikanisch-Englischen Natives, denen lassen wir ja gar keine Chance. (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016)

Considering Maria's reflections, it seems that she conceives of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* as a space where people, in principle have the freedom to use any language they want in order to follow the purpose of getting to know each other and to establish first relationships with each other. As immigrants, however, also need to 'function' in the rest of the communicative spaces where German is dominant, relying on ELF does not appear to be a languagING practice leading to empowerment of refugees from a long-term perspective. Agreeing with Maria, it seems to be crucial to clarify priorities and put the individuals' needs, rather than the need to 'make them fit' the local norms, at the centre of considerations.

As Wedat's experience in his first attendance of a team meeting indicates, even in organisations where people like Maria make an effort to create a space of inclusion, habitual monolingual practices do not make way for multilingualism easily. The team of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* had decided that they would like to include refugees into their team in order to make them part of their activities and aims. The wish to move away from the helper-helped dichotomy in conceptualising SECs and refugee participants in their organised activities, is also reflected in the organisation's name. Initially, the organisation had started under the name of "WienNordWest hilft [The North-West of Vienna helps]".

Wedat as well as myself have been invited by one of the team members, and together, we joined the team-meeting for the first time. Since I recorded the meeting and took field notes, I could collect data of an event, of which, eventually, Wedat provided me with his perspective in the interview. Wedat was a bit late, and the team-member who had invited him, introduced him to the group. Since about half of the team members do not speak English, or only very little, she translated most of the conversation for Wedat. Despite Wedat's presence most of the participants kept on using German, making him unable to contribute and be a full member of the organisation team. While everyone really appreciated that he had come, the interest of the group lay mainly in organising and discussing what had happened in *FremdeWerdenFreunde* so far, what would be needed and what future activities should look like. At that time, the organisation's actional radius was growing rapidly. As Wedat reports, he would have been ready to contribute and share his perspective, however, when he sat in the meeting, he "felt like a deaf in a party" (Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016). The correlation of the habitual monolingualism, the lack of English language knowledge by some of the team members, and the priority of 'getting things done' seemed to override the wish to include Wedat as a team member in the given situation.

While Wedat's experience tells a story of a refugee who could not take over his full potential of contribution due to the neglect of the speakers to include him in their languagING decisions, reluctance of refugees to seize this agency is equally impeding inclusion efforts. Caroline, for example, points out that when she is checking the situation for the languages she could use with particular persons, it is often the case that she cannot tell whether the interlocutors understand her, or not. While the refugees make it explicit to her that they have understood, at a later point, she finds out that they actually did not.

Diese, hauptsächlich jungen, Männer, sagen dann immer Ja, Ja, Ja. Ich muss davon ausgehen, dass sie es verstehen, aber ich komm dann immer nachher drauf, dass sie total oft nicht verstehen, was ich sag. (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015)

As a consequence, she cannot rely on their response when she is trying to engage in meaning negotiation. Since the interlocutors do not take over their role as negotiators of meaning, but accept everything she puts out for negotiation, Caroline is deprived of the possibility to engage in the establishment of common linguacultural ground. As she reports, in her engagement as a study-buddy for a young child, whom she has started to support before her engagement with *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, she could rely on the boy's contribution. If he does not understand something she says, he just asks and then, she explains and provides clarification where required. In the cultural activities she attends with the SIRs and SECs of *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, however, most refugees would 'soak up' everything she says. This invokes the impression that communication, there, is a one-sided endeavour, with the refugees staying in a rather passive role, although Caroline appears to be inviting them to negotiate meaning. When she is not successful, Caroline seems to feel a lack of skills, which makes her conclude that she would need additional, professional training in intercultural communication.

Hier, saugen sie alles auf. Das ist gar nicht wertend, sondern ist einfach nur- und ich-ich könnte dann nochmal nachfragen, aber da ist auch ganz viel an Dingen, da müsste ich dann wahrscheinlich GANZ weit ausholen und da müsst ich dann wahrscheinlich eine Zusatzausbildung machen. (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015)

In conclusion *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, in principle, provides a space where the negotiation of meaning is encouraged and where people are invited to take their share in shaping a community of practice. With the offered service of teaching German to the refugees, German is given a prominent status as regards the purpose of empowering refugees to handle their daily affairs. Apart from the German classes, however, languages are equal and regarded as a means to follow the aims of inclusion and building relationships. Depending on the purpose of interaction, and the relationship between the interlocutors, the speakers are free to choose the media of interaction they consider most effective in the communicative situation. As the data indicate, ELF is very likely to be chosen over German, if it is available. Following Maria, it would be like this with any other interlocutor outside *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. The purpose is communication, and there you would

simply choose to use the "einfachste Sprache [the easiest language]" (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016). At the same time, however, habitual monolingual practices seem to override the general willingness to establish common linguacultural ground, where interests other than getting to know the interlocutor as an individual claim the speaker's energy. In addition, where speakers are invited to negotiate meaning, but refuse to do so by either not including the needs of the interlocutor and the situation as a factor in the languagING decisions, or by refusing to take agency in the meaning negotiation, both, refugees and locals are pushed to their limits of power.

### 7.3.2 Public authorities

As regards the habitus in spaces where the speakers interact with representatives of public authorities, the data complement the findings of Guido (2008), Maryns (2012), Plutzar (2009), and Rienzner (2009) delineated in chapter 3. The participants' descriptions of their encounters with public authorities, like the asylum-seeking interview and municipal registration, show clear indicators for a dominant and exercised monolingual habitus in institutions.

Wedat reports that when he went to the municipal authorities in Vienna to get the form for registering as a local resident (called *Meldezettel*), he approached the officer in German, apologised for his weak language knowledge and asked for help and the possibility to use English. While he is unsure whether she could speak English or not, he also confirms that she was not willing to make an effort at all in trying to communicate with him:

**P4:** Yeah. like in some of the places like here in the- when I wanted to go to do the <Lger> Meldezettel </Lger>- yeah. So I went and I was putting all the effort that I want to the:- all the words I know. and she ref- she was refusing to speak a single word in e:rm in English. yeah:

**R:** Mhm. would she have known English?

**P4:** (.) well I think (.) I don't know wether she knows or not. but she was- she was not even e:rm very happy @ with the @ you feel that she's not friendly

**R:** And she didn't make an effort to the=

**P4:** =yeah.

**R:** make the co=

**P4:** =yeah=

**R:** =so, the communicative effort was on your=

**P4:** =yeah=

**R:** =side

**P4:** I told her that I-I aplogised <un>xxx</un> <Lger> entschuldigung (.) aber er: ich bin neun? neu? </Lger>

**R:** neu. Yeah

**P4:** <Lger> hier in Österreich (.) ich spreche ein bisschen deutsch</Lger>  
(*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016)

Taking into account that English may have been unavailable as a communicative resource in the officer's linguistic repertoire, her behaviour is still restrictive, since, beyond that, she was not willing to adapt her use of German to the situational needs either. Again, reference to the discussed studies is reasonable, since the refusal of the officer to engage in communication very much reminds of the excerpt of the interview from Rienzner (2009: 88), which was presented at the beginning of chapter 3. The excerpt showed that, when the language use of the refugee did not match the interpreter's expectations and schemata, she quickly ended the conversation with the fatal conclusion that she could not understand what the interviewed asylum-seeker was saying. It can be said that in both examples the officer's/interpreter's behaviour was legitimised by the monolingual habitus of the institution involved. Moreover, the officer's rigidity in adhering to a 'German-only' practice reinforced and, thereby contributed to the maintenance of the institutionalised monolingual norm. As Wedat's second narrated anecdote involving public authorities' proofs, however, the officers are well in the position of expanding the range of communicative resources a linguistic minority speakers can draw upon for making themselves understood.

When Wedat had his first asylum-seeking interview with a state representative, communication happened through an interpreter, who, according to Wedat, had some prejudice towards him. The interpreter had an Egyptian background, a region where Wedat feels people would often have a negative attitude towards the group he identifies himself with. During the interview, Wedat had the feeling that the translations from Arabic to German provided by the interpreter did not transfer the meaning he had intended adequately. Following this impression, Wedat addressed the officer directly and used his English to intervene (*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016). The officer let it happen and accepted Wedat's appropriation of the direct interlocutor status.

In contrast to Wedat's encounter with the municipal authorities, the second narration provides evidence that, despite an institutionalised monolingual habitus, the individual people involved have constructive power over the availability of linguistic resources. This power is constituted in their choice between the adhering to or allowing some flexibility of the institutionalised framework of language practice. The example shows that the



communicative success was not threatened by this flexibility, to the contrary, Wedat could clarify and correct miscontextualised information.

Laith, reports of an encounter with authorities where the officer exerted a rigid monolingual language practice. In the interaction he recounts the representatives insisted on communicating through an interpreter only. He was refused to use German in addition (*Interview Laith*, 24 March 2016). Thereby, the officers denied him the possibility of drawing on the German knowledge he had already gained, which could have allowed for some direct interaction between the speakers. Considering that Laith is learning German to interact with local people, this experience must be especially intimidating, since it denies him the status of a user of German. His experience reflects Maryn's (2012) findings, which show that the either-or option between an interpreter and the institutional standard has a restricting effect on the multilingual speaker.

In conclusion, the data show that in communicative spaces which involve public authorities, these determine the availability of linguistic resources to a considerable degree. Complementary to the studies outlined in chapter 3, the narratives of the participating SIRs are narratives of subjection to monolingual norms enforced by institutional authorities. The reports also proof, however, that the habitus is flexible to some degree. The power of ultimate decision on whether this flexibility may be exploited or not lies in the competence of the authority's representative as individual interlocutor. From this follows that, next to the macro-level habitus, the interlocutor officer has considerable power over the availability and exploitability of the linguistic resources the refugee and the officer him/herself could draw upon for communication. In cases where the officer is allowing for some flexibility, ELF, for example, may be exploited as an additional means to convey meaning and to directly interact with the public authority's representative, rather than depending on the interpreter/translator as an indirect means of communication.

### **7.3.3 Public institutions**

This space has been included into the list because of the significance of the information provided by Caroline (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015). Her report is an account of the efforts made by people to close the conceptual gap between monolingual norm and multilingual reality, showing that also institutions have not remained "unberührt

[unaffected]" (Gogolin 2008: 257).<sup>29</sup> In the LDI, Caroline tells me about a public museum in Vienna, which is re-considering its institutionalised language practices as a reaction to an increasingly multilingual clientele. As partly tax-funded institution the heads see it as their duty to provide access to cultural goods for all tax payers and language is one crucial means for doing so. This means that the linguistic diversity of their customers has induced a change in the institutionalised language regime of the museum. This observation is strongly supporting the argument that language regimes are constructed and may be deconstructed to better accustom the speakers who act within (and beyond) these.

As she has close contact to the museum from long-term work relations, Caroline could offer some revealing insights into the museum's considerations on their role as a provider of cultural service and knowledge and their responsibility to take their share in the inclusion of refugees and immigrants. She reports, for a long time, German and English have been the institutionalised languages in the museum. Signs, as well as guided tours are provided in these two languages. Whenever visitors wanted tours in other languages, these would have been organised by a third party, like travel agencies.

In face of the growing multilingualism of the Austrian population, however, German and English are perceived to be an insufficient repertoire of languages to serve 'the' Austrian tax payer. At the moment, Caroline reports, there is a lack of tour guides who could offer other languages than German and English. In particular, there is a shortage in tour guides speaking languages that are spoken by refugees. The reported situation of the museum strongly suggests that institutionalised frameworks of language use are flexible. At the same time however, adaptations to a multilingual clientele may only be implemented slowly, since resources, like multilingual tour guides speaking languages other than German and English are not available yet. Despite the difficulties to implement a languagING service that could account for the demanded multilingualism, the museum, as Caroline reports, is taking measures to encourage immigrants and refugees to visit the museum. She mentions that the museum is offering free visits to organisations like *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. When this was made public, Caroline reports, the museum was heavily criticised on social media like *facebook*.

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<sup>29</sup> This phenomenon has also been discussed in chapter 4.

In conclusion, offering German and English seems to be a well established practice that is legitimised by the institution's linguistic framework. In face of a growing multilingual clientele, however, German, the dominant local language, and English, the dominant international language, are no longer considered sufficient means to grant the Austrian population access to the cultural goods the museum is holding. While English has been considered an adequate means to meet the demands of an international clientele of tourists for a long time, the museum recognises the linguistic diversity of its clientele and tax payers as a reason to adapt their institutional language policy. Until the museum can provide for the languages needed, the museum is mediating the invitation to come and make a visit via action (i.e. they offer free visits to refugees).

### **7.3.4 Private spaces**

In private spaces, like communicative situations including family members, partners and friends, the L1 of the speakers is the dominant language for all participants. As already indicated in the previous chapter, however, the lives of the participants are transcended by multilingualism. Particularly where family members and friends have a different L1, switching between languages, "Mischen [mixing]" (Interview Anne, 4 April 2016), and translanguaging seems to be a habitual phenomenon. Three participants (Maria, Anne and Haias) have used or use ELF as the medium of communication in their romantic relationships.

Where a relationship has been built through and in ELF, the speakers seem to be interested in keeping this medium. In each of the narrated cases German would, meanwhile, be an available option too. As the impressions of Anne and Haias indicate, power relations seem to play a particular role in the wish to maintain ELF as a means of conversation, or even as the 'means of relationship'.<sup>30</sup> Anne, for example, reports that a friend of her, who is a native speaker of Turkish, asked her to switch to using German, since she had already acquired a level in which she could communicate fluently. While Anne has tried to do so, after a while, she realised that she did not really approve of it, since she feels that the friendship could be threatened by her status as a native speaker of German. The following excerpt from the interview indicates that Anne feels, when she is using German with her friend, the friendship is instrumentalised as a site of learning and

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<sup>30</sup> For Haias' experience see 'Relationship (of power) among the interlocutors'.

changes her role from being a friend to being a teacher. As a consequence, she feels an imbalance in power relations in German, while in ELF she could meet her friend at eye-level:

**P6:** Da sind wir halt jetzt schon so auf English. Und es ist halt schon mehr auch *auf Augenhöhe*, weil wenn sie Deutsch spricht, es ist einfach nicht so gu-, oder es ist eh relativ gut, aber dann dauert es halt länger und *dann bin ich wieder gleich in der Position wo ich sie ausbessert* und ein Vokabel sag, wenn sie es nicht weiß.

**R:** Und das willst du in der Beziehung nicht.

**P6:** Ja, *weil wir ja Freunde sind*. Und wenn sie da ist und mit den Kindern redet, dann redet sie eh Deutsch mit ihnen.

(Interview Anne, 4 April 2016)

As Anne's commentaries suggest, in the private space, the kind of relationship and the initially established medium of conversation override the availability of certain media of conversation. Anne's and Haias' experience indicate that in close relationships ELF may be a medium in which power relations are perceived to be more balanced, since, in the cases discussed, it is an L2 to each of them. In comparison, inequality issues may arise in German for both participants (native speakers and non-native speakers of German). As a result, ELF seems to be the more desirable medium in close relationships for the participants mentioned.

### 7.3.5 The public sphere and service encounters

The space of communication which featured frequently in the SIR's LDs where related to grocery shopping in street-food markets and in supermarkets. In these places, where there is no institutionalised practice of languagING between personnel and customers, meaning that is attached to using a certain language seems to be a decisive factor in whether the interaction will develop into a positive or a negative experience for the interlocutors. As the narratives of Haias, Wedat and Laith indicate, the use of German can be employed as a strategy to solicit the interlocutor's willingness to cooperate in the negotiation of meaning. Particularly Wedat shows high awareness towards the effects of using English or German as a means to interact with locals:

In some places you cannot use English at all. In some places if you use German they see that you are putting an effort so they become a little bit willing to use other languages. And in some places you just use the Arabic. (Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016).

Wedat seems to be able to consciously employ the resources in his linguistic repertoire to influence the course of the conversation. In the supermarket, which he visits regularly to buy lunch, he has already built some kind of relationship with the shop-assistants. Meanwhile, he reports, they know him and also use the opportunity to teach Wedat some words in German when he is using them inappropriately or lacks some vocabulary. On the one hand, the shop-assistants seem to be willing to interact with Wedat. On the other, however, the condition for their cooperativeness seems to be determined by whether Wedat is making an effort to use German, or not. The line between supporting Wedat in learning German and imposing German on Wedat seems to be a very fine one.

Using English, by contrast, seems to be interpreted as a sign of 'the' refugee's unwillingness to adapt to 'the' Austrian system, which is also indicated by Wedat's experience described in 7.2.2, where the officer refused to engage in meaning negotiation. Furthermore, using the interlocutor's L1 also seems to be a sign of appreciation of the interlocutor's identity, which has already been mentioned in 7.1.4.2. As Caroline describes, she believes that

Sobald du halbwegs versuchst die Sprache anderer Menschen zu sprechen, bist du schon einen Schritt auf sie zugegangen, und implizierst nicht, dass sie dich verstehen müssen und das spüren sie und die Reaktion kommt dann auch immer zurück (*Interview Caroline*, 30 March 2015).

In conclusion, it can be said that the monolingual habitus, as well as the wider societal discursive interpretation of refugees' use of German as a sign of their willingness to adapt to local norms, considerably determined the reactions of the shop-assistants towards the languagING behaviour of Wedat. 'Attitude of the interlocutor' and 'willingness to cooperate in the negotiation of meaning' appear as the most prominent influences on language practices in the service encounters described. In addition, factors related to language identity seem to enforce the effect of German as a mediational means to convey appreciation of 'the' German speaker. In sum, however, in the narratives it is the refugee who has to make the first step by showing willingness to subsume to the dominant languagING norm. A speaker, like Wedat, who is aware of these effects of languagING choices, may exploit the discursive connotations of his linguistic resources to his benefit. His reports show that, once he has signalled his will to adopt dominant local norms, he can work within this linguistic framework and probably, use some English and make the

limits of the present language regime more flexible. Arabic, however, seems to be widely unavailable.

### 7.3.6 The work place

Since only three out of the six participants have held a regular occupation at the time of the interviews, the work place was not regarded as a particular site of interest for the study conducted. As Wedat's delineations of the languagING practices in his office, however, were of such significance, it has been included in this paper. His reports show that, although the company where he works has institutionalised English as the official language, multilingualism is appreciated and welcome. In general, the staff is international, including native and non-native speakers of English. Wedat reports that there are other Arabic speakers from Jordan and Libanon, who have been in Austria for a long time and who speak German fluently. He tells me that he sometimes jokes around with them in Arabic, and sometimes, they also use German. Since his colleagues do not expect him to speak German, he can decide for himself when he does. Usually, as he reports, he receives very positive reactions when he does.

**P4:** they don't expect me to: to speak erm german

**R:** yeah

**P4:** but when I (.) like throw a sentence? out of the blue

**R:** yeah

**P4:** it's @ just they- @ they liked it @

(*Interview Wedat, 25 March 2016*).

In conclusion, Wedat seems to be working in a company where multilingualism is the norm, although English, or, more specific, EIL, is the common policy of communication. In addition, the societally dominant language of Vienna, German, is less important at his workplace. For many of his colleagues, German is not an L1 and also the discursive meaning attached to it (German as a signal of willingness to integrate into Austrian society)<sup>31</sup> is widely absent. Rather, appreciation of each speaker's language seems to be exerted.

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<sup>31</sup> Discussed in 7.3.5 'The public sphere and service encounters'.

## 8 Summary of findings

### 8.1 A complex network of availability factors

In the pursuit of research question *i. Which factors determine the availability of ELF and other languagING resources in the linguistic repertoires of the participants?* I generated a list of factors that influence the participants' language choices and practices. These individual and biographical, situational and social factors play an instrumental role for which linguistic resources the participants can draw upon in communicative encounters with speakers with whom they do not share a common linguacultural ground. On condition that the abstracted factors are re-contextualised to the individual participants' experiences, the generalised availability factors help to get a better understanding of the significance of language choices and languagING practices in the every-day communicative situations of refugees and locals in Vienna. The factors provide information about which influences have a restricting effect on the speaker's linguistic freedom. Equipped with this knowledge, I could draw conclusions about what makes a linguistic framework discriminating and where and how action and measures could be taken to create linguistically juster frameworks for both refugees and locals.

As regards my roles as a researcher and participant in the field, it can be said that, overall, the research benefitted from my rapport with the participants and my role as an 'insider'. Through this status I could obtain a more genuine interpretation of the participants' narratives than a non-participating researcher would have been able to. The characteristic subjectivity of the participatory research approach could be compensated for through involving the participants as co-researchers. Thereby, significance and content of data was widely determined by the participants themselves. In the next stage of research, the LDI, the participants and I were able to elaborate further on the significance and meaning of the experiences they had made. Relative to the degree of abstraction and reflection that could be reached in the interview, the participants expressed explicit and implicit views on languages and communicative resources in their linguistic repertoires. From the obtained data I could then derive and infer what influences take effect on their languagING choices in encounters with refugees/locals. As the participants could refuse to reveal more information or simply did not share my view of what would be significant, the collected data can be said to be offering a view from the participants' perspective.

## **8.2 The manifestation of availability factors in the participants' daily lives**

Research question ii. *(How do these factors influence the availability of ELF in the individual participant's linguistic repertoire in concrete situations? How is this linked to the meaning of different languages as mediational means in the communicative spaces the participants (socially involved refugees and socially engaged citizens) encounter in their daily lives?)* represents the core of the study and has been elaborated on in chapter 7. In the elaboration of the individual availability factors, I have provided extracts of the interviews and descriptions of the participant's narrated experiences to enable and encourage the reader to fill the abstract categories of factors with the according concrete meaning(s). By alternating between the perspective of the participants who encounter the 'Viennese reality' as social actors, and the perspective of the researcher, the levels of direct communicative interaction and reflection are linked to obtain a better understanding of how the discursive, individual and spatio-temporal dimensions of language use manifest in actual language practices.

The results support the analysis of language use and experience requires an understanding of multilingualism as described by Busch (2013). The participants' narratives are involving experiences from the past, emotional connotations with languages and plans for their future lives. The data show that an individual's biographical language experience considerably influence language experience and use in present situations (summarised in 'A. Individual factors'). At the same time, the interlocutor and the communicative space are critical factors influencing the availability of ELF and other languaging resources in concrete encounters.

The participants' narratives reveal that social factors (category B.) centering on the closeness of the interlocutors' relationship to each other and the perceived power-relations can cause a certain language or language practice to be undesirable or unavailable for the individual speaker. Linking these observations to the dimension of societal discourse on immigration, the factor of the interlocutor's attitude towards the participant as a representative of a certain social group, like 'the refugees', is of great consequence to the legitimacy of using ELF in the encounter.

As a variable of the macro-space the interlocutor also plays a significant role for the availability of linguistic resources. Where monolingual language regimes are followed rigidly, the participants cannot use their full linguistic potential in negotiating meaning.



Supporting previous studies, my findings reveal that the monolingual habitus in institutions of public authorities have restrictive effects on the refugees' freedom to express themselves. Most significantly, the data also strongly suggest that officers interacting with refugees on the micro-level, may create juster languagING conditions by allowing some flexibility to the institutionalised practice.

Moreover, the data show that there are institutions, like museums, that take responsibility for their language practice, reconsider their habits and take measures to adapt their practice to the multilingual reality of their clientele. The data also suggest that the macro-space of 'Inclusion organisations' is opening up spaces where the actors, through participation, declare their willingness to engage in establishing common linguacultural ground. However, the principal interest in 'the other' does not guarantee that speakers in this setting are released from the habits of monolingual language practices and norms. The data suggest that the effort that is perceived to be necessary in following the purpose of interaction is crucial to determining where speakers resort to monolingual habits and where they are ready to adapt to the multilingual reality.

### **8.3 The encounter between refugees and locals as a challenge to the monolingual norm**

Results for research question *iii. In how far do the participants' languagING practices reconstruct/deconstruct monolingual norms?* have already been mentioned above, since the analysis of the individual language experience and the languagING choices of the participants involve reference to indicators for their language rationales. In general, it can be said that some of the participants show a very high level of language awareness and are able to exploit this awareness in communicative encounters. Particularly those participants who have substantial experience with multilingual settings and the use of ELF, seem to be successfully languagING the challenges of the transnational and translingual communicative space.

The data indicate that speakers who have mainly lived in monolingual, or apparently monolingual settings, have more difficulties in negotiating meaning in multilingual encounters. The narratives and experiences reported by the participants strongly suggest that these difficulties go beyond the factor of mere language knowledge but are related to conceptualisations of and experiences with multilingualism. The participants' meta-commentaries often appear as manifestations of a monolingual conceptualisation of

language and a reductionist concept of English which is oriented towards native speaker norms. In some instances the use of English, when it is actually used as lingua franca, causes an impediment to meaning negotiation because the speakers insist on native speaker norms. In other instances, the participants appropriate 'the' language according to the needs of the communicative situation, without hesitating to deviate from what they conceive as 'proficient' English.

In conclusion, both, multilingually experienced and inexperienced participants, often contradict their apparent concepts of language in their actual languagING behaviour. In addition, the data suggest that the participants perceive a gap between the 'English' they have learnt at school and the English they eventually use. This perception strongly suggests that the participants find themselves between monolingual norms and multilingual realities. Since their daily communicative encounters, however, require them to find practices that go beyond a monolingual understanding of the world, the participants – SIRs and SECs – are, *in situ*, inventing and creating communicative means that fulfill their communicative needs.

I started this research project with the aim of finding alternatives for communicative practices that could help to safeguard linguistic rights and just treatment of linguistic minority speakers and refugees in particular. These practices will be presented in the following chapter. In addition, the study showed that language awareness and reflection on habitual language practices are key to how consciously and to what degree a speaker can seize his/her potential agency in shaping the linguistic framework of a communicative situation. In chapter 9 I will further elaborate on the significance of language awareness. It will shortly be discussed how the found languagING practices and the general findings could be exploited as a positive feedback to the research field. Before concluding the paper, I am arguing that the insights gained from this research project carry clear implications for ELT and its role as an educational practice with ethical and socio-political responsibilities. Speaking from the perspective of a future English teacher myself, I am raising critical questions as regards the neglect of ELT to genuinely account for the reality of ELF in the language classroom.

## **9 LanguagING practices from the research field**

Eventually, I am presenting the languagING practices and aspects of language use which my participants have reported about in their LDs and our LDIs. In these practices the

participants indirectly express their genuine interest in 'the other' and realise this interest in their way of communicating. The participating SIRs and SECs actively engage in the negotiation of meaning and create

a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience (LiWei 2011: 1223).

By "making it into a lived experience", the participants are establishing a community of practice which is based on the willingness to put an effort into establishing common linguacultural ground. In addition, the participants accept the demands of this communicative effort as the "logical consequences of the intersection between mobile people and mobile texts – an intersection no longer located in a definable territory, but in the deterritorialized world of late modern communication" (Jacquement 2005: 261).

In the sense of Bakhtin's (1997) "Vielstimmigkeit" of multilingualism/heteroglossia (see section 3.3.3) as taken up by Busch (2013: 10), the participants position themselves to the voices circulating in the greater societal discourse on immigration and 'the refugee crisis'. Given that language is inextricably interwoven with social relations, the SIRs and SECs of Vienna find creative ways and innovate languagING practices quasi as a by-product of their deliberate engagement with 'the other'. Once more it is pointed out that "text exists as a symptom of pragmatic intent" (Widdowson 2004: 14). Between monolingual norms and multilingual realities the participants seek to meet the challenges of communication in a globalised world. In doing so, they are not only negotiating meaning but also the traditional norms and assumptions about 'language' and the power of the so-called "präbabylonische Phantasien [pre-babylonian phantasies]" (Busch 2010) which are producing discriminating and restrictive spaces of communication and language practice.

The following practices of language use, attitudes and rationales of the participants have been extracted from the data and are considered to be challenging the monolingual habitus. These practices are called 'languagING practices'. Through languagING the participants are widening the range of communicative resources in their repertoires. In the realisation of these, they are suggesting alternatives to those language practices which own legitimacy in already established language regimes. Of course, these alternative practices must not be understood as a recipe for successful communication. Instead these

linguagING practices, like ELF, can be considered to be additional tools for communication (Seidlhofer 2011b: 69; House 2014: 375), and not substitutes for existing linguistic resources.

One of my participants, Maria, expressed this understanding most clearly in describing her attitude towards the languages she has in her repertoire: "Ich bin froh, dass ich alle meine Sprachen hab. Also ich glaub, es gibt gar nicht die Sprache wo alles geht. [I am happy about having all my languages. I think that there is no language in which you can do everything.]" (*Interview Maria*, 23 March 2016). The following languagING practices are, hence, not substitutes for existing practices but enriching additions to a repertoire that has been built on traditional beliefs about language and culture – a limited repertoire which cannot satisfy the communicative needs of a globalised world.

The participants ...

- ... explicitly ask, or try a range of languages they speak to check which medium could serve as a basis for the negotiation of meaning in the concrete encounter;
- ... adapt the difficulty and complexity of sentence structures to the level of language knowledge the interlocutor appears to have;
- ... do not insist on using the dominant language German if the interlocutor does not want to (depending on the perspective, this applies to both language learners and natives of German);
- ... make their language choices dependent on the purpose of interaction. In the study sample, the participants preferred to use ELF instead of the dominant language German where learning/teaching it was not the purpose. In many cases the participants reported that ELF would be the more neutral option as regards the power relations between the speakers. Of course, this only applies if both speakers have knowledge of the English;
- ... acknowledge and appreciate the L1(s) of the interlocutor and show a genuine interest in the person him/herself and his/her language(s);
- ... keep checking if a message has been understood as intended throughout the interaction. The participants do so by asking explicitly and by observing facial and bodily reactions, as well as consequential actions. Sharing responsibility for the effectiveness of communication, speaker A's checking for understanding and

speaker B's signalling of understanding is equally important to establishing a space for shared meaning negotiation.

- ... create a communicative space where 'mistakes' are allowed. 'Mistakes' are perceived as logical consequences of trying out a language. Thereby, the speakers establish an atmosphere where learners can conceive of themselves as users of their new language.
- ... acknowledge that communication in culturally and linguistically heterogeneous speaker groups are demanding time and processes of adaptation of all individuals involved.
- ... acknowledge that both parties in the communicative encounter share responsibility over the effectiveness of communication and that both have the power to influence the course of the interaction.
- ... pay attention to where others may be excluded as a consequence of the medium chosen for communication and take respective measures for inclusion.

It will be noticed that many of these practices are nothing new or special, however, as the study shows, realisation of languagING practices is not developing easily and self-evidently. As I have emphasised already, working through these languagING practices will not automatically prompt a speaker to deconstruct and question the monolingual habitus.

Language and languagING are social matters and, hence, tied to conceptualisations, ideals and values of how we view the world. A genuine transformation of the monolingual norm cannot be reached by imposing a multilingual world view on the speakers. It is the speakers themselves who have to realise multilingualism and their responsibility as language users, both in a conceptual and material sense. I, therefore, understand language awareness as a powerful critical attitude and state and process of mind that can contribute to a conscious and responsible use of language. This kind of consciousness and reflective attitude may be key to taking over "[the] responsibility of the speaker" which consists in "negotiating legacies of usage that constrain and enable that speaker's speech" Butler (1997: 27). The transformative potential of language awareness has also shown to be an influence on the availability of ELF and other linguistic resources (e.g. "In some places you cannot use English at all. In some places if you use German they see that you are putting an effort so they become a little bit willing to use other languages. And in some places you just use the Arabic" (*Interview Wedat*, 25 March 2016). In the following chapter

I will discuss in how far the awareness of one's own language practices and those practiced in the encountered communicative space could be exploited to promote the creation of linguistically just frameworks of language use.

### **9.1 The transformative potential of awareness**

With my understanding of 'awareness' I am following scholars like Mead (1913), Emirbayer and Mische (1998) and Busch (2013), who have emphasised the correlation between a speaker's agency and the degree of reflection on his/her habitual (language) practices. In this sense, I am understanding 'language awareness' as a continuous process and product of the endeavour to critically trace and find out about what has shaped the ideas about 'the' different languages in one's linguistic repertoire, what it means to use a certain linguistic resource in a certain linguistic space, and what social effects one may produce with particular languagING choices. This endeavour requires an act of self-consciousness as described by Mead (1913: 376):

Where we are intensely preoccupied with the objective world, this accompanying awareness [of memory] disappears. We have to recall the experience to become aware that we have been involved as selves, to produce the self-consciousness which is a constituent part of a large part of our experience.

Geiger's (2016) recent case studies on tolerated refugees in Germany are particularly relevant for a better understanding of the co-relative relationship between individuals' level of reflection on their concrete experiences and the degree of situational agency they can take. In agreement with my own approach, she emphasises that individuals, despite restrictive actional frameworks, have (de-)constructive power over these. Geiger (2016: 131-132) concludes that individuals, more or less consciously,

versuchen, Einfluss auf ihre Situation zu nehmen, Strukturen zu verändern, zu ihren Gunsten zu nutzen oder zu umgehen und ihnen damit nicht völlig ausgeliefert zu sein. Es können [mit angemessenen wissenschaftlichen Herangehensweisen] Personen gezeigt werden, die Talente und Fähigkeiten besitzen und (ganz normale) Zukunftspläne haben. Die Herausforderung und Aufgabe der Politik und der Gesellschaft ist es, diesen Personen auf einer Augenhöhe zu begegnen, dabei Unterstützungsbedarf zu erkennen und diesem nachzukommen. Flüchtlinge brauchen Unterstützungsangebote, welche ihre Selbstverantwortung stärken, vor allem aber brauchen sie die dazugehörigen Bedingungen, unter denen sie ihre vorhandenen und kreativen Kompetenzen und Fähigkeiten gewinnbringend einsetzen können und somit Teil unserer Gesellschaft werden können.

[try to influence their situation, change structures to their benefit or avoid them in order not to be subjected to them. With the help of appropriate research approaches it can be shown that individuals (refugees) have talents, skills and normal plans for their future. The challenge for politics and the society is to meet these people at eye-level and, at the same time, recognise their need for support and take appropriate measures. Refugees need to be supported in a way that empowers their self-responsibility. Moreover, they need to be granted the necessary conditions under which they can employ their existing and creative competences and skills to their benefit and consequently, can become part of our society.]

In reference to Emirbayer and Mische (1998), and as I have emphasised throughout, the individual speaker as social actor is considered to have transformative potential. This, however, entails that the individual speaker can also re-produce and re-enforce existing and problematic language practices.

Let me briefly call to mind Wedat's experience of feeling "like a deaf in a party" (see section 7.3.1). It showed that habitual patterns of language use seem to make us reluctant towards invention and creation of new communicative tools. His experience indicates that despite their general interest in and their acceptance of Wedat as a member of the team, the individual speakers in the team of *FremdeWerdenFreunde* did not realise this acceptance in their language practice. In consequence, Wedat could not take over the role of a contributing team member.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the heritage of a repertoire of communicative resources which has been based on the belief in homogeneous groups of speakers (Jacquement 2005: 260), causes a tendency to disregard the fact that communication is a dialogic action, that convergence in and through language is not something given but something speakers need to negotiate, and that language as a shared linguistic system cannot assure a 100 percent transmission of meaning. Rather, only "[w]here your reality corresponds to mine, or where you are prepared to co-operate in seeing things my way, then there can be convergence between intention and interpretation. Otherwise, there will be a disparity" (Widdowson 2004: 13).

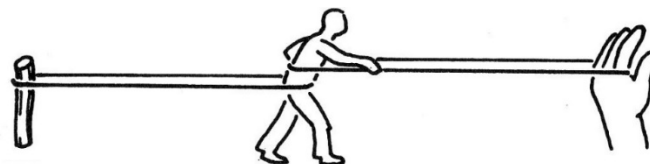
As I have delineated in chapter 3, the neglect of acknowledging these disregarded qualities of language and communication leads to unreflected assumptions about what 'language' as a linguistic system can do for its speakers. These unreflected assumptions manifest in discriminating and restricting language practices. Their enforcement seems to indicate speakers' attempt to 'cut themselves off' from a reality which cannot be

understood with the traditional tools of the territory-culture-language legacy (Jacquement 2005: 260). Using the words of my participant, Anne, I ask whether it is truly possible to negate the reality of the diversity a globalised world entails, or rather has to offer:

Das (Flüchtlinge) sind jetzt einfach unsere Mitmenschen, sie leben jetzt auch da und, irgendwie, ja, kann man sich da abkapseln? (O) Es ist ja auch eine totale Bereicherung;

[These (refugees) are our fellow human beings, they are living here now and, well, can you really cut yourself off? (O) Actually, it is an absolute enrichment] (Interview Anne, 4 April 2016).

By actively seeking contact with refugees, SECs in Vienna are opening up communicative spaces that could function as a motor for social change and the promotion of the re-consideration of legitimised (language) practices. Referring back to Geiger (2016: 131-132), these locals are actively exposing themselves to this challenging communicative space of the encounter between refugees and locals, instead of avoiding them. In these encounters the participants find themselves between naturalised monolingual norms and emerging multilingual realities. To illustrate the state of tension in which the individual social actors (have to) act, I am borrowing the model of *creative tension* (Senge 1990):



**Figure 3: Creative Tension (LearningHouse adaptation of Peter Senge's (1990) concept)**

The illustration can be interpreted as follows: The left side represents the restraining monolingual and habitual language practice. Like an immobile wooden post which is exposed to external conditions and weathering but still strong enough to hold the rope, it is inflexible and holding back the person, i.e. the speaker. On the other side, the side towards which the speaker is oriented, is a mobile and flexible hand which is drawing the speaker forward and represents the multilingual reality. Orientation towards the multilingual reality may be the first step to gradually move away from the monolingual norm. The tension in which the speaker then finds him/herself reflects that overcoming traditional notions and concepts is requiring a lot of effort from the individual



him/herself. No one else can do this for him/her. I am arguing, however, that research and education could support the individual speaker and social actor to resolve the tension between the monolingual concept and the multilingual reality. Moreover, entrusted with the concern for understanding socio-cultural phenomena and promoting societal development, research in the humanities, as well as education have a responsibility to provide this support. One way of doing so could be the creation of language awareness raising conditions and methods to encourage the de-construction of naturalised and habitual norms and practices.

Emerging from this understanding, the research project I have carried out aims beyond a purely descriptive account and is interested in exploiting the transformative potential of the articulation of a concept-reality gap and knowledge generation as a tool to induce language awareness raising processes of thought. Agreeing with the MDA approach as formulated by Scollon, I am employing research with the purpose of raising awareness towards "the significance of social action" (Scollon 2001: 143). In my study the social action of interest is enacted through language, or as I have called it 'languagING'. Social actions are understood as media through which "social actors produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives which is the ground in which society is produced and reproduced" (Scollon 2001: 140).

Offering insights into the languagING behaviour of speakers in every-day life encounters, the results could be of interest to everyone who is living in this increasingly multicultural, multilingual and multinational society. Following Jacquement (2005: 273), I am once more emphasising that living in these circumstances requires us to acknowledge "[t]he identification and establishment of common ground itself [...] as a major challenge in the process of communication". With the eventual aim of the empowerment of social actors, refugees as well as locals, the methods I have applied in this research project exploit the transformative potential of reflection by encouraging the participants to take a step away from "the level of contact experience", to the level of distance experience, "the deliberate attitude" (Mead 1932: 71-76). In the interviews the participants reported that the recording of their daily language practices made them realise phenomena and patterns of language use they had never really thought about before. These insights were usually articulated as an answer to my first interview question about the experience of writing a LD. Also during the interviews, the participants showed signs of ongoing reflectional

processes about their habitual practices. I, therefore, conclude that the research method of LDIs could promote linguistic empowerment for the participants by reflecting on the habitual practice of language use which is usually not characterised by deliberate decision making (Busch 2013: 35).

With this understanding of research and the transformative potential of awareness raising, I am agreeing with Emirbayer and Mische (1998), who have developed a theoretical and analytical model of 'agency', which is, like Busch's approach to multilingualism (2013), grounded in the co-presence of the dimensions of space and a "*chordal triad*" of past, present and future in concrete social interaction:

What are commonly referred to as norms and values [...] are themselves by-product of actors' engagement with one another in ambiguous and challenging circumstances; they emerge when individuals experience a discordance between the claims of multiple normative commitments. Problematic situations of a moral and practical nature can thus become resolved [...] *only when actors reconstruct the temporal-relational contexts within which they are embedded and, in the process, transform their own values and themselves.* [my emphasis] (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 1012-1013).

As a sequel to the research project and feedback to the research field itself, the insights of studies like mine could be exploited to induce language awareness raising processes of thought, not only through informing the social actors about the results but through language awareness raising activities. An enriching and valuable basis for such activities is provided by Frketic (2014). Following the research project *Mehr Sprachen = mehr [Mit-/]Sprache*, the contributing organisations have published a handbook including possible methods for raising language awareness and the necessary educational and theoretical considerations to these. Under condition of contextualisation according to the needs of the people involved in *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, language awareness raising workshops and activities, as suggested in the handbook could be a valuable tool to support SECs and SIRs in their efforts to bridge the gap between the monolingual norm and their multilingual realities.

As a translanguaging space (LiWei 2011), the communicative encounters between refugees and locals in Vienna have great transformative potential. Carrying out workshops could help to actively exploit this potential for social change. As the study has shown, some of the participants already show a high degree of reflection as concerns their practices in interactions with refugees/locals. In particular, Maria, whose life is

characterised by a transnational as well as translingual reality, seems to consciously exploit her awareness as a tool to reform social practices in the greater context and establish a community of practice that is in accordance with her vision of a harmonious society of cultural diversity.

Maria, for example, consciously decides to act counter dominant discursive perspectives on the priority of learning German for including refugees into local society. This shows that she is acting from what Mead (1932: 71) considers to be the highest level of transformative agency. This is constituted in

the culmination of sociality in communicative interaction, in which social meanings and values develop out of the capacity to take on the perspectives of (concrete and generalized) others. [...] Actors develop their deliberative capacities as they confront emergent situations that impact upon each other and pose increasingly complex problems, which must be taken up as challenges by the responsive (and communicative) intelligence. (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 969).

The transformative potential of a social actor's, i.e. a language user's deliberate performances must be understood as applying to all dimensions of language. The fluidity and flexibility of 'language', hence, is not only a question of the change of form through language use, but also of what may be performed and constructed as 'real' through a certain language practice.

In the monolingual habitus the fluidity and fuzziness of categories like 'English' is usually obscured. The nature of ELF, which is constituted in the ad hoc negotiation of meaning (Seidlhofer 2011b: 98), makes this fluidity an experienceable notion. I am, therefore, arguing that the re-conceptualisation of 'English' as 'ELF', may be a promising cognitive process that could promote the de-construction of "the legacy of this linkage between territory, cultural tradition, and language" (Jacquement 2005: 260). As the study has shown, simply using 'English' as lingua franca does not necessarily translate into a conceptualisation of English as ELF by the speakers. These insights have important and ethical implications for ELT, which I am discussing in the following subchapter.

## 9.2 Implications for ELT: the case for teaching languagING

In this chapter I am linking socio-linguistic research with the field of ELT and would like to emphasise, as I have done elsewhere (Radinger 2015: 2), that I consider it as a professional duty of teachers to critically question their own values and beliefs and those which they are supposed to make part of their teaching. Eventually, it is their pedagogic decisions and perspective through which the students are taught and influenced to develop certain concepts of English. Speaking from this critical perspective as an English language teacher, I am addressing the following considerations to ELT and colleagues in language teaching.

In dissociation of re-invoking the reductionist funnel-model of teaching and learning, it is crucial to acknowledge that the 'English' we present as teachers, contributes to how learners and future users of the learnt language conceive of 'English' and 'language'. As emphasised by Dendrinos (1992: 39-76), media of education, i.e. teachers and teaching material like course books are instruments through which ideologies are disseminated. To illustrate this important role of ELT and the language teacher, I have adapted *Figure 1*, which I provided in chapter 5 as an illustration of the different dimensions and factors influencing the availability of linguistic resources in communicative encounters. The avatar with the glasses and the red t-shirt stands for the role ELT and the individual teachers play for the maintenance and potential de-construction of ideologies.

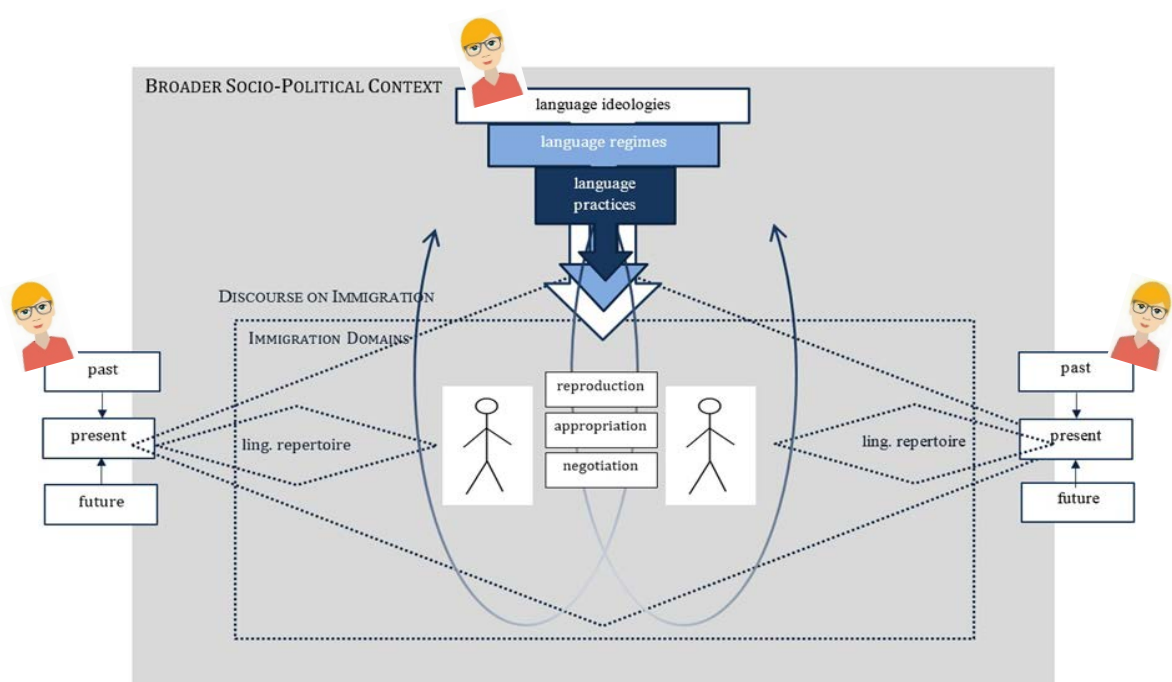


Figure 4: The role of ELT in the construction of the LanguagING space

What can ELT, in theory and in practice, make of the insights into the languagING practices of SIRs and SECs that I am providing in this paper? I am arguing that the findings of this research project strongly support the criticism that has been raised against the dominance of native speaker norms in ELT (Widdowson 1994; 1998a; Cook 1999; Kirkpatrick 2006; Seidlhofer 2011b). In addition my findings complement the argument that the introduction of an ELF perspective into the language classroom is not only a matter of the question what language is the best 'to learn from' (Widdowson 1998a), but also a question of how 'English' is conceived (Seidlhofer 2011b: 178).

In view of the concept-reality gap that has been revealed in this research project, how 'language' is conceived should, for ethical and practical reasons, be a primary concern of any language teaching theory and practice, or as I understand it, of any theory and practice of teaching languagING. As these arguments are so essential to ELT, I will elaborate on them in detail and show that the relation between language education and the persistence of restrictive monolingual norms cannot be denied.

The most relevant insights of my study which point to the need to make awareness of ELF part of classroom 'reality', are

- ... firstly, the individual interlocutors, refugees as well as locals, have remarkable power over the course of a communicative encounter and the degree to which linguistic resources and languagING resources are available and exploitable;
- ... secondly, the impediment of the development of innovative and creative languagING practices which results from the persistence of monolingual norms and the belief in homogeneous speaker groups;
- ... and, thirdly, participants' perceive a gap between the 'English' they have learnt at school and the English they are using for communication in linguistically heterogeneous groups of speakers.

My investigations into the language practices and experiences of SIRs and SECs in Vienna revealed that, next to individual biographical factors, situational and social conditions determine whether a communicative space is restricting speakers in the exploitation of their full linguistic repertoires. Supporting a co-constructive theoretical model of reality, the data also show that the *individuals involved are instrumental in the manifestation of the language regime of the macro-space*. Hence, their conformity or non-conformity to legitimised language practices is crucial to the maintenance or de-construction of the

established norm. Particularly where macro-spaces are characterised by a rigid and monolingual framework of language practice, *speakers literally become the instruments through which its underlying norms, notions of 'language', and construction of speaker roles are brought to reality.*

In spaces where linguistic freedom would be granted on the micro-level, speakers themselves may contribute to the enforcement of monolingual and reductionist conceptualisations of English by insisting on native speaker norms. At the same time, the data show that the participants, in many cases, counteract these norms. As regards the use of English, however, their appropriation of their 'English' according to the concrete communicative situation seems to pass unnoticed for the speakers themselves, at least on the conceptual level. As a result the participants' concepts of English do not appear to fit their actual use of English in the communication with local Viennese citizens or, from the locals' perspective, with the refugees.

Still, like the teachers in Gogolin's (2008) study on teacher practices with a multilingual student body, the speakers do not remain "unberührt [unaffected]" (2008: 257) by the linguistic diversity they encounter. Instead of reconsidering their concepts, however, the conflict between concept and reality seems to translate into the perception of a gap between the 'English' they have learnt and the English they use. For speakers who remain on the unreflected reactional level and have a monolingual concept of language and English, ELF is unlikely to become a 'reality'. This means that, despite the speakers' use of their 'English' as ELF, its full communicative potential may be left unexploited. The restrictive force in this case is the speaker him/herself. Between monolingual conceptualisations and multilingual realities, the speakers struggle to resolve the tension between them. It follows that "what counts is not how much of the language is learnt, but *how it is conceived* [my emphasis]" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 178).

As already emphasised before, taking a step away from the "level of contact experience" (Mead 1932: 71-76) is key for re-conceptualising 'English' and 'language' according to the requirements of a multilingual reality. At the same time, assuming an ELF perspective makes the fluidity of 'language' an experiential reality. The essence of ELF thinking lies in the appropriation of 'English' to the situational needs of the speakers. On the condition that the native speaker orientation has been overcome, learner language then can be considered to share essential characteristics with ELF use. "From this perspective, what

learners are doing, and should be encouraged to do, is engaging in the same strategic process of appropriation and adaptation that typifies the language of ELF users" (Seidlhofer 2011: 189).

I am arguing that the inclusion of ELF as a reality of 'English' in the English learning classroom may be a way to promote language awareness and the development of conceptualisations which allow learners and future users of English to close the gap between conceptual monolingual norms and the "sprachliche Verschiedenheit, die sich der Migration verdankt, [und] jederzeit, allerorten und höchst variantenreich auftritt [linguistic diversity, which results from migration, and occurs at any time, any place and in the most variant forms]" (Gogolin 2008:20). As Seidlhofer (2011b: 208) points out, "the pedagogic relevance of ELF [...] is that it suggests an alternative way of thinking". Through experiential and conscious investigations into the fluidity and diversity that characterises 'English' as a lingua franca, the students may be encouraged to capture the sociality of language and the shared responsibility for the effectiveness of communication. In addition, the ELF perspective could promote the development of conceptualisation skills which allow speakers to move beyond language use as a reaction, to language use as languagING, i.e. as active and conscious decision making in communication. Assuming an ELF perspective, therefore, is a means to promote students' language awareness, which, in turn, allows them to consciously make languagING decisions that can enhance linguistic freedom and effectiveness for the speakers involved.

ELT as theory and practice, hence, has great potential in promoting conceptual flexibility and language agency of English language users. Moreover, as to the widespread status of EIL and the widespread teaching of it, the ELT community could actually serve as an international basis for actively encouraging a *community of languagING practice*. In conclusion, ELT has the potential to become an "Instrument des sozialen Wandels [instrument of social change]" (Fend 2006: 49). I am re-emphasising the understanding of the role of English language teachers put forward by Gee in 1994, which was echoed by Pennycook (1999: 346) in 1999: "English teachers are at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural, and political issues of our time" (Gee 1994: 190).

In view of this far reaching potential of ELT and the responsibility towards our students and society, critical voices may raise the question why the traditional and established theory and practice of ELT, and its teachers, are widely excluding the multilingual reality

and ELF from the classroom. Standing at the crossroads of maintenance and de-construction of the impeding monolingual conceptualisations of English and language, ELT and teachers seem to be oriented towards what has already been legitimised as 'appropriate' language practice, instead of encouraging learners to appropriate 'English' for their own communicative needs.

As my previous analysis of an officially approved ELT course book in Austria (Radinger 2015) indicates, in 2015, the representation of English in classrooms is still characterised by the native speaker ideal and Standard Language ideology. Recent studies in other socio-geographic contexts found similar results, showing that the monolingual norm and the legacy of the territory-culture-language legacy (Jacquement 2005: 260) are still dominant in ELT (Matsuda 2002; Song 2013).

Furthermore, in the Austrian context, ELT curricula anchor the legitimacy of the native speaker supremacy in form of 'proficiency' bands which are formulated according to native speaker conventions (Council of Europe 2001: 35).<sup>32</sup> From a critical position, it has to be said that such ELT is indirectly responsible for the maintenance of restrictive language regimes, since it contributes to the dissemination of the monolingual norm and the traditional belief in homogeneous speaker groups. By offering students a reductionist representation of 'English', ELT is feeding this myth, instead of guiding the students to conceptualise the diversity and fluidity characterising English today.

According to Fend (2006: 49), the societal function of school and education is constituted in

der Reproduktion und Innovation von Strukturen von Gesellschaft und Kultur beim biologischen Austausch der Mitglieder einer Gesellschaft [the reproduction and innovation of societal structures and culture with its members being biologically replaced].

Taking this into consideration, I am arguing that ELT's failure to account for the diversity of actual realisations of English in the classroom must be seen as a disregard of its function of social and cultural innovation. By maintaining the focus on the reproduction of existing structures, the educational system loses its potential for becoming an instrument of social

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<sup>32</sup> The curricula prescribing the required levels of 'proficiency' for the different school types and grades are provided online by the Austrian ministry for education and women. <https://www.bmbf.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/index.html> (19 May 2016).



change. This potential could manifest itself as an orientation towards the learners and methods designed to equip students with new qualifications required in the modern world, "um zukünftige Aufgaben bewältigen zu können [in order to be able to manage future challenges]" (2006: 49). Leaving this potential widely unexploited, ELT evades the communicative and social challenge of finding ways to "[t]he identification and establishment of common ground itself" (Jacquemet 2005: 273). As a consequence the learners/users of English are left alone with the difficult task of resolving the disagreements between the monolingual habitus and the linguistic diversity of its speakers. This seems to reflect a general educational neglect, which Gogolin (2008: 20) describes as an

Überkommene Leistung schulischer sprachlicher Bildung, die sich als Beschränkung kommunikativer Möglichkeiten des einzelnen entpuppt und es ihm[/ihr] auflädt, die Diskrepanzen zu den gesellschaftlichen Anforderungen auf eigene Faust zu überbrücken

[outdated amenity of school language education, which turns out to operate as a restriction upon an individual's range of communicative resources in the endeavour to express him/herself and which burdens him/her with the challenge of resolving the discrepancies with the social requirements on their own initiative].

While education and school cannot close the concept-reality gap for the individual students, it must be considered a doubtful practice to leave them to their own devices with this challenge and, in addition, contribute to the maintenance of this gap by reducing the 'English' of the English learning classroom to a traditional native speaker norm at the same time.

In conclusion, ELT theory and practice should not only be concerned with what and how 'English' is to be presented as the best 'English' to learn from, but beyond, with what and how 'English' is presented to equip students with a conceptualisation of English and language and the conceptual skills to adapt to the requirements of a mobile and globalised society. Thus, particularly for ELT, language teaching needs to go beyond foreign language teaching. Moreover,

muß es darum gehen, daß sie [die SchülerInnen] alle darüber hinaus Strategien und Mittel besitzen, sich den kommunikativen Anforderungen gemäß zu verhalten, die ihnen durch Sprachenvielfalt gestellt sind und die sich im Detail unvorhersehbar entwickeln werden.

[ELT must be concerned with equipping students with the strategies and means to adapt to the communicative requirements which are set by linguistic diversity and which develop unpredictably in the concrete encounters] (Gogolin 2008: 20).

ELT, as theory and practice, is required to acknowledge its responsibility for the re-production of monolingual norms and language ideologies that have a restrictive effect on multilingual speakers in multilingual encounters. This accountability could be transformed into a responsible, critical and conscious management of the role education plays in the dissemination of ideology. ELT could develop into a critical practice of language teaching by tackling the challenge of languagING between monolingual norms and multilingual realities on the macro-level of ELT itself and encourage its teachers to bring this attitude and practice to the classrooms.

Given the mobility of people in our modern world and the linguistic diversity that comes with that, the negotiation of meaning in absence of shared linguacultural conventions is a reality that puts the monolingual tradition into question and has become an inevitable social requirement. Helping prepare students for these is a responsibility of school and education. Cutting off the English language classroom from the requirements of the heterogeneous and complex linguistic composition of a globalised world, must, therefore, be criticised as a serious neglect of educational practice and a failure to take on responsibility for promoting social change. Making languagING as concept and practice part of ELT, is an appeal Widdowson (1998a: 715) already formulated a long time ago:

*The learners have to learn to fine-tune the appropriate patterns of contextual response for themselves. The purpose of teaching is to get learners to invest in a general capacity for further learning, not to rehearse them in communicative roles they may never be called on to play [my emphasis].*

The languagING classroom, of course, is no solution guaranteeing successful language use for the students. It is themselves that have to negotiate meaning through linguistic resources available in the communicative encounter. However, failing to support them in this challenging endeavour is neglectful of the responsibility of school to prepare its students for the social requirements of modern world, of the significant role education plays in the dissemination of ideology, and the potential of school to de-construct restrictive language practices and norms. The languagING classroom may help to re-conceptualise 'English' and 'language' as fluid and flexible. Conceptualisations which, as

the present study has shown, determine whether a communicative space is restricting or not.

## **10 Conclusion**

With the present research project I have aimed at getting a better understanding of what makes a communicative space a space of linguistic discrimination. The established list of factors and the experiences of the individual participants described and discussed in chapter 7 offer a 'panoramic' view of the complex factors involved in the availability of ELF and other languagING resources, and the significance of language choice in certain communicative spaces. The study complements previous findings of researchers in immigration domains (Guido 2008; Maryns 2012; Rienzner 2009) and shows that institutional language regimes are typically characterised by a high degree of rigidity leading to linguistic discrimination of refugees.

In spaces that follow a monolingual norm, the participants need to find ways of closing the gap between monolingual conceptualisations and their multilingual reality. This means that they have to negotiate their own assumptions about 'language' and 'reality' in the communicative situation they are encountering. The data indicate that in many cases, the multilinguals themselves are holding monolingual conceptualisations of 'language'. In consequence, it is not only the communicative space that influences the availability of linguistic resources, but also the individuals and their positioning towards the established language regime. In conclusion, the actors of language, i.e. the interlocutors in the encounter, have considerable influence on whether a linguistic framework manifests itself as discriminating or not.

The data show that, where interlocutors enforce the rigidity of a monolingual linguistic framework, speakers are compelled to submit to the legitimised language regime. In some cases, and in less rigid communicative spaces, however, the participants appropriate their linguistic resources according to the requirements of the communicative situation. In doing so they seem to contradict their own conceptualisations of language and English, which are often characterised by a monolingual and reductionist understanding. In the negotiation of the gap between their own assumptions and the 'reality' they encounter, the speakers are inventing and employing 'languagING practices' to establish common linguacultural ground.

The focal languagING practice of my study is the communication through ELF, which is considered to be such a languagING practice by definition: "ELF speakers make use of their multi-faceted plurilingual repertoires in ways motivated by the communicative purpose in the interpersonal dynamics of the situation" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 142). As Guido's studies (2008) show, unreflected assumptions resulting from the unconditional recognition of the privileged status of EIL cause miscontextualisations and misinterpretations that have far-reaching consequences for the refugee speakers.

Despite their general willingness to engage in meaning negotiation with 'the other', the participants in my study show signs of monolingual conceptualisations of language and a native speaker oriented view of English language use in ELF encounters. As a consequence, the exploitable potential of ELF seems to be limited by the conceptualisation made by the speakers. Hence, from a languagING perspective Wittgensteins' (1922 [2010]: 74) famous quote "[t]he limits of my language mean the limits of my world [original emphasis]" carries additional meaning. I would suggest that, according to the findings of my study, the quote might be altered to "[t]he limits of my [conceptualisation of] language mean the limits of my world".

It needs to be emphasised that the essence of any *language* is its embeddedness in the world and this world is a world of many *realities*, i.e. of each *speaker's* reality. In a communicative encounter the speakers enter into a negotiation of their assumptions, beliefs and concepts about the world. The limits of my language, the limits of my world, are hence, in essence fluid and subject to the negotiation of meaning and the 'reality' in the communicative encounters. In conclusion, the availability of ELF is not only a matter of language knowledge, but also of language conceptualisation. In the realised language, the speakers, however, may deviate from legitimised conceptualisations and, thereby call them into question. Raising awareness of the concept-reality gap then, is crucial for the aim of consciously contributing to the construction of linguistically juster frameworks of language practice.

With the aim of finding ways of language use that offer alternatives to existing discriminating and limiting language practices, it is clear that the purpose of this research project is also a political one. Embedded in a globalised and multilingual world myself, investigating multilinguals' languagING practices as a research project is evaluated as "theorizing practice [...] a process of learning, with others, by doing – changing the ways

in which we interact in a shared social world" (Kemmins and McTaggart 2005: 568). It is also for this reason that a combination of participation and ethnographic methods has been employed. Aware of the degree of subjectivity involved in such an endeavour, I am highlighting that "[i]f problems of language and power are to be seriously tackled, they will be tackled by the people who are directly involved" (Fairclough 2010: 533).

As a researcher on English, a user of English, a teacher of English and a SEC engaging in activities with immigrants and refugees myself, I am "directly involved" in many ways and from many perspectives. These perspectives have informed the concluding chapters, which describe implications centring around the empowerment through language awareness and the responsibility of ELT practitioners for the maintenance of dominant monolingual perspectives. I have highlighted that, thereby, ELT practice loses its potential to contribute to juster frameworks of language use. In addition, I have presented a list of languagING practices, not as a recipe for just frameworks of language use, but as a demonstration and acknowledgement of human linguistic creativity.

As a personal conclusion, this research project has also empowered me as a social actor in a modern and (linguistically) heterogeneous 'reality'. By enriching my own world view through taking over different perspectives, of refugees, locals, both on an experiential level and on the meta-level of reflection, I was able to increase my awareness of the complex relationship between discursive and individual influences that affect language choice and behaviour towards each other in encounters between refugees and locals.

From the findings it is evident that the non-adherence to legitimised language practices cannot simply be reduced to a sign of refugees' (un)willingness to adapt to 'the' Austrian system, nor is it a clear sign of naivety or xenophobia if a local citizen includes or excludes a refugee through a particular language practice. In this field of polarising attitudes and a slow crumbling of traditional concepts and world views, it is worth looking at how people who have the courage to explore the boundaries of their own, apparently natural habitus resolve the tension between the world they know, and the world they find.

I am concluding this research project and paper with an appeal, from the perspectives of a researcher, a teacher, a member of a globalised society and a SEC, that we need to explore the boundaries of our own habitus and to follow the example of SIRs and SECs who are *Menschen die da sind & Menschen, die hierher gekommen sind*, who invent, exploit and appropriate language for their communicative purpose of getting to know 'the' other,

"[w]eil so aus Fremden Freunde werden [because this is how foreigners become friends]"  
(*FremdeWerdenFreunde* 2016).

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## Appendix

### A) SYNOPTICAL PARTICIPANT PROFILES

Maria (P1)	person:	Austrian SEC, and founder of <i>FremdeWerdenFreunde</i>
	language knowledge:	L1: German and Bosnian L2: English, Arabic, Russian, French
	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multilingualism transcends her life, and translanguaging practices also occur in her data</li> <li>• Mostly uses English with refugees, if available.</li> <li>• Uses German with her daughter and husband, Bosnian with her mother</li> </ul>

Haias (P2)	person:	Iraqi refugee, living in flat with local German speakers
	language knowledge:	L1: Arabic L2: English, Japanese, German
	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used English a lot in the past, for media consumption, having international friends and at his workplace</li> <li>• Uses English mostly here in Vienna and German, if the situation or interlocutor requires to do so</li> <li>• Is learning German and is planning to reach B2 so that he can start his studies at University</li> </ul>

Laith (P3)	person:	Iraqi refugee, living in a public refugee home with his family
	language knowledge:	L1: Arabic L2: English, Farsi, German
	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly uses Arabic with family and friends but since the arrival in Austria, they sometimes use German to practice the language</li> <li>• Learns German in classes offered by SECs and is planning to reach B2 soon, so that he can start studying at the University</li> <li>• Usually does not try to hold conversations in English only but exploits it as a lexical resource when using German</li> <li>• His past has been characterised by monolingual environments</li> </ul>

Wedat (P4)	person:	Syrian refugee, living in a private flat
	language knowledge:	L1: Arabic L2: English, Spanish, Hebrew, German

	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly uses Arabic in calls with his family and his wife</li> <li>• Has been using English a lot in his career and work life, which he has also spent outside of Syria, in different Gulf States</li> <li>• Has started to learn German but the dominant language he is using is English, also at his current work place, where English is the official language</li> </ul>
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Caroline (P5)	person:	Austrian SEC, learning support for immigrant children and organization of cultural activities with <i>FremdeWerdenFreunde</i>
	language knowledge:	L1: German L2: English, French, Italian
	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly uses German in her every-day life, which is dominated by her work life</li> <li>• Uses English and French for media consumption and Italian only when travelling</li> <li>• Uses English and German with refugees</li> </ul>

Anne (P6)	person:	Austrian SEC, living together with an English speaking husband and her kids
	language knowledge:	L1: German L2: English, French, Latin, Russian, Spanish
	language use:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses German and English in her family life and also with friends</li> <li>• Uses German and English with refugees</li> <li>• Teaches German as a volunteer and also as a teacher for refugee children at Austrian public schools</li> <li>• Frequently takes over the role of a mediator and interpreter between the persons involved in the many multilingual settings transcending her life</li> </ul>

## B) LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DATA MATERIAL

### – Participant information sheet in

- Arabic
- German
- English

### – Data Set Maria (P1)

- Participant profile
- Language diary
- Interview preparation
- Interview recording
- Interview transcript/report

- **Data Set Haias (P2)**
  - Participant profile
  - Language diary
  - Interview preparation
  - Interview recording
  - Interview transcript/report
- **Data Set Laith (P3)**
  - Participant profile
  - Language diary
  - Interview preparation
  - Interview recording
  - Interview transcript/report
- **Data Set Wedat (P4)**
  - Participant profile
  - Language diary
  - Interview preparation
  - Interview recording
  - Interview transcript/report
  - Additional material (field notes and recording of a team meeting of FremdeWerdenFreunde)
- **Data Set Caroline (P5)**
  - Participant profile
  - Interview preparation
  - Interview recording
  - Interview transcript/report
- **Data Set Anne (P6)**
  - Participant profile
  - Language diary
  - Interview preparation
  - Interview recording
  - Interview transcript/report

### **C) TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS**

In general, the research project is cocentrating on the content of what the participants said in the LDIs. In many cases, however, the way how they narrated experiences and spoke about their rationales of using language is significant and needs to be find adequate representation in the transcription. Therefore, I have am using two different transcription methods for the representation of the recorded utterances of the participants.

Transcription convention 1 is used where the content of the utterances suffices and meaning is contained in the words themselves. For easier reading, these have been edited to full sentences with punctuation marks, where they are indicated through pauses, intonation and topical content.

In transcription method 2, verbatim quotation with additional linguistic markers are used. The conventional use of these markers is based on VOICE and have been adapted for the purpose of this study.<sup>33</sup> The markers used in this paper are explained here:

Type	Symbol	Definition	Example
<b>1. Speaker IDs</b>	<i>Pn</i>	Interviewed study participant + ID number used throughout the study	P4
	R	Interviewer = researcher	R
<b>2. Intonation</b>	.	fall	actually it's ruining my english in complete. but that's awesome
	?	rise	and I'm learning new language (.) and so it's like (.) thank god there are the same letters?
<b>3. Pauses</b>	(.)	Pauses under 2 seconds	If I speak English it's <i>only</i> English (.) if I speak Arabic it's <i>only</i> Arabic.
	( <i>n</i> )	Pauses with a duration of <i>n</i> seconds	<b>R:</b> Fühlst du dich in Deutsch gefangen? <b>P1:</b> (6) Naja, gefangen. Naja. (4) Wow, das ist ja eine Frage. Wahnsinn.
<b>4. Other-continuation</b>	=	immediate continuation or support of another speaker's turn	<b>P2:</b> thank god there are the same letters? <un>xxx xx xx</un> of like some: some:= <b>R:</b> =yeah. so you feel like you're mixing them
<b>6. Lengthening</b>	:	lengthenend sounds	mo:re
	::	exceptionally long sounds	er::m
<b>7. Word fragments</b>	-	fragmented words, missing part is indicated by -	I like to thi- I don't think it is necessary
<b>8. Unintelligible speech</b>	<un> xx</un>	xx refers to the part of the utterance not decodable	thank god there are the same letters? <un>xxx xx xx</un> of like some: some:=
<b>9. Laughter</b>	@	laughter inbetween uttered words	well I think (.) I don't know wether she knows or not. but she was- she was not even e:rm very happy @ with the @ you feel that she's not friendly
<b>10. Languages other than the primary code</b>	<Lm></Lm>	<i>m</i> describes the code to which the utterance is	I told her that I-I aplogised <un>xxx</un> <Lger> entschuldigung (.) aber er: ich bin

<sup>33</sup> **VOICE Project.** 2007. *VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]*. [http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/voice.php?page=transcription\\_general\\_information](http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/voice.php?page=transcription_general_information) (30.03.2016).



<b>of the interview</b>		assumed to be categorisable	neun? neu? </Lger>
<b>11. Speaking mode</b>	<imitating> </imitating>	indicates where a speaker imitates other speakers	<imitating> ok (.) you are here you should learn the language it's not my mistake. it's not my problem that you came here without knowledge of the language </imitating>
<b>12. Anonymisation</b>	[what/where/when/who]	information in the square brackets is anonymised by numbering speakers, persons, places, or times consecutively according to occurrence throughout the interview	Ja, na vor allem geht's da meistens um den [husband], weil mit den Flüchtlingen haben wir ja auch, die sprechen ja auch nicht gut Englisch.
<b>13. Omission of parts</b>	(0)	Omission of parts of the transcript	Es ist einfach nur wichtig das zu thematisieren und den Raum dafür bereitzustellen. (0) Wenn da jemand kommt der sich da wirklich einbringen kann und mitmachen möchte, auch auf einer intensiveren Ebene, dann wird er das tun;
<b>14. Information added by transcription</b>	(_information_)	Information that is necessary to understand the extract from the interview, like for deictic expressions.	<b>R:</b> Fühlst du dich in Deutsch gefangen? <b>P1:</b> (6) Naja, gefangen. Naja. (4) Wow, das ist ja eine Frage. Wahnsinn. (0)(Scherzt darüber, dass sie das Thema in der Supervision ansprechen sollte_)

## D) INTERVIEW INFORMATION

All interviews have been conducted by the researcher herself.

Interviewee Name	Participant Nr.	Date	Location	Duration	Language(s)
Maria	P1	23.03.2016	Café, Vienna	50:26	German
Haías	P2	23.03.2016	Bar, Vienna	45:27	ELF, some German
Laith	P3	24.03.2016	Café, Vienna	20:23	GLF, stand-by interpreter
Wedat	P4	25.03.2016	Wedat's flat, Vienna	30:04	ELF, some German
Caroline	P5	30.03.2016	Workplace of Caroline, Vienna	33:08	German
Anne	P6	04.04.2016	Anne's flat, Vienna	33:01	German

Additional information on Context and Atmosphere of the interview and the relationship between researcher and participant.

### Ad. Maria (P1):

The interview was conducted in German, one of the L1s of P1, the language she speaks most. Maria is a founding member of the civil initiative *FremdeWerdenFreunde* and has taken leave from her job as a researcher at the university of economics in order to focus her energy on the organisation of the civil initiative aiming at inclusion of refugees. I have met Maria in the first meeting I attended about half a year before the interview. As we also visited supervision for SECs together, it can be said that, despite rarely seeing each other in the activities organized by the initiative (since there are so many), considerable intimacy as regards thoughts and feelings characterizes our relationship. Accordingly, the interview was held in a relaxed and informal manner. Additionally, being a researcher herself, Maria has considerable knowledge of conducting interviews, which also could have contributed to the rather relaxed atmosphere.

### Ad. Haías (P2):

I got to know Haías during a table-tennis playing activity organized by *FremdeWerdenFreunde*. On the same day, I asked him if he would like to participate in my study. I considered him to be an outgoing person, he jokes a lot and, the fact that he lives in private housing with German speaking flatmates, with whom he spoke English mainly, as he did with me, indicated that he would suit the profile I was targeting in my study. Both, first meeting and interview were followed or pre-luded by an informal conversation, hence, the atmosphere of the interview was similarly relaxed. Additionally, Haías had chosen the Shisha bar where he is a regular visitor as the place to conduct the interview. The locality seemed to contribute to a comfortable atmosphere.

### Ad. Laith (P3):

The interview was conducted in German, with the help of a stand-by interpreter, who was invited by me, with the approval of the participant.

Since German was the language suggested by P3, and also the language we usually speak to each other, I addressed my questions directly to him. The stand-by interpreter helped out, where needed.

The stand-by interpreter has been raised in Vienna and speaks Arabic because it is the L1 of her parents, who have emigrated from Egypt. Hebah (the stand-by interpreter) is a student of interpreting and translating at the University of Vienna and also engaged in a civil initiative engaged in refugee work (Austrian network for refugees). Before we started the interview, we have been chatting for some time, so that P3 could get to know Hebah. As to her Arabic skills, the SEC background and her young age, an atmosphere of empathy could soon be established. Additionally, I have known P3 for some time and we had already built a basis of confidence, which helped the interview to be conducted in a relaxed atmosphere. Still, it is to note, that the presence of an Arabic speaker, made all the participants rely more on the interpreter. The effort in German gets much less than we usually do, when we use German.

#### **Ad. Wedat (P4):**

The interview was conducted in English, the language had also been used in previous conversations we had before and was chosen by Wedat. He just moved in to the flat, invitation to show me his home in relation to the interview made; his flatmate, also a refugee staying with P4 until his wife comes to Austria was present during the interview; as they have a close relationship, his presence is not perceived of as a hindrance in talking freely; Before the interview we had some casual conversation about his work and life. The interview was in a relaxed atmosphere and informal. P4 likes to share his thoughts, which is also why he participates in a project where refugees tell their stories on a theater stage. He likes political discussions and sharing his culture. After the interview we had traditional Syrian breakfast and he showed me pictures of Damascus, his marriage and his work places of the last years.

#### **Ad. Caroline (P5)**

The interview was conducted in German, the interviewees L1. I got to know P5, in the organisation of a party for refugees, SECs and interested sponsors. After this event we didn't have contact, but I knew from the ongoing activities that she regularly organised the cultural events in cooperation with museums in Vienna. Since P5 has a very intense and time consuming job at KURIER, she invited me to do the interview at her workplace. As she could not send me her diary entries before the interview, I could only read it after. Before starting the interview we talked for several minutes about how she has been and how her activities with the organisation have been going.

#### **Ad. Anne (P6)**

The interview was conducted in German, the interviewees L1. I know P6 from the organisation team and also from several activities. Additionally, P6 also visited the supervising sessions, where I attended too. Consequently, the relationship between us can be described as characterised by mutual trust. The interview was conducted in P6's living room and the atmosphere could be described as relaxed and informal.

## E) TEMPLATE FOR PARTICIPANT PROFILE

### Participant

Name/Name/الاسم	
Age/Alter/السن	
Country of Origin/Herkunftsland/بلد الاصل	
Country(ies) of residence since birth/länger bewohnte Orte und Länder seit Geburt/ بلد الإقامة	
in Austria since/in Österreich seit/الإقامة في بلد النمسا من	
Asylum status/Asylstatus/وضعية اللجوء	
in Vienna since/in Wien seit/الإقامة في فيينا من	
living together with/lebt zusammen mit/... تعيش مع	

**Which languages do you speak? Welche Sprachen sprichst du? ملكتت دغل يا**

Language/ Sprache/ اللغة	L1/L2..?	Where did you learn it and or how long?/Wo hast du die Sprache gelernt and seit wann?/ اين درستها وكم استغرقت لدراستها	Confidence/Vertrautheit mit und in der Sprache/ الثقة

# F) TEMPLATE FOR LANGUAGE DIARY

Time	Activity: <i>What + Where + With whom ?</i>	Reading/Writing <i>-which languages?</i>	Speaking <i>- which languages?</i>
Zeit	Aktivität: Was + Wo + Mit wem?	Lesen/Schreiben - welche Sprachen?	Sprechen -welche Sprachen?
الوقت	النشاط. ماذا+اين+مع من	القراءة/الكتابة/باي لغة	التكلم -باي لغة
<b>Morning</b> Morgens الصباح			
<b>Afternoon</b> Nachmittag الظهر			
<b>Evening</b> Abend المساء			

## G) CATEGORISATION EXAMPLES

Factor	Explicit statements or information and indicators ...	Ex. Data source	Example
A. Individual factors			
01 Language knowledge	related to the actual and perceived skills in and linguistic knowledge of a language in the P's linguistic repertoire.	PP	P1 has taken Russian classes at university, but says she has forgotten everything
02 Language learning/using history and experience	related to the biographical experience of learning a language and using it in different communicative encounters.	LD	<i>I learned Spanish but I didn't have the chance to complete it.</i>
03 Familiarity with multilingual settings and the use of ELF	related to the P's biographical experience with multilingual communication and ELF in particular.	PP, LDI	P has worked in international companies with 'English' as official language for seven years
04 Associations with language(s)	revealing certain connotations a speaker has with a particular language or linguistic resource in his/her repertoire.		
04 i. Conceptual notions	related to the P's conceptual notion of 'language' and particular linguistic resources.	LDI	<i>But e:rm I know lots of people who mix arabic with English with French (.)</i>  <i>[...] I never had this problem. and e:rm I don't like I like to seperate</i>
04 ii. Emotions	indicating the emotional load a certain language or linguistic resources seems to have for the P.	LDI	<i>Ich weiß nicht. Es ist einfach alles viel lustiger auf Bosnisch.</i>
04 iii. Bodily/Personality experience	indicating the P's perceived personality traits in certain languages and the agency that comes with the use of these languages.	LDI	<i>also ich glaub es ist ganz wichtig mehrere Sprachen zu kennen. Und aber auch so dass man sie wirklich auch kann, dass man sie spürt. Das find ich, ich finde es trotzdem etwas ganz anderes Deutsch, Englisch, oder Bosnisch zu reden.</i>  <i>(...)</i> <i>Ich reds auch schon ganz anders. Also meine Stimme ist ja auch eine ganz eine andere</i>
04 iv. Functional usability	related to the P's actual and reported employment of a language or linguistic resource for particular purposes and in particular settings.	LDI	Speaker says he usually approaches officers in institutions with an apology for his weak German:  <i>P4: I told her that I-I apologise &lt;un&gt;xxx&lt;/un&gt; &lt;Lger&gt;entschuldigung (.) aber er: ich bin neun? neu? &lt;/Lger&gt;</i> <i>R: neu. Yeah</i> <i>P4: &lt;Lger&gt; hier in Österreich (.)</i>

			<i>ich spreche ein bisschen deutsch&lt;/Lger&gt;</i>
B. Social factors			
08 Relationship (of power) among the interlocutors	indicating the P's experience of power that is attached to certain languages or linguistic resources when using these with a particular interlocutor.	LDI	<i>Da sind wir halt jetzt schon so auf English. Und es ist halt schon mehr auch auf Augenhöhe, weil wenn sie Deutsch spricht, es ist einfach nicht so gu-, oder es ist eh relativ gut, aber dann dauert es halt länger und dann bin ich wieder gleich in der Position wo ich sie ausbessert und ein Vokabel sag, wenn sie es nicht weiß.</i>
09 Interlocutors' attitude towards the discursive stereotypes of people	related to the interlocutor's behaviour and reaction towards the P as a representative of a certain social group of society.	LDI	<i>P4: &lt;imitating&gt; ok (.) you are here you should learn the language it's not my mistake. it's not my problem that you came here without knowledge of the language &lt;/imitating&gt;</i>
C. Situational factors			
10 Purpose of interaction	related to the P's intended or the encounter's obvious purpose of interaction.	LDI	<i>P explains he uses German form simple conversations, "but when it comes to deeper enquiry it becomes that you have to put the effort effort and they put a little bit effort."</i>
11 Language regime	pointing to characteristics of the communicative space and the legitimised language practice.	LDI	<i>Yeah. like in some of the places like here in the- when I wanted to go to do the &lt;Lde&gt; Meldezettel &lt;/Lde&gt;- yeah. So I went and I was putting all the effort that I want to the:- all the words I know. and she ref- she was refusing to speak a single word in e:rm in English. yeah:</i>
12 Interlocutor	related to the interlocutor in the concrete situation.		
12 i. Language knowledge	indicating the P's reaction towards the language knowledge of the interlocutor.	LDI	<i>I ask P6 what she would consider to be her 'default' language choice when she meets refugees. Usually, she tries German first. Then she repeats in English and tries to conclude from the reactions, which medium would be the best option. Additionally, she also checks in which language they will answer back.</i>
12 ii. Willingness to put effort into the negotiation of meaning	indicating the interlocutor's willingness to engage in active and ad hoc negotiation of meaning.	LDI	<i>P reports he used his English to directly interact with the officer rather than relying and depending on the interpreter.</i>



## Abstract

The privileged status of English as an international language (EIL) indicates that 'English' is developing to "something like a taken-for-granted cultural technique" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 136). In multilingual encounters uses of English are constituted in English as a lingua franca (ELF) "with norms negotiated ad hoc depending on specific participants' repertoires and purposes" (2011b: 80). In 2015 the increased number of refugees from the Middle East seeking asylum in Europe also increased the need for communicative strategies fit to address the multilingualism of encounters between refugees and locals in Austria. ELF plays a significant role here. Studies show, however, that unreflected and traditional assumptions about the convergence in and availability of EIL can constitute serious impediments to communication in immigration domains (Guido 2008). Particularly where power relations are unequal, linguistic minority speakers are subject to linguistic discrimination (Maryns 2012; Plutzer 2009). This thesis is an investigation into how multilingual speakers experience language regimes in the encounter between refugees and locals and how they (consciously and subconsciously) make use of their linguistic repertoires to re-produce or de-construct legitimised language practices. Given the interlocutors' genuine interest in getting to know the respective other, it is considered that the micro-level of encounters between refugees and locals engaging in inclusion activities offers a promising field for finding alternatives to traditional and discriminating language practices observed in immigration domains. Before research methods and focused research questions appropriate to the specific research field could be developed, the researcher participated in inclusion activities herself. In the exploration of the research field it became evident that an understanding of 'language' as social action (i.e. languagING) is elemental to theoretically and practically treat users as constructors of form and functionality of language. Combining aspects of socio-linguistic and ethnographic research approaches, three socially involved refugees and three socially engaged locals have been asked to record their language practices in language diaries as developed by Jonsson (2013) and Martin-Jones et al. (2009). Based on these, interviews were conducted in collaborative and dialogic data collection and allowed for including the speakers' "own *emic* perspectives on the literacies in their lives [original emphasis]" (Martin-Jones et al. 2009: 50). From the rich data a list of factors that influence the availability of ELF and other linguistic resources in the encounters investigated could be generated. The results support Busch's (2013) perspective on multilingualism and show

that language practices are influenced by biographical, social and situational factors, and are situated in the chronotopic dimensions of space and time. Manifesting differently for each individual participant, it is crucial to re-contextualise the generalised factors according. Relevant excerpts and insight into the data are provided in the paper. Furthermore, the findings suggest that language awareness can have an empowering effect on the multilingual speakers. In addition, the results carry implications for English language teaching (ELT). With regard to the dominance of the native speaker norm in ELT, it is re-producing restrictive concepts of language and that it disregards its responsibilities as an educational institution, leaving its potential as a motor for social innovation unexploited.

### **Zusammenfassung**

Als dominante Sprache in der internationalen Kommunikation entwickelt sich English als Internationale Sprache (EIL) zu "something like a taken-for-granted cultural technique [einer Art selbstverständlichen Kulturtechnik]" (Seidlhofer 2011a: 136). In mehrsprachigen Begegnungen wird Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF) verwendet, das sich auszeichnet "with norms negotiated ad hoc depending on specific participants' repertoires and purposes [durch, in Abhängigkeit von den spezifischen Sprachrepertoires der beteiligten SprecherInnen und ihren Absichten, ad hoc verhandelten Normen]" (2011b: 80). Im Jahr 2015, als Folge der durch die andauernden Kriege im Mittleren Osten vermehrten Zahl an Flüchtenden, stieg der Bedarf an Kommunikationsstrategien in Österreich, die der Mehrsprachigkeit in den Begegnungen zwischen Geflüchteten und ansässigen ÖsterreicherInnen gerecht werden. ELF spielt hier eine bedeutende Rolle. Studien zeigen jedoch, dass unreflektierte und traditionelle Annahmen darüber, inwiefern Sprache Konvergenz zwischen SprecherInnen herstellen kann und inwiefern ELF in bestimmten Begegnungen zur Verfügung steht, zu starken Beeinträchtigungen in der Kommunikation im Immigrationsbereich führen kann (Guido 2008). SprecherInnen von Minderheitensprachen unterliegen sprachlicher Diskriminierung vor allem dort, wo Machtverhältnisse unausgeglichen sind (Maryns 2012; Plutzer 2009). In dieser Diplomarbeit wird untersucht, wie mehrsprachige Personen Sprachregime in den Begegnungen von Geflüchteten und ansässigen ÖsterreicherInnen erleben und wie sie (bewusst und unbewusst) ihr Sprachrepertoire nutzen um legitimierte Sprachpraktiken zu reproduzieren und zu dekonstruieren. Aufgrund ihres ehrlichen Interesses, die jeweils

andere Person kennenzulernen, wird das Mikro-Level der Begegnung zwischen Geflüchteten und ansässigen ÖsterreicherInnen, die sich an Inklusions-Aktivitäten beteiligen, als vielversprechendes Forschungsfeld erachtet, um Alternativen zu den beobachteten diskriminierenden Sprachpraktiken im Immigrationsbereich zu finden. Um dem Forschungsfeld mit der Mehrsprachigkeit entsprechenden Methoden und Herangehensweisen zu begegnen, wurde dieses durch Teilnahme der Forscherin an Inklusions-Aktivitäten erkundet. Dabei wurde deutlich, dass das Forschungsfeld ein Verständnis von 'Sprache' verlangt, das Sprache als Aktion (i.e. *linguagING* 'Sprechen') beschreibt, um SprecherInnen als KonstrukteurInnen von Sprachform und -funktion zu erkennen. In der Kombination von sozio-linguistischen und ethnographischen Herangehensweisen, wurden drei Geflüchtete und drei ansässige ÖsterreicherInnen aus einer Inklusions-Organisation gebeten, ihre Sprachpraktiken in einem Sprachtagebuch nach Jonsson (2013) und Martin-Jones et al. (2009) aufzuzeichnen. Basierend auf diesen wurden Interviews durchgeführt um die Daten in Dialog und Zusammenarbeit mit den TeilnehmerInnen zu erarbeiten, sodass ihre persönliche Perspektive den Mittelpunkt der Forschung darstellen konnte (Martin-Jones et al. 2009: 50). Aus den gesammelten Daten wurde eine Liste von Faktoren erstellt die die Verfügbarkeit von ELF und anderen linguistischen Ressourcen in den untersuchten Begegnungen beeinflussen. Die Ergebnisse stützen Busch's (2013) Zugang zu Mehrsprachigkeit und zeigen, dass Sprachpraktiken von biographischen, sozialen und situationsabhängigen Faktoren beeinflusst werden und in den chronotopischen Dimensionen von Raum und Zeit situiert sind. Da sich die einzelnen Faktoren für die SprecherInnen individuell realisieren, ist eine Re-Kontextualisierung der generalisierten Faktoren unbedingt notwendig. Entsprechende Auszüge aus den Daten sind im Text enthalten. Außerdem deuten die Resultate darauf hin, dass Sprachbewusstsein einen *empowering* 'ermächtigenden' Effekt auf mehrsprachige Personen haben kann. Weiters, ergeben sich im Hinblick auf den Englisch-Sprachunterricht Implikationen, die die Kritik an der *native speaker* Norm im Englischunterricht stützen und darauf verweisen, dass die derzeitige Praxis zur Erhaltung traditioneller, diskriminierender Sprachpraktiken beiträgt und ihr Potenzial als Instrument des sozialen Wandels unausgeschöpft lässt.