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Chapter 2
Building on Heteroglossia and Heterogeneity: The Experience of a Multilingual Classroom

Brigitta Busch

Abstract This chapter draws on empirical research carried out in a primary school located in a multilingual neighbourhood in Vienna where learning has been taking place in pilot multigrade classrooms for more than 10 years. The multigrade approach follows an open learning strategy inspired by Freinet pedagogics understanding heterogeneity as a resource and not as a drawback. The chapter will present examples from a research project which focusses on how learners perceive their heteroglossic linguistic repertoires and how they draw on multiple resources—modes, codes, discourses—to produce creative and meaningful texts. These texts, a multimodal classroom diary and a classroom library consisting of single as well as co-authored printed 'mini-books', form a core element in the open learning environment of the school.

Keywords Linguistic repertoires · Pedagogy · Multidiscursivity · Multivoicedness

2.1 Introduction

Empirical studies in the past two decades have focussed attention on linguistic practices—especially among young people in urban spaces—that have been designated by terms such as language crossing (Rampton 1995), translanguaging (e.g. Garcia 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Li 2011), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010) or described from a perspective of heteroglossia (e.g. Busch 2004; Bailey 2007). The interest in such practices is linked to phenomena of globally expanding mobility, which entail new and increasingly complex social formations and networking practices beyond traditional affiliations, for which Steve Vertovec (2007) has coined the term 'super-diversity'. This has brought back into debate the notion of linguistic repertoire. The refer-

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ence to a linguistic repertoire results from the fact that these linguistic practices are not seen as arbitrary, nor as playful language use devoid of social context, but are instead described in relation to grounded local practices. The linguistic repertoire is not seen as stable and geographically fixed, but as fluid and flexible, as related to different social spaces and moments in time. Seen from the speakers' perspective, the repertoire evolves drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses and codes, and forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imaginations and desires (Busch 2012).

In the context of school and education, speakers with a complex translocal repertoire encounter an institution which is traditionally rooted in a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994) and usually deploys a highly formalized language regime that prioritizes standardized language. Historically, school has been considered as a key institution to implement language policies aimed at enforcing a unitary (state) language and homogenizing linguistically diverse populations. Today, school is in many countries under pressure from ideologies that claim an exclusive position for the state language to counter the 'threat' of growing linguistic diversity linked to mobility and migration. An underlying monolingual homogenizing logic has shaped curricula, school manuals, communicative practices and classroom settings, such as teaching and learning in age groups. The same logic often also governs models of bilingual schools in which linguistic diversity takes the form of two added monolingualisms (Busch 2011).

In a pedagogic concept which recognizes translocal communicative repertoires and appreciates translanguaging as a legitimate way of expression and meaning making, formal teaching and learning situations must also be reconceptionalized as open spaces of potentialities, where polyphonic voices, discourses and ways of speaking are seen as a resource and an asset. In this chapter, I will therefore first discuss Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, encompassing the three dimensions of social discourse, individual voice and linguistic code. In the empirical part, I will draw on research in a primary school where a pedagogy which understands heteroglossia and heterogeneity as resource is implemented. Taking Bakhtin's triadic concept of heteroglossia as an analytical framework, a particular focus will be on a close reading of texts produced by learners in the course of free and creative writing activities.

2.2 A Triadic Understanding of Bakhtin's Notion of Heteroglossia

The international or rather the western reception of Mikhail Bakhtin's writings is mainly linked on the one hand to the work of Tsvetan Todorov and Julia Kristeva (2002, p. 9), who introduced his thinking in the 1960s into French philosophical discourse, and on the other to English translations of his works that began to appear from the late 1970s onwards. Bakhtin's thinking has been influential in various fields such as literary studies, postcolonial and cultural studies, media studies, translation studies, semiotics and also in applied linguistics. Whereas in the beginning

Bakhtin's thoughts on the carnivalesque, and especially his notion of dialogism, received attention, more recently the Bakhtinian notions of 'heteroglossia' and 'multivoicedness' are being foregrounded in connection with linguistic diversity.

In the field of language learning and second language acquisition (SLA), it is particularly Bakhtin's notion of dialogism that provided theoretical grounding for new approaches. Swain and Deters (2007) in their overview on "'New' Mainstream in Second Language Acquisition Theory" show that in the past decade Bakhtin's work has increasingly captured the attention of SLA researchers, whereby some of them integrate Bakhtinian and Vygotskian theories of language and learning (e.g. contributions in Hall et al. 2005). Bakhtin's notions of heteroglossia and multivoicedness receive increasing attention in connection with speech practices developing under conditions of super-diversity: Rampton (1995) introduced the Bakhtinian notion of double voicing to analyse moments when speakers use someone else's discourse or language for their own purposes. Bailey (2007) stresses particularly that the notion of heteroglossia allows us to connect linguistic forms and historical social relations. Whereas from the perspective of interactional linguistics the concept of heteroglossia is mainly referred to in analysis of multilingual practices, in post-structuralist approaches heteroglossia receives particular attention when exploring the role of language in the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, of multiple identifications and subject positions. Authors refer particularly to Bakhtin's understanding of a Self not as determined by socially and ideologically constructed worlds, but as developing in dialogical response to them (Pietikäinen and Dufva 2006; Kramsch 2009; Lähteenmäki 2010; Busch forthcoming).

Studies exploring heteroglossic practices often rely on empirical data from educational contexts and school environments and focus on practices among children or adolescents challenging monolingual institutional norms (e.g. Rampton 1995; Jørgensen 2008; Creese and Blackledge 2010; special issue of 'Pragmatics' 2010[1]). Some authors include teaching and learning strategies allowing for and making use of heteroglossic practices to encourage student participation, to link classroom life to the social environment and to build on students' resources to enhance metalinguistic awareness (e.g. Busch 2006a; Blackledge and Creese 2010). Nevertheless, the documentation of pedagogical concepts building explicitly on translanguaging or on heteroglossic practices is still scarce in scholarly publications and mainly concentrate on specific areas such as educational materials development (Busch 2006b; Busch and Schick 2007), language learning (Canagarajah 2007), creative multimodal classroom activities (Stein 2008) and complementary schools (Creese and Blackledge 2010). In this chapter, I will focus on the example of a classroom in which students with diverse translocal linguistic repertoires learn together, where heteroglossic practices are not only present in informal settings or tolerated in formal contexts but also consciously taken up as resources, where heterogeneity and heteroglossia are recognized as pedagogical principles. In exploring these class-

[1] See different contributions in the special issue 20/4 (2010) which focusses on "how children, in naturally occurring school and neighborhood peer and sibling-kin groups across a variety of cultures and societies, socialize one another to do heteroglossia" (Kyratzis et al. 2010, p. 457).

room practices, I will rely on Bakhtin's understanding of heteroglossia which is based on the notion of dialogism, the presence of others' words in one's own utterances.

I use the term heteroglossia in a large sense, embracing the multifaceted and multilayered plurality which in Bakhtin's view is inherent to living language. Analytically, it is useful to distinguish between the notions of *raznorečie,* meaning the multiplicity of (social–ideological) speech types or discourses, *raznogolosie*, meaning the diversity of (individual) voices, and *raznojazyčie*, meaning linguistic variation or the diversity of languages[2] (Todorov 1984, p. 56):

- Multidiscursivity [*raznorečie*] refers to the co-presence of specific speech types or discourses that are related to time (particular epochs, periods, days, etc.) and to social worlds or spaces (nations, professions, age groups, families, circles, etc.)—to a "multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 288). Following Bakhtin (1999, p. 121), each of these spheres develops relatively stable types of speech genres and topics.
- Multivoicedness [*raznogolosie*] specifies that multidiscursivity is "expressed [...] by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 263). For the individual speaker the word "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 293).
- Linguistic diversity [*raznojazyčie*] finally points to the traces that are left behind in language as a result of social differentiation (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 293). The intentional diversity of speech [*raznorečivost'*] "is transformed into diversity of language [*raznojazyčie*]; what results is not a single language but a dialogue of languages" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 294). Thereby, Bakhtin (1981a, p. 295) makes no fundamental distinction between linguistic diversity within what he calls a 'national' language or among "several 'languages' that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other."

[2] In today's reception, the term 'heteroglossia' is generally used to designate Bakhtin's concept of linguistic and discursive plurality as a whole. This corresponds to Emerson's and Holquist's terminology who translate the Russian word *raznorečie* as 'heteroglossia' (Holquist 1981, p. 428). Todorov (1984, p. 56), however, insists on a more differentiated understanding. He translates *raznorečie* as 'heterology', meaning the multiplicity of (social–ideological) discourses. In contrast, he reserves the term 'heteroglossia' to translate *raznojazyčie,* meaning linguistic variation or diversity, and the term 'heterophony' for *raznogolosie,* meaning the diversity of (individual) voices. Bakhtin himself admitted a certain penchant for variation and plurality of terms to name the same phenomenon examined from different perspectives (Todorov 1984, p. xii), but in some places there is a clear distinction between the three notions as in the following quote when he speaks about "a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 262). Another source of possible confusion is related to the diverging use of the English term 'discourse' which in Emerson's and Holquist's translation stands for the Russian *slovo* [word, talk], in Todorov's translation for the Russian *reč'* [speech].

The idea of unitary language in the triple sense of monodiscursivity, homophony and monolingualism is intimately linked to hegemonic, centripetal socio-ideological forces "that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 270). It is expressed through the "authoritarian" or "sacred" word that "with its indisputability, unconditionality, and unequivocality" is removed from dialogue and "retards and freezes thought" ignoring "live experience of life" (Bakhtin 1986, p. 133). In the context of linguistic–ideological centralisation and unification, heteroglossia becomes a counter-strategy that functions as a "parodic antibody" which challenges and profanes the authoritarian word and brings it back into dialogue (Bakhtin 1986, p. 133). Heteroglossia as a pedagogy thus would have to adopt this critical gesture and aim at developing among all participants involved in the process of teaching and learning a high degree of linguistic awareness.

2.2.1 *M2:Exploring the Potential of Creative Multimodal Text Production*

The empirical research which this chapter draws on was carried out in a state primary school located in the neighbourhood of Vienna, which according to the current population census has the highest percentage of inhabitants of migrant backgrounds. The school statistics show that 87% of the learners in this primary school currently use another family language than German or in addition to German. Since some 20 years ago, besides German, mainly two further languages—Serbocroat and Turkish—figured in the school register, today under conditions of super-diversity the range of languages listed has become much broader. Also children from a nearby refugee centre attend this primary school, which results in a high fluctuation and a considerable number of so-called lateral entrants, who after having started their schooling in another medium of instruction join the Vienna classes directly in upper grades.

Within this school, our research focusses on a multigrade class named M2[3], in which children from the first to the fourth year of schooling learn together in one single classroom. This class is one of the almost a hundred multigrade classrooms in Vienna where learners of different grades, ages, abilities, levels of attainment and linguistic backgrounds work together in a vertical grouping. The Viennese multigrade classes began in 1997 as experimental classes and have developed in the past decade into an important movement which understands itself as an alternative to the age grade form of teaching.[4] Inspired by open learning approaches and progressive pedagogy models (Reformpädagogik) as developed by Maria Montessori, Célestin Freinet and others, the Vienna multigrade movement has insisted on a non-elitist orientation and has developed within the state school system. Today approximately

[3] M2 classroom web site: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/.

[4] Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wiener reformpädagogische Mehrstufenklassen (2008); http://www.mehrstufenklassen.info/.

2,000 children between the age of 6 and 11 years attend such multigrade classes, but the growing demand cannot be met. The multigrade classrooms are allocated a number of additional teaching hours for which a second teacher comes in, and parents are invited for particular activities and considered as valuable experts and helpers. Within 3–5 years, learners can complete the primary cycle which usually encompasses 4 years. Every year approximately a quarter of the learners leave the multigrade class, while a corresponding number of newcomers join in. This flux of continuity and change facilitates the integration of newcomers into the classroom routines. The classroom remains an open social space with its own ongoing history, and heterogeneity is not seen as a disturbing factor but as a core learning principle.

The M2 follows a learning approach based on the concepts developed by the French pedagogue Célestin Freinet (1896–1966): learning takes place in co-operative processes following as much as possible an inquiry-based method; children are encouraged to bring in their own interests and curiosity. A core aspect is the so-called pedagogy of work (pédagogie du travail), meaning that children learn by making useful products or providing useful services (Freinet 1969). The Freinet approach is particularly associated with the creation of meaningful texts such as school newsletters, working libraries and self-correcting files produced in every classroom, originally with lead typesetting and printing press. In the M2, free and creative writing and desktop publishing are an essential pedagogical concept and ongoing activity. Computer, camera, scanner, recording devices and other multimedia equipment act as a modernized version of the Freinet printshop and as tools to implement the principle of processing a text from the idea to the distribution of the final product (Schreger 2008). For their innovative, multimodal and multilingual materials, the M2 has gained a number of Austrian and European awards. One of the creative writing activities is the digital classroom diary which has been a daily activity for more than 10 years. Through this kind of blog or chronicle, the multigrade classroom becomes a site with its own particular history. The content of the record of the day is negotiated among the learners and produced by one or several of them. Every record consists of a photograph and a short written text which is also read and audio recorded. The diary is available on the M2 web site[5] and is printed out in two copies, one for the classroom library and one for the author to take home. The printed diary collection is a popular reading material among the learners, and the on-line version allows parents to have a glimpse of everyday life in school. Another permanent activity is the World-ABC[6], an open Internet platform which invites learners to navigate through language(s) and pictures associated with particular terms. It is a kind of multilingual on-line dictionary with written and audio-recorded translations into a number of different languages represented in the classroom (Turkish, Kurdish, Chinese, English, Serbian). Each lexical item is accompanied by a series of different pictures chosen by the learners to represent their visual concepts of the term. Associative links lead to other terms. The World-ABC is an open platform which grows organically by adding new items, comments and pictures to the associative chains. The M2 administers the query database and edits

[5] Classroom diary: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/index1.html.

[6] World ABC: http://weltabc.at.

contributions coming from Internet users. The Welt-ABC-version with German as source language today comprises more than 700 terms, the kurdi.weltabc.at with Kurdish as source language 300 (Schreger 2008).

Our research focussed on a further activity, the 'Little Books Library'[7], a collection of booklets in A6 landscape format written and illustrated by the learners. The booklets are easy to produce, and the equipment is always available and accessible in a special corner of the classroom. The Little Books Library, a wooden box containing the more than 400 little books that were produced since 2005, is also readily available. Learners are free to choose if and when they want to create a booklet; they are also free to choose topics and means of composition and design. The only specification is the common format. Every book consists of ten pages plus a cardboard cover and has all the visual and haptic qualities of a 'real' book. The bibliographic data on the cover pages contain title, name of the author and the imprint which identifies the booklet as belonging to the M2 Little Books Library. In this sense, every book is at the same time an individual creation and part of a collective work. It is printed in at least two copies, one for the author(s) and one for the classroom library. Occasionally, further copies are produced for exchange with other schools. The following section takes a closer look at one of the little books to show how learners access multimodal and heteroglossic means to tell their stories.

2.2.1.1 The Elephant and the Mouse: A Story of Displacement and of Friendship

Nemanja wrote his book "Slon i miš/Der Elefant und die Maus" [The elephant and the mouse] shortly after his arrival in Vienna. He was 8 years old when he came from a village in Serbia where he had attended 2 years of primary school. His story consists of five scenes, each of them encompassing a short text and a drawing. The text is not simply a caption for the drawings, nor are the drawings just illustrating the text; meaning is created in an interplay of both modes. Translated into English, the text reads:

> One morning the elephant went for a walk (1). On his way he met a mouse (2). They became friends and decided to go to the seaside (3). When they arrived, the elephant immediately went for a swim and the mouse sunbathed (4). Then also the mouse went for a swim (5).

On the first level, the narrative tells about becoming friends. However, the analysis of the visuals reveals other, parallel storylines. In the analysis of the visuals, I follow the segment analysis approach developed by Roswitha Breckner (2007, 2010)[8]: The key element of this method is an analysis of segments which are identified by a description of the perceptual process, and of the formal elements of the construction of a picture. The interpretation focusses on thematic references deriving from specifically pictorial phenomena such as lines, light, colour, forms, foreground, back-

[7] Some of the little books can be viewed at: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/kb/.

[8] I would like to thank Roswitha Breckner for analysing together with me this and other booklets and for her important input for a fuller understanding of the process of multimodal meaning making.

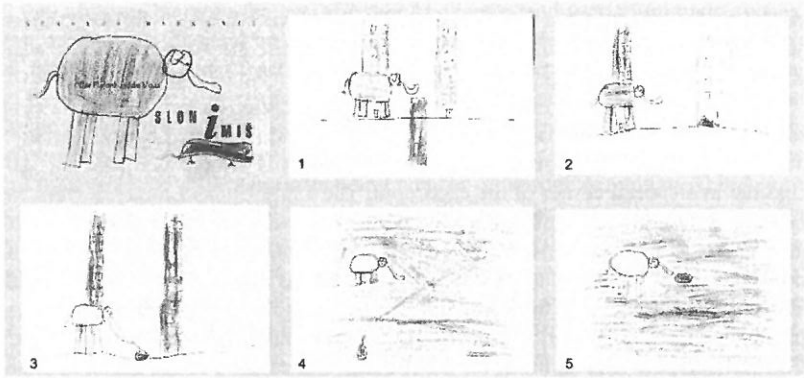

Fig. 2.1 The elephant and the mouse

ground, etc. in a relational way. The segment analysis is based on theoretical considerations about the relationship of picture and language as well as of the relationship of picture and reality. Foregrounding the perception process, the addressivity of the visual and a "responsive understanding" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 280), segment analysis can be considered as a dialogic method which attributes an active role to the reader or beholder. In this method, elements that attract specific attention are first isolated, described in detail and then submitted to hypothetical readings of their symbolic and iconic meanings. After having traced the pragmatic context of the picture, the synthesis elaborates how meaning is made visible by and within the picture.

In the book about the elephant and the mouse (Fig. 2.1), the synthesis of different pictorial elements identified in the course of the analysis allows an additional reading of the story: The elephant is out of place, lost in the urban canyon of a big city. He is too big to enter the doors of the houses, but small compared to the skyscrapers that reach beyond the rim of the page (1). He perceives (from a safe distance) the town mouse, who is the right size for the cityscape and just comes out of a door (2). Elephant and mouse join trunk and tail—they become friends (3). At the seaside, the elephant is in the water, while the mouse rests on the beach (4). Then, both are in the water; the elephant has brought the mouse into 'his' element (5).

Figure 2.2 focusses on one of the isolated segments, the elephant's head: At first the elephant looks straight ahead; his tusks are visible (1). When he meets the mouse (2) he bows down and shows readiness for interaction, the tusks disappear (3), the trunk gains in importance and the mouth becomes more and more visible and smiles (4, 5).

The analysis of the visuals and their contextualisation suggest that the author invests the elephant as the main character with emotional expression and that he narrates a story of displacement related to his own experience. To tell his story, the author borrows from known genres and topics and modifies them for his purposes: He adopts the genre of fairy tales with a happy ending in which animals represent the main acting characters. In his story, the characters are borrowed from the mouse and elephant jokes popular among children in the German speaking as well as in

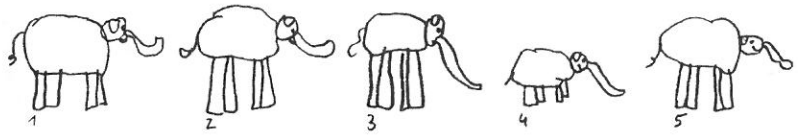

Fig. 2.2 The elephant's head

Fig. 2.3 One page of Nemanja's booklet

the Balkan space[9]. These jokes play with the difference in size between the two unequal friends. Usually, the witty mouse plays the leading part. In Nemanja's story, however, the elephant is the main character—lost in the city, which is the mouse's environment.

A closer reading of the written text reveals the co-presence of multiple voices that contributed to its production. Figure 2.3 shows one text page of Nemanja's booklet. As on this page, the text appears throughout the book in four versions. The original text is handwritten in pencil in Serbian language and the Latin script Nemanja learnt in the village school he attended in Serbia before he came to Vienna:

> Kada su stigli na more slon je odma otišao da se kupa, a miš da se sunča.

The next text layer, which is in blue ballpen handwriting, gives a first translation into German:

> Wann ankommen Meer, Elefant gleich fortgehen boden, Maus ist sonnen.
> [When arrive sea, elephant immediately go out swim, mouse is sun herself.]

The text gives clues as to how it was composed: In several cases, words are not taken from a daily colloquial register but from a more sophisticated one usually used in written texts (e.g. "übereinkommen", "Freundschaft schließen") and many verbs appear in their indicative form (e.g. "ankommen"), without the appropriate auxiliary verbs. This implies that a dictionary was consulted to work out this first translation. On the other hand, certain words indicate in their almost phonological transliteration that they were available for the translation in their vernacular

[9] See e.g. Maus-und-Elefant-Witze: http://www.kidsville.de/tiergarten/witze/.

Viennese form (e.g. "boden" versus "baden"). Apparently, Nemanja had some help from outside the classroom, possibly from his parents or other family members. The third text layer, the typewritten lines on the bottom of the page, were written by the teacher who reframed the above quoted translation in a more conventional German:

> Als sie dort ankamen, ging der Elefant gleich baden und die Maus legte sich in die Sonne. [When they arrived there, the elephant immediately went swimming and the mouse sunbathed.]

As the teacher does not understand Serbian himself, his German version is built on the first translation into German, the translation 'with an accent'. The fourth text layer, the typewriting on the top of the page, was also done by the teacher who immersed himself in the 'alien word' of (for him) a foreign language. Typing the text in Serbian implies that he trusts the learner and is prepared to give up control. He exchanges his position of the one who knows with the part of the one who learns. The co-presence of the two typewritten versions, the Serbian and the German, signals that both are considered to be of equal value. The visibility of the four text layers in the printed version of the little book stresses the importance of the production process and the multiple actors involved in it. A chain of intertextual transformations and inter- and intralingual translations (Jakobson 1971 [1959]) remains visible and affirms the dialogic character of the creative process and the resulting work. The little book is a heteroglossic text in the Bakhtinian sense as it displays, drawing on different modes of symbolization (written, oral, visual), the interaction of different codes, discourses and voices.

Nemanja's book 'The elephant and the mouse' was presented here as an example for the little books that constitute the Little Books Library. Each of these books as well as the library as a whole are an expression of the heterogeneity of the learners' backgrounds and of the neighbourhood in which the school is located. In the following section, I will explore with reference to the Little Books Library why all three dimensions of heteroglossia—multivoicedness, multidiscursivity and multiplicity of codes—are significant when heteroglossia is implemented as a pedagogy.

2.2.1.2 Multivoicedness [raznogolosie]

Nemanja's book is the result of cooperation between different persons. The traces of other voices are not 'evened out', but remain visible: Nemanja, as every author of a text, has (absent) addressees in mind whose responses he anticipates and who therefore are implicitly also present in the text—in his case probably his teacher, his family and his peers. Ostensibly visible are the traces of unsigned helpers or co-authors, for example, the voice of the translator in the blue handwriting. The teacher[10] defines his role in the production of the little books as that of a first reader and an assistant. As a helper, he supports layout and technical production. The amount and kind of help depend mainly on the authors' request. Sometimes authors

[10] Interview with Christian Schreger, June 2010.

ask for ample support and prefer to dictate their text to the teacher who types it on the computer; sometimes they only demand help for the search of illustrations or the choice of fonts. As a first reader, the teacher encourages, asks clarifying questions, and sometimes makes suggestions which can be adopted or rejected. His role is that of "responding understanding [...], one that participates in the formulation of discourse" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 280–281).

The authors are also readers of the little books. To produce a book means to involve oneself in a dialogue with previous books and with books to come. Some learners hesitate a long time before publishing their first little book, while others quickly become prolific writers. Nemanja, for instance, after having published his first book, the elephant story, authored six further books, four of which elaborate on the topic of displacement focussing on his village in central Serbia, the idealized site of his longing. The two others are co-authored books on completely different topics. Several of the books within the library are signed by two or more authors: sometimes text and visuals are the result of a negotiation, the synthesis of different voices, sometimes the individual voices remain visible (different handwriting, different linguistic codes) and sometimes there is a division of tasks, one author being responsible for the text, another for the visuals. There are periods when only a few little books are added to the classroom library, as well as periods of intensive book writing, triggered by a specific event (such as an excursion) or by the publication of a little book that attracts particular attention. There are many ways of responding to a previous book: follow-up books within a thematic chain can be agreeing, commenting, rejecting or elaborating. The single book can be seen as a particular moment in an intertextual chain.

In many little books, the different voices which contributed to the production process are manifest for the reader, as is the case in Nemanja's book. It is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Little Books Library that neither the multivoicedness of the text is reduced to a 'validated' single version nor is the original voice of the author exhibited in a paternalistic way as a genuine and 'unspoilt' effort of naïve creativity. The different voices are recognized as legitimate and complementary in the production of meaning, as opposed to the imposition of a unitarian language. The multivoicedness of the Little Books Library as pedagogic material is also opposed to the authoritative singlevoicedness of a traditional school manual. This is where the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia links with Freinet's pedagogic concept of free and creative writing. In a manifesto, Freinet (1928) formulates: "Every school manual which is distributed in number that equals the number of the learners is a yoke and a totalitarian tool. If a manual is good it may enter the library as any other book, it will lose its monopoly and the noxiousness of manuals."[11]

[11] Translation B.B.

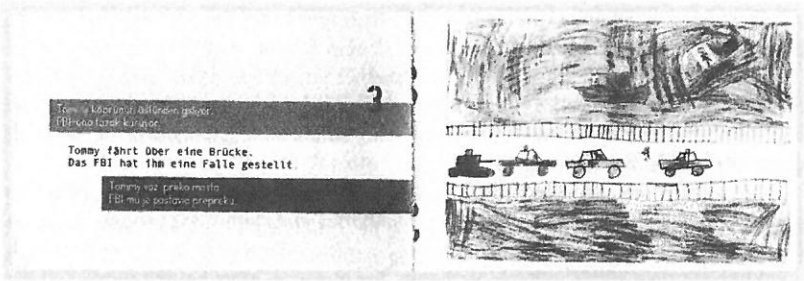

Fig. 2.4 Chechens against Russians

2.2.1.3 Multidiscursivity [raznorečie]

In the Little Books Library, there are no constraints as far as topics and genres are concerned. Authors appropriate different genre models to tell their stories. Among the non-fiction type, genres figure, for example, the photo reportage, the documentary, the specialized magazine, the travel report or the autobiographic episode. In the realm of fiction, authors draw on genre models such as fairy tales (in classical or 'Disneyfied' versions), fantasy literature, cartoons, science fiction, photo novels or computer games. One of the most popular series among the boys in the M2 is the series of "GTA Vice City" (Fig. 2.4), booklets named after the bestselling action–adventure video game which revolves around drugs, weapons, vehicles and criminals. The computer game genre is not banned from school, nor is the violent content which is often linked to it. Allowing such books in the collective classroom library means that questions children are preoccupied with can be negotiated in the public space of the classroom instead of being pushed into secret corners. It means also that fears and desires can be expressed, especially as in some families traumatizing experiences of war and displacement are present. Such experiences are addressed implicitly as in "GTA Vice City" or more explicitly as for instance in the book entitled "Chechens against Russians". This book written by Ramzan and Naib transposes the war into a phantasy world with monsters and ends with the victory of the Chechens. Discussing a project carried out in South Africa, Pippa Stein (2008, p. 75) stresses that the creation of multimodal texts makes it possible for children to tell about "the unsayable" by borrowing from other genres and discourses.

Personal fears like nightmares or sleepwalking, competition among peers, satirical representation of the teacher or other authorities, as well as allusions to body parts placed under a taboo ("the botty museum"), figure in the list of topics. The "book about little books" written by Nori and Lara gives a meta-comment about "the power of the little books": in their story the little books are depicted as the place where fears and anxieties can be expressed, but they also have the magic power to chase away threatening black clouds. What is important is that authors can raise any topic they are interested in. School environment, family life and media production (films, books, magazines, TV series) function as incentives. This openness to the 'outside world' brings different discourses linked to various lifeworlds and social spheres that are relevant for the children in the classroom. Following up on topics introduced via creative writing can be seen as a first step from a monodiscursively oriented curriculum towards a dynamic curriculum that acknowledges a multiplicity of competing discourses.

2.2.1.4 Diversity of Codes [raznojazyčie]

In the school year 2010/2011, in the M2 classroom there were 25 learners between 6 and 11 years of age. The school register listed nine different family languages: Arabic, Azerbaijani, Cantonese/Vietnamese, Farsi, German, Punjabi, Serbian, Urdu and Turkish. This kind of categorization that assigns every child to one single language category (and thereby also to a national or ethnic category) does not correspond to the complex and diverse linguistic repertoires that co-constitute the communicative space of the M2. During a workshop on language awareness carried out in May 2011, learners were asked to produce multimodal language portraits as a self-perception of their linguistic repertoires (see Fig. 2.5). In this creative approach, participants are asked to think about the codes, languages and the means of expression and communication that play a role in their lives, and to map them with multicoloured felt pens in a body-shaped drawing according to the importance they attach to them. In the group discussion that follows, participants present and explain their visualizations. In our research, we consider the metalinguistic commentaries of speakers, the visual and verbal representations of their repertoires which emerge during the research process, as a representation that is produced in this specific interactional situation. We do not consider them as an image of the linguistic repertoire 'the way it really is', nor as an 'objective' reconstruction of the history of language acquisition. Selection, interpretation and evaluation do not occur independently of social discourses (Busch 2010). The picture mainly serves as a means of eliciting explanations regarding language practices, resources and attitudes and serves as a point of reference. Body or colour metaphors frequently structure the following narrative. As the visual mode steers one's vision towards the whole (the *Gestalt*) and towards the relationality of the parts, the following narration is usually less structured in the linear and sequential way of a language acquisition biography. Whereas the verbal mode favours diachronic continuity and synchronic coherence, in the visual mode contradiction, fractures, overlappings and ambiguities can also remain unresolved (Breckner 2007).[12]

In the language-friendly atmosphere of the M2, it was not surprising that the learners demonstrated a high level of language awareness. None of the children represented herself or himself as monolingual. The learners employed different ways of characterizing or categorizing languages, registers and codes. Of course, learners also referred to terms that figure as denominations for languages recognized as national, ethnic or official languages (Hindi, Turkish, German, French, Cantonese,

[12] For more details about this multimodal approach to language biographies and linguistic repertoires, see Busch (forthcoming).

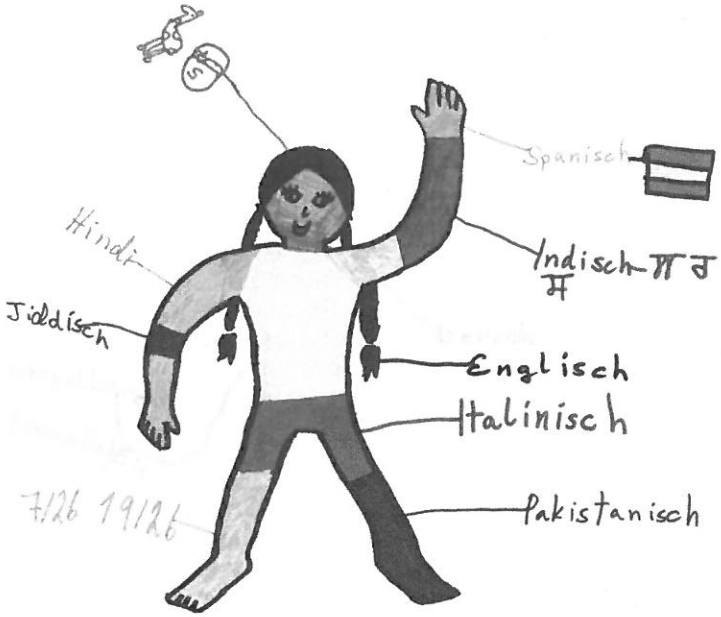

Fig. 2.5 Language portrait

etc.), sometimes symbolized in the portraits with the corresponding flags, national symbols or colours (the four S for Serbia, the Japanese flag, yellow and red for Spanish, etc.). Equally, language denominations figure those that refer to geographic spaces ("Indisch" ["Indian"]), specific dialects or vernaculars (Tyrolean, the German from Germany, etc.) as well as particular 'mix languages' ("Misch"). Different ways of speaking linked to particular interlocutors (sister language, father's language, etc.) serve as classifying grids as well as ways of speaking linked to different spaces (Indish at home, Hindi in the temple, house language, etc.) or linked to time. Some learners mentioned 'lost' inherited languages (Czech of the grandparents, the grandfather's Chinese, etc.), most of them also languages they want to learn or to know in the future (French when grown up, Latin, Japanese, etc.). Even those learners that are classified in the school statistics as monolingual German speaking mentioned different varieties such as Swiss German, local dialects or languages they hear in school or in the neighbourhood. In almost all portraits one can find English as the first foreign language learnt in class, in many of them also Kurdish, spoken by the team teacher, and Yiddish which was introduced through songs and rhymes in the framework of a project. Just as often figure phantasy or secret languages (U-language) and secret scripts (icon language, numeral language, etc.), specific codes for communication with pets or cuddly toy animals. One learner reserved a

space in his head for the inner monologue to which he referred as "head speech, a language that I sometimes have in my head but that I cannot pronounce"; another mentioned the language of silent reading.

This short summary of comments made by learners in the group discussion that followed the drawing of the language portraits suggests that the linguistic repertoire, rather than as a tool box, 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. Bakhtin (1981b, p. 84) coined the term chronotope (literally, "timespace") to underline the co-presence of different timespaces in a text or in language. In this sense, the linguistic repertoire not only reflects the synchronic juxtaposition of language practices associated with different social spaces (home, school, place of origin, temple, etc.) but also reflects a diachronic dimension: it points backwards to past language experience and forwards to expectations and desires linked to the future. It encompasses not only what a speaker 'has' but also what can be felt as an absence, a blank (e.g. the grandparents' Czech, the grandfather's Chinese). The learners' heteroglossic repertoires with their multiple languages, varieties, registers and codes are represented in the more than 400 booklets that constitute the Little Books Library. When learners enter the M2 they are likely to find ways of speaking or writing similar to their own represented in one or another story. Through the little books, these ways of speaking are presented in a meaningful way and recognized as fully legitimate in the context of formal teaching and learning. However, no pressure is put on the authors to write in their mother tongue as a performance of "authenticity" or a celebration of ethnicity.

Many of the little books are multilingual, including those written originally in another language than German; a translation into the classroom lingua franca, German, is included as a sort of subtext. The motives for bringing in other languages than German are varied: Sometimes it is simply because learners can express themselves more easily in their family language (as Nemanja when he wrote his first book in Serbian). Often learners who are fluent in German are proud to show their other languages, especially when this involves a script other than Latin. This is, for instance, the case in Jaspreet's reportage about the Sikh temple in Vienna, which, although composed in German, contains some sentences written in the Gurmukhi script. Adding one or more languages can also be seen as an indication of how audiences are imagined. In the above-cited book series "GTA Vice City" (Fig. 2.4), for instance, the authors Bekir and Igor chose a trilingual design encompassing the main languages of the neighbourhood, German, Serbian and Turkish, with the idea of guaranteeing a maximum outreach for their texts. Sometimes small chunks in other languages are inserted into a German text to signal the presence of other voices or as a means of stylization (frequently in English as in "Happy burtey!!!"). Translations into other languages can also indicate the wish to imagine oneself as a speaker of a target language or to identify with speakers of this language. This is the case for Nori and Anouk who speak German in their families, and who started to learn Kurdish with the team teacher of the M2. They asked her to add a Kurdish translation to a series of 'princess stories' which they co-authored. On the whole,

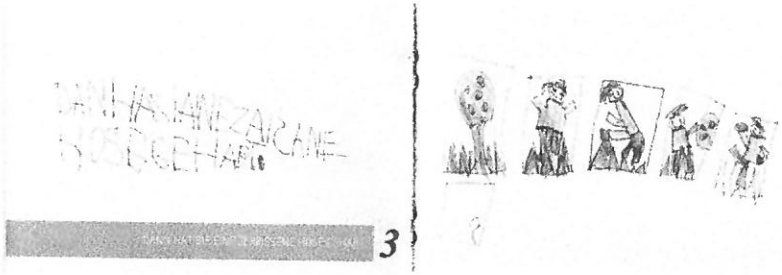

Fig. 2.6 The Girl and the Apple Tree

linguistic plurality is considered as an added value which can enhance the appeal of a little book.

Emergent writing and secret languages are also seen as appropriate for being published in the Little Books Library. Bertan produced his first book before he had learnt how to read and write in school. His story about "The Girl and the Apple Tree" is written in a self-confident, idiosyncratic transliteration of spoken German as shown in Fig. 2.6.

In the print version of the book, the unsegmented handwritten text is reproduced to acknowledge Bertan's languaging effort (1). What within a regular school context would most likely be considered nonsensical becomes perfectly understandable when segmented (2). The teacher as a first reader contributes through an active understanding (Bakhtin 1999, p. 132) to reformulate the text (3):

1. DANHAZIAINEZAIZANE HOSEGEHABT.
2. DAN HA ZI AINE ZAIZANE HOSE GEHABT.
3. DANN HAT SIE EINE ZERRISSENE HOSE GEHABT. [Then she had torn pants.]

Another little book, entitled "5 Magic Spells", consists of the five words POSEISMA, IZILATUS, TOROTOLES, TIRAKULES and MINEKRIS which are accompanied by drawings showing how a magician pronounces the five different spells. It was Ilja's first book and it took him 3 months to accomplish it. Clearly, these words are not simply an arbitrary agglomeration of letters, but a thoughtful arrangement of possible letter strings. Though obviously inspired by Harry Potter, every single spell is an original creation which in a Bakhtinian sense responds to others' words by echoing. Chunks of words are de-propriated from their original context and transposed in an actual magical context; they are deformed and retransformed to become Ilja's own words allusively explained by the illustrations.

2.3 Towards a Culture of Heteroglossia

State school systems with their monolingual tradition struggle with the linguistic needs resulting from super-diversity. In Austria, the so-called additional mother tongue teaching is provided within the mainstream system for a certain number of languages[13] if the threshold number of 12 learners per course can be attained. Obviously, it is impossible to offer courses in all necessary languages and school locations. For the learners in the M2, for instance, mother tongue lessons are provided in Turkish, Kurdish and in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. Most of the mother tongue courses take place outside the mainstream teaching hours and classrooms. Mother tongue courses are an important recognition of the learners' linguistic backgrounds and needs but cannot replace the valorization of the learners' entire linguistic repertoires during regular teaching and learning hours. A repertoire approach avoids the categorization of learners into different language groups, opening a space for the speakers to bring into dialogue their individual repertoires, to engage in metalinguistic discussion and negotiation and thereby to transform the language regime in the classroom.

Within the pedagogic approach taken in the M2, learners are encouraged to bring in their linguistic resources—when necessary with the help of other persons close to them: the presence of different languages, codes, registers, discourses and voices is mainstreamed. Foregrounding free and creative writing as an ongoing activity opens up a space in which a multiplicity of codes is acknowledged as a resource. Creative writing is not practised as an end in itself, but encourages learners to create their own materials, to engage in a process that reaches from the initial idea to the distribution of a finalized product. Every text produced by the learners is part of a dialogically constituted intertextual chain and is inscribed into an open-ended larger project, be it the classroom diary or the World-ABC or the Little Books Library which was discussed in this contribution.

The M2 multigrade classroom is part of the state school system with its specific requirements and constraints, but at the same time the heteroglossic approach taken in this school challenges some of the basic assumptions on which teaching and learning practices within this system are built. This has often led to tensions with the school authorities concerning questions such as the number of allocated teaching hours or the right of learners to participate in additional language courses. The popularity and success of the M2 as well as of other multigrade classrooms in Vienna have so far guaranteed the continuation of these experimental classes.

A heteroglossic approach not only implies acknowledgement of the presence of different languages and codes (*raznojazyčie*) as a resource, but also entails a commitment to multidiscursivity (*raznogolosie*) and multivoicedness (*raznorečie*). Multidiscursivity means that learners can bring into the classroom their concerns and topics of interest, thereby participating in the making of a dynamic curriculum.

[13] Overall, 21 languages in the school year 2009/2010 (Informationsblätter des Referats für Migration und Schule Nr. 5/2011. BMUKK Wien).

Multivoicedness means that learning and teaching take place in a dialogic multidirectional way, roles are not fixed but situationally negotiated, the teacher takes the positions of a learner and learners assume a teaching role. This opens up the possibility to experiment with different voices and to develop one's own particular voices and styles. Multiplicity of codes means rejection of a monolingually oriented and standard-centred perspective which labels 'deviant' language practices as deficiencies; it means recognizing and appreciating all kinds of multimodal languaging practices as legitimate means of meaning making, to accept situations of not-understanding and of limited control, and to promote language awareness or consciousness, i.e. the capacity "to regard one language (and the verbal world corresponding to it) through the eyes of another language" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 296).

A culture of heteroglossia is based on the principle of dialogism in which words constitute subjectivity by generating a social space that is fundamentally interpersonal and facilitates a constant appropriation and transformation of the voice of the other. Based on Bakhtin, Mörtenböck and Mooshammer (2011, p. 127) develop a concept of social space in which as a result of dialogue emerges "a complex map of intensities whose distribution develops out of reciprocal points of contact" and which is not structured according to "an overarching plan" or "the grammar of a common project". Heteroglossia as a pedagogy can contribute to constituting such open spaces of potentialities, where the polyphony of voices, discourses and ways of speaking—all linked to different social–ideological worlds—is not kept out, but seen as a constitutive feature. Such schools would bring together in a single real place several spaces, several sites, that are in themselves incompatible; they would thus correspond to what Foucault (1967) sketched out as heterotopias, "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted". The move of bringing the world into the classroom has its counterpart in the effort of seeking to establish links with the world, with other responding spaces. In this sense, many of the materials produced in the M2 are available on the school website and the idea of the little books was taken up by other schools and reading clubs not only in Austria but also in Scandinavia and South Africa.

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Chapter 3
Heteroglossia, Voicing and Social Categorisation

Lian Malai Madsen

Abstract Observations of heteroglossic practices have led to questioning of the usefulness of the concepts of "language" or "variety" in research as well as pedagogy, and it has been argued that such concepts are representations of particular language ideologies rather than of linguistic practice. This chapter examines details of what voices are performed with what local purposes in interactions among adolescents in Copenhagen. How are particular stylised voices achieved? How salient are they? And how do they relate to larger scale processes of social categorisation in society?

Keywords Language ideologies · Polylingualism · Stylisation · Stereotypes

Transcription Key

[overlap]	Overlapping speech
LOUD	Louder volume than surrounding utterances
xxx	Uintelligible speech
(questionable)	Parts I am uncertain about
((comment))	My comments
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
↑	Local pitch raise
(.)	Short pause
(0.6)	Timed pause
Stress	Stress
hhh	Laughter breathe

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