

A Dominant Language Constellations case-study on language use and the affective domain.

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Abstract

Globalisation, international mobility, and new technologies make current multilingualism qualitatively different to not only mono- and bi-lingualism but also to any of its historical incarnations. As a *new linguistic dispensation* (Aronin & Singleton, 2008, 2012; Aronin, 2015), current multilingualism is understood to be complex, suffusive, liminal, and super-diverse; four essential properties which necessitate alternative foci in multilingual research. From this view, multilinguals are the ‘glue’ that binds cultures and societies, it is therefore essential to focus on their socioculturally-situated multilingual practices if we are to better understand the protagonists of this considerable social responsibility. In this regard, two concepts of profound interest are *multilinguality* (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2004) and, its expression/realisation in concrete time-frames and socio-cultural contexts, *dominant language constellations* (DLC - Aronin, 2006; 2016). With this in mind, the current study examines the individual DLC of a Moroccan immigrant living in the Valencian Community in Spain. In line with earlier research calling for more varied self-report data (Todeva & Cenoz, 2009; Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011; Gorter & Cenoz, 2011), the study uses semi-structured interviews to investigate relationships between the DLC and the affective domain; specifically, attitudes, emotion, and identity. The resulting qualitative data explores the following questions: How does a multilingual speaker use their DLC to navigate specific sociolinguistic contexts? What influence does the DLC have on the expression of identity and emotions in concrete daily situations? What role does the DLC play in the formation of language attitudes? Moreover, these issues are framed within an acculturation context to articulate what Canagarajah and Wurr (2011) call ‘voices from the periphery’. While accepting that a case-study limits any attempt at generalisation, it is hoped that this research focus may contribute by providing another small piece to the overall puzzle of multilingual practices realised in concrete social and cultural contexts.

Key words: Dominant Language Constellations, Multilinguality, Affective factors, Emotions, Attitudes, Identity

INTRODUCTION

Aronin (in press: np) points out the importance of analysing language practices ‘associated with the contemporary human condition’. Globalisation has impacted massively on our understanding of diversity and homogeneity, and how languages are used in super-diverse settings. This has led to the notion of multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation (Aronin & Singleton, 2008, 2012). Within this framework, it is now considered normal that individuals and communities essentially require sets of languages to cover communicative functions (Singleton et al., 2013); this is embodied in the concept of Dominant Language Constellations (Aronin, 2006; 2016). However, while this concept has been well-developed theoretically, there is relatively little work which applies insights deriving from this theory. For this reason, the current chapter presents a case study focusing on the dominant language constellation of a Moroccan immigrant living in Spain, specifically on how his most expedient languages are reconfigured according to the multilingual environment and how they relate to his emotions, language attitudes, and identity construct.

1. A NEW LINGUISTIC DISPENSATION, MULTILINGUALITY, AND DOMINANT LANGUAGE CONSTELLATIONS

Pioneering research in SLA and bilingualism (Cook, 1992; Grosjean, 1989) has lead multilingualism studies towards a more holistic, complex, and dynamic perspective (Jessner,

2008, 2013; Todeva & Cenoz, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). This focus has shown how multilingual systems interact from a psycholinguistic perspective (Herdina & Jessner, 2002) and how they are eminently dependent on social contexts (Cenoz, 2013). One of the most comprehensive theoretical frameworks for situating multilingualism in the postmodern social context is Aronin and Singleton's (2008, 2012) concept of the *new linguistic dispensation*. These authors propound the idea that the scale and significance of multilingualism has reached a 'critical point' due to physical, economic, societal, and technological developments. Thus, in contrast to the rather supplementary nature of historical multilingualism, its modern counterpart is vitally interwoven with societal processes in all areas and at all levels (Singleton et al., 2013). As a new linguistic dispensation, multilingualism is characterised by four specific properties: complexity, suffusiveness, super-diversity, and liminality (Aronin & Singleton, 2008, 2012; Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; Singleton et al., 2013; Aronin, 2015). The way in which these properties are realised in concrete situations (for a detailed account, see: Aronin, 2015) means that research has moved away from a perceived monolingual/Anglocentric bias (Cook, 1997) and new focal issues have emerged; dealing with diversity, identity, and emotions, among others. Two of the most pertinent focal issues to have arisen in this regard are *multilinguality* and *dominant language constellations*.

While multilingualism refers to both the process of acquiring various non-native languages and the subsequent product at the level of society (Cenoz & Genesse, 1998), multilinguality refers to the 'inner constructs of a single speaker' (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2004: 16). This means that while multilingualism is understood as the capacity for an individual to effectively and appropriately use several languages, multilinguality is understood as an inherent and intrinsic characteristic of that individual. Aronin and Singleton (2012: 80) point out that multilinguality relates to 'individual aspects of multilingualism in their entirety', and takes into account the influence of the social milieu as well as the *cumulative* effects that emotional, psychological, and linguistic aspects may have on a person. Thus, multilinguality goes beyond language *per se* to encapsulate aspects of identity. Moreover, multilinguality sees identity holistically, integrating sub-identities (cultural, national, gender, etc.) and language profile. In fact, multilinguality reflects 'emotions, attitudes, preferences, anxieties, and personality type' and has a reciprocal effect on 'affective states and attitudinal orientations' (Aronin & Singleton, 2012: 81). Multilinguality is a unique possession of each multilingual individual. It is contingent on sets of languages and mastery of the languages in the sets, but also stretches further to include 'cognitive and linguistic abilities, potential to gain knowledge, self-image as a language learner, preferences and the tangible impact of the cultural context' (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2004: 19). The multilinguality that characterises a multilingual individual is bound to a specific time frame and cultural context and is expressed and realised from one context to another, from one moment to another, through that individual's dominant language constellation.

Dominant Language Constellation (henceforth: DLC - Aronin, 2006; 2016) refers to an individual's most expedient vehicle languages, and the fact that they function as a whole. The DLC is complementary to, but quite distinct from, the language repertoire (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Language repertoire denotes the totality of language varieties shared by a group, or the linguistic skills and collective communication resources available to a group or individual (Gumperz, 1964; Blommaert, 2013). Conversely, DLC denotes the vehicle languages which

are of ‘prime importance’ and ‘fulfil functions that are vital for a person or for a community’ (Aronin & Singleton, 2012: 62-63). The languages that make up the inner circle of the DLC tend to fulfil different functions and may have differing status within a given context. A DLC often comprises ‘an international language, a regional lingua franca, one or more state languages and one or more minority (local or immigrant) languages’ (Aronin & Singleton, 2012: 60). In short, the DLC concept describes an individual or community’s most important languages in any given context, not necessarily all the languages present in their repertoire but those which allow them ‘to meet all needs in a multilingual environment’ (Aronin, in press: np).

A DLC is inherently dynamic and, therefore, has no reason to be constant over the same environment. The constituent languages may have different ‘weights’ depending on a user’s social-environmental needs and mastery of each language. Aronin and Singleton (2012) refer to this as the configuration of the DLC. Thus, DLCs are subject to dynamic reconfiguration as temporal change or sociocultural context makes one or another constituent language more pertinent to the user. DLCs are also indexical of certain states of affairs regarding the individual (origin, ethnicity, residence, social status, etc.) and regarding the constituent languages (usefulness, prestige, etc.) These qualities of dynamism and indexicality tend to reflect a person’s life trajectory, meaning the DLC may fluctuate or shift over the life-span; that is, historical, personal, social, and environmental change may cause DLC reconfiguration. According to Aronin and Singleton (2012: 69), a DLC is ‘an evolving, emerging whole which transcends its parts’ and compels us to consider ‘whole sets of languages as units rather than [...] the specific languages used by given individuals or groups’.

Although work which theorises the DLC is now well established, studies which apply this theory are as scarce as they are innovative and novel. However, there is a steadily increasing body of research being produced. Currently, state-of-the-art work includes the following: Sjöholm, Björklund and Björklund (2016) who explored the diversity of DLCs among Finnish teacher-training students, including the way in which the DLC influences their attitudes and classroom performance, and how and why languages enter and leave their constellations. Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2016) who determined that a multilingual’s capacity to guess unknown words is not predicted by the entire language repertoire, but by the languages that form their DLC. Her results also indicated that the inference strategies applied in word guessing may be promoted by the typological proximity of languages within the DLC. Krevelj (2017) who examined differences and similarities in behavioural patterns as the languages of different configurations of the same DLC interacted during a specific production task. And, Kannangara (2017) who illustrated the interdependent and dynamic relationship between external (geographical and societal) factors and the development and evolution of her own DLC over a number of specific life events. Moreover, her study visualises the ‘weight’ of the constituent languages in different contexts. Finally, Aronin (in press) has called for more descriptive studies on DLC, specifically which DLCs are essential for communities and individuals. She proposes various methods to research DLC as a unit and as a pattern, and calls for work which explores how the constituent languages cooperate with or impede each other in various contexts, in different multilinguals, and under the cultural and historical influence that each language brings.

In summary, the literature on multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation, multilinguality, and DLC makes their intrinsic connection to the affective domain abundantly clear. However, it would appear that there is very little work which explicitly examines affective factors from this theoretical framework. Thus, in order to advance the current study, the next section will look at existing work in the areas of sociolinguistics, SLA, and multilingualism which considers such affective factors as emotions, attitudes, and identity.

2. AFFECTIVE FACTORS: EMOTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND IDENTITY

Earlier applied linguistics research covers many areas of the affective domain, for example: motivation (Gardner, 1985), willingness to communicate (MacIntyre et al., 1998), anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986), inhibition, empathy, and extroversion (Brown, 1987), and language attitudes (Baker, 1992). However, most of this research has been carried out in SLA contexts, essentially taking a monolingual perspective to the question of how the affective domain impacts on language acquisition or learning. Sociolinguistics and multilingualism research provides deeper insights into affective factors such as emotions (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2010) and identity (Dörnyei, 2005; Norton, 2013), and has vastly broadened our understanding of language attitudes (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Dewaele, 2005; Garrett, 2010). Affective factors tend to overlap, and it is clear that emotions, attitudes, and identity are dynamically and inextricably intertwined. For instance, an attitude is the emotional expression of the external context in which the individual is situated and an emotion is an intuitive feeling which may influence attitudes towards external contexts and circumstances. Furthermore, as McCarthy (1994: 275) points out, ‘emotions have come to serve as one of the principal experiences of self-validation [...] from which to claim an identity and to build a self-conception’. To better understand these factors and their relationship with language in bilingual and multilingual contexts, the balance of this section will summarise insights deriving from previous research regarding each one in turn.

Emotions have a great deal to do with how and when we decide to use our languages. SLA research shows that the L2 has less emotional resonance than the L1 (Marcos, 1976), meaning that L2 communication is often more cerebral. L2 use may also distance a speaker from their utterances (Bond & Lai, 1986), meaning that language choice may act as an emotional shield. However, multilingualism research proposes that such language roles are not fixed because the affective impact of different languages is contingent on speakers and contexts. In fact, multilinguals ‘may use [their] languages to index a variety of affective stances, and they may also mix two or more languages to convey emotional meanings’ (Pavlenko, 2005: 131). SLA research also relates language choice to emotions, specifically regarding compatibility with self/social image (Schumann, 1997). However, multilingualism research considers this perspective to be reductive as it does little to recognise the relational nature of emotions, which may lead individuals towards certain language choices that are not easily rationalised academically (Pavlenko, 2005). For instance, although the main factor in language choice for emotional expression was language dominance, very intense emotions or specific emotional language functions, such as reprimanding children, also play a notable role (Pavlenko, 2004). Moreover, languages impact on how we express emotions, especially strong ones like love or anger, and the ‘language of the heart’ may not always be the L1. For example, perceptions of the emotional force of taboo words are mainly determined by linguistic history,

and, in moments of extreme emotion, swearwords are often used in the L1 regardless of their comprehensibility to the interlocutor (Dewaele, 2004). The highly charged phrase *I love you* usually has more weight in L1, however the weight can be equal in L1 and LX, and occasionally even shift to the LX (Dewaele, 2008). Emotional speech acts are culture-specific, and bicultural multilinguals frequently navigate conflicting sociopragmatic norms. Codeswitching is often strategic when dealing with emotionally charged topics, but it can also be involuntary when particularly strong emotions are aroused (Dewaele, 2010). Multilingual inner-speech is most frequently expressed in the L1, especially if it is of an emotional nature (Dewaele, 2015). However, successfully acculturated migrants often come to assign this role to the host culture language (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017). In sum, language perceptions and choices regarding emotional expression in multilinguals is multifaceted, linked to past language experience, current language use, and sociobiographical and psychological factors (Dewaele, 2013).

Language attitudes constitute an essential affective variable in language learning (Dewaele, 2005), and arise from complex, dynamic interactions of societal and individual factors (Cenoz, 2009; Nightingale, 2016). European studies highlight a number of variables significant in the formation of language attitudes. L1 is a major factor, as is regional, national, and politico-cultural identity, while other factors include: media contact, self-perceived competence, and degree of multilingualism (Hoare, 2001; Dewaele, 2005; Lasagabaster & Huguët, 2007). Language attitudes contribute to language choice (Gorter et al., 2001), are dependent on perceived symbolic capital and the economics of the linguistic marketplace (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2005), and are positively affected by intercultural contact (Fisher & Evans, 2000; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005). Spanish studies show that the following variables have a significant impact: degree of linguistic competence, hometown size and dominant language, linguistic model of education, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and socio-professional status, and visiting or staying in a TL country, or participating in a study abroad programme (Lasagabaster & Huguët, 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009; Nightingale, 2012; Portolés, 2014). Finally, while there is little research which takes a holistic approach to language attitudes, that which does exist shows positive attitudes to languages in contact (Lasagabaster & Safont, 2008) and that attitudes are subject to socialisation processes and complex temporal and environmental interactions (Portolés, 2015; Nightingale, 2016).

Whether linguistic negotiation or identity performance, languages undoubtedly shape our self-conceptualisation. Tabouret-Keller (1998) points out the inseparability of language and identity and that language mediates and expresses the link between individual and social identities. Understood as a socially-situated practice, we use language to ‘accommodate, resist, subvert, and/or transform the acts, stances, and activities that constitute particular social identities’ (Duff & Talmy, 2011: 108), and languages themselves constitute symbolic resources through which ‘identities are forged, tried on, accommodated, imposed, resisted and changed’ (Harklau, 2007: 649). Norton (2013: 2) establishes that linguistic identities are often ‘socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing across time and space’. She points out that, due to this inequality, motivation to learn a language is not equal to a learners’ *investment* in the social, historical, political, and educational practices which frame the language; a learner may be highly motivated but not necessarily invested in a given context or set of practices. Poststructuralism allows us to see how language can organise society and construct subjectivities, as such it goes beyond idealised and homogeneous signs and becomes

a site of struggle as the signifying practices of heterogeneous linguistic communities clash over ‘conflicting claims to truth and power’ (Norton, 2013: 54). Because of the fluid and multifarious nature of multilingualism, multilingual linguistic identity construction and performance processes are necessarily more complex and dynamic (Pascual & Rothman, 2013). As multilingual identity is realised and negotiated through daily performance, one prominent issue relates to feelings of authenticity, especially in emotionally charged situations. Research shows that multilinguals tend to feel more authentic in their L1 and more fake in languages which were learned later in life (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2010). In online identity marking practices, multilinguals may employ a wide range of linguistic and semiotic resources in order to express a unified identity through social networking platforms (Schreiber, 2015). Finally, coexisting languages and cultures may induce a sense of hybrid identity in the minds of migrants; depending on how they are able to regulate their emotional responses, they may perceive their switching of languages as enriching rather than alienating (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017).

In summary, the literature reviewed above highlights how emotions, attitudes, and identity have been explored in different areas of applied linguistics research. What we have not seen is any work connecting the affective domain to DLC. Therefore, we identify a research gap in that there is currently no work which (1) examines aspects of the affective domain using DLC as a framework, and (2) explores the impact of DLC on the specific affective factors of emotion, attitudes, and identity.

3. THE STUDY

3.1 Aim of the study

To more deeply understand multilingual identity, Aronin and Singleton (2012) and Aronin (in press) have called for further descriptive work examining the relationships between DLC languages and their distinct functions in varying contexts. They also call for the exploration of attitudes towards the constituent languages and those languages within the DLC which have emotional force. In response, this chapter takes a DLC perspective to the use of languages in different contexts and the role of the DLC in terms of emotions, attitudes, and identity. The study explores the following questions:

- How does a multilingual speaker reconfigure their DLC to navigate specific sociolinguistic contexts?
- What influence does the DLC have on the expression of identity and emotions in concrete daily situations?
- What role does the DLC play in the formation of attitudes towards languages and language use?

3.2 Participant

As the current chapter is a case study, there is only one participant: a Moroccan national called Mehdi (henceforth referred to as M), a 34-year-old male, born in Dar Ould Zidouh in the Beni Mellal province of Morocco. M completed his obligatory education in Morocco and subsequently reached a postgraduate level in Spain. After briefly living in Switzerland, he settled in the Valencian Community in 2003. He currently works as an intercultural mediator

for the Integration and Social Coexistence Mediation Agency, a local government-funded initiative set up and operated by the town hall of Castellón. M represents a highly successful case of foreign-national integration. His long-term partner is Spanish and he has many Spanish friends. Furthermore, he enjoys permanent residency status, and is currently in the process of gaining full citizenship. Alongside his L1s, Darija and Modern Standard Arabic, he has native-like command of French and Spanish, a good working knowledge of Catalan, basic competence in Italian, and some knowledge of English, albeit somewhat rudimentary. In this sense, M's DLC can be represented by figure 1 below:

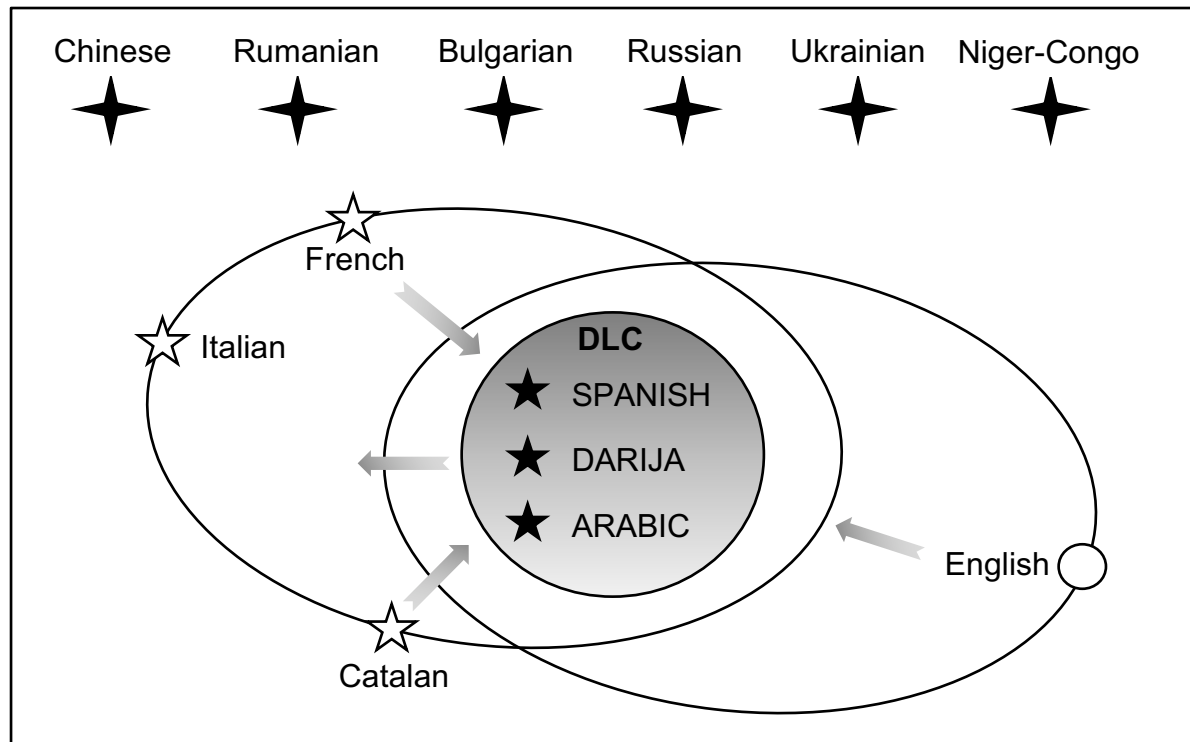


Figure 1: the participant's DLC

3.3 Multilingual settings in the Valencian Community and Morocco

Both the Valencian Community and Morocco constitute super-diverse sociolinguistic settings. The Valencian Community is characterised by use of Spanish and Catalan (Valencian). There is ubiquitous contact with English in both public and private education sectors, and, a notable immigrant population has brought with them a number of heritage languages (Rumanian, Arabic, Chinese, Russian, and numerous African languages). The unequal prestige that exists between these languages results in a palpable linguistic conflict; on one side, Spanish and English (more prestigious), and on the other, Catalan and specific community languages (less prestigious). This community provides a rich linguistic context which requires more investigation through multilingualism research (Safont, 2015). Morocco is characterised by use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Darija alongside four main Berber languages and some western European languages. MSA is a high-prestige language used in official/formal contexts. Darija is widely used in every-day informal situations. As Darija is primarily a spoken language, for many Moroccans it is the original 'mother tongue', while MSA is learned later in formal education. Berber serves a vernacular function; it is a

low-prestige language common in many rural areas. French is a high-prestige language used for diplomacy, government, and international commerce; it is also a vehicular language in education. Spanish is spoken in Northern Morocco and Western Sahara; it is also widely studied as a second language. Finally, English is rapidly becoming the foreign language of choice among young Moroccans, mainly due to its international prestige.

3.4 Approach to data collection

As mentioned above, the current chapter presents a qualitative data analysis in the form of a case study. The relevance of this ‘emic’ approach has been expressly mentioned in earlier research (Todeva & Cenoz, 2009; Canagarajah & Wurr, 2011; Gorter & Cenoz, 2011). Data were collected in September 2017 in two semi-structured oral interviews. The interviews were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed. As the focus is on self-report data rather than conversation analysis, the interview extracts presented have been edited and cleaned up to focus on the essence of M’s contributions. The extracts are marked with line numbers to make it easier to highlight certain comments. The researcher’s comments are marked as R and the participant’s comments are marked as M. Full stops (.) indicate that a turn has ended naturally, hyphens (-) indicate that one speaker has interrupted the other, question marks (?) indicate rising intonation, and three dots (...) are used when a part of the interview has been omitted, principally to avoid repetition and digression. Finally, as the interviews took place in Spanish, a language common to both the researcher and the participant, the extracts are presented in the original language.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first issue to be explored is how the participant uses his DLC to navigate specific sociolinguistic contexts. Taking into consideration that M is a bicultural multilingual who has successfully integrated into the host culture, he constantly finds himself in complex sociolinguistic contexts, each of which supposes a reconfiguration of his DLC. From the interviews, we are able to identify four distinct yet overlapping sociolinguistic situations: his social relationships with Spanish-speaking friends, his multilingual encounters in his job as a cultural mediator, his relationships with friends and family in Morocco, and his online social practices through websites such as Facebook.

Extract 1:

- 01 R: Qué lenguas utilizas para comunicarte con tu familia?
02 M: Darija.
03 R: Qué lenguas utilizas para ser sociable?
04 M: Pues, aquí el castellano y allí, darija.

Extract 2:

- 01 R:Cuál es la lengua que utilizas más en tu día a día?
02 M: El idioma? El castellano
03 R: Qué opinas del hecho de que utilizas el castellano más
04 que las otras lenguas?
05 M: Opino que es necesario. Vivo en España, la lengua que se
06 habla es el castellano. Mi pareja es castellanoparlante, con

07 lo cual opino que, sí, que hay que utilizar el castellano.

Extract 3:

01 R: Cuando estás en España ponme por ejemplo un porcentaje de
02 español, árabe y darija.

03 M: español ochenta por cien, darija quince por cien, árabe 04
cinco por cien.

05 R: Y cuando estás en Marruecos.

06 M: Al revés, castellano un cinco por cien- también cuando
07 estoy en Marruecos depende, si va mi pareja conmigo el
08 español ya no es un cinco por cien, es un treinta por cien, y
09 el árabe y darija, un setenta por cien.

In extract 1, we see that M uses Darija to communicate with his family (line 02). However, to be sociable, in general, the language he uses depends on the context; in Spain, Spanish, in Morocco, Darija (line 04). In extract 2, M mentions that the language he uses most in his every-day life is Spanish (line 02). The researcher asks what M thinks about the fact that he now uses his adopted language more than any other (lines 03-04), to which he replies that it is simply necessary because he lives in Spain and his peers and partner speak Spanish (lines 05-07). In extract 3, M talks about DLC reconfiguration when he travels between Spain and Morocco. In Spain, he uses around 80% Spanish, 15% Darija, and 5% MSA (lines 03-04). On the contrary, in Morocco, this reconfigures to around 5% Spanish (line 06) and the remainder in Darija/MSA. However, this reconfiguration is also contextual. M says that if he travels with his partner, his DLC is around 30% Spanish and 70% Darija/MSA (lines 08-09). It is curious to note that in Spain M distinguishes between Darija and MSA, giving prominence to the former, while in Morocco he considers the two languages together. Although, M is not explicit about why he makes this distinction, it would be reasonable to assume that, in the context of Morocco, not only would he have far more contact with MSA in its written form but it would also be essential for him to negotiate certain situations. Conversely, in Spain, MSA is only likely to be essential for the realisation of M's professional activities.

Extract 4:

01 R: Cuáles son las lenguas que utilizas en el trabajo?

02 M: En el trabajo utilizo el francés, utilizo el castellano,
03 utilizo el valenciano y utilizo el árabe.

04 R: Vale. Sería posible trabajar con una sola lengua, en tu
05 trabajo?

06 M: En mi trabajo, no. No es posible.

07 R: Por qué no?

08 M: Porque mi trabajo consiste en generar espacios de
09 encuentro entre población inmigrada y población autóctona, y
10 muchas veces la primera parte suele ser gente recién llegada
11 que no domina el castellano entonces, yo allí, tengo que
12 hacer el labor de traducción e interpretación.

13 R: Y en eso, usas muchas veces el árabe, no?

14 M: El árabe.

Extract 5:

01 R: Me has dicho que usas el árabe en el trabajo pero
02 usas darija o el árabe clásico?
03 M: El árabe clásico, escrito, la darija, entrevista
04 oral.

Extract 6:

01 R: Cuando empezaste a entender o aprender el catalán, el
02 valenciano?
03 M: El valenciano, empecé un poquito a interesarme por él en
04 el momento que mi carrera profesional dio un giro y me
05 dedicaba al mundo social, que es a través de la
06 administración pública, con lo cual sabiendo que para hacer
07 la administración pública, pues, tienes que dominar la
08 lengua- digamos, la segunda lengua autóctona.

As can be seen above the languages of M's DLC necessarily change in order for him to successfully navigate the demands of his professional life. In extract 4, the researcher asks M which languages he uses at work (line 01). M replies that he uses French, Spanish, Catalan, and Arabic (lines 02-03), adding that it would be impossible to do his job without them (line 06). The researcher asks why this is the case and M explains that his work involves translating, interpreting, and generating points of contact between recently arrived immigrants and the autochthonous population (lines 08-12). The researcher asks if Arabic frequently plays a role in these activities (line 13), which M confirms. In extract 5, the researcher asks M if it is Darija or MSA he uses in his job (lines 01-02), M replies Darija for oral interviews but MSA for written work (lines 03-04). In extract 6, M indicates that Catalan became an important language when he began to dedicate himself professionally to social work organised by the local government (lines 03-06). As an official language of the Valencian Community, Catalan is essential in any professional activity under the control of public administrative bodies. What these extracts show is how easily other languages may enter the DLC as a necessary condition for the correct realisation of certain activities and practices. As well as more long-term and stable changes in an individual's life trajectory (Aronin & Singleton, 2012), this reconfiguration may also take place on short-term and temporal levels.

Extract 7:

01 R: Cuáles son las lenguas que utilizas en internet? En
02 Facebook, en WhatsApp-
03 M: Castellano.
04 R: Alguna vez utilizas el árabe o el francés?
05 M: El árabe lo utilizo en el trabajo para traducir, el
06 francés también-
07 R: -pero si hablas con tu familia a través de internet dices
08 cosas en árabe?
09 M: Sí. Cuando hablo con ellos a través de internet hablo en
10 árabe.

In extract 7, the researcher asks M which languages he uses on the Internet. M replies that he uses Spanish (line 03). The researcher asks if M ever uses French or Arabic (line 04), to which he replies that he sometimes uses these languages at work when he needs to translate texts (line 05). The researcher presses M further, asking if he uses French or Arabic when communicating with his family (lines 07-08), to which M replies that he uses Arabic (lines 09-10). However, this response seemed overly simplistic given the complex nature of multilingualism and the dynamism and fluidity that characterises the DLC. Therefore, with the aim of ascertaining more information, the researcher was granted access to M's Facebook profile. Exploring a number of posts and subsequent comments, it became clear that although M almost exclusively uses Spanish with friends and work colleagues from Spain, when he speaks with his family in Morocco he makes frequent use of Spanish, French and Arabic Chat Alphabet, and there was also one comment from a family member in English. The researcher even found examples of code meshing between French and Chat Arabic (*mercie* [sic] *habiba diali* = "thank you my dear" - here M was responding to a comment in French, *courage mon cher*), and more restrained intrasentential codeswitching between Spanish and MSA (*recuerda mis consejos زعيترة y cognac* = "remember my advice thyme and cognac"). From these examples we can see that M uses the languages of his DLC to navigate the specific sociolinguistic context of online social media and that, in this context, French momentarily enters the DLC through translanguaging practices which are necessary for the full expression of his multilingual identity. Furthermore, if we consider Arabic Chat Alphabet not only as an innovative and technology-contingent translanguaging practice, but also as a separate linguistic code, we can observe the emergence of a new 'language' within the DLC which plays a vital and highly context-specific role in M's communicative, identificatory, and cultural practice.

These extracts give an insight into the way the DLC changes in order to navigate specific sociolinguistic contexts. Aronin and Singleton (2012) mention that DLC languages have different weights and are assigned different functions according to the context. However, their visualisation of the DLC in relation to the language repertoire tends to simply list these expedient languages. Taking Kannangara's (2017) innovative visualisation DLC reconfiguration and M's comments into account, the current author proposes a more dynamic visualisation (figure 2).

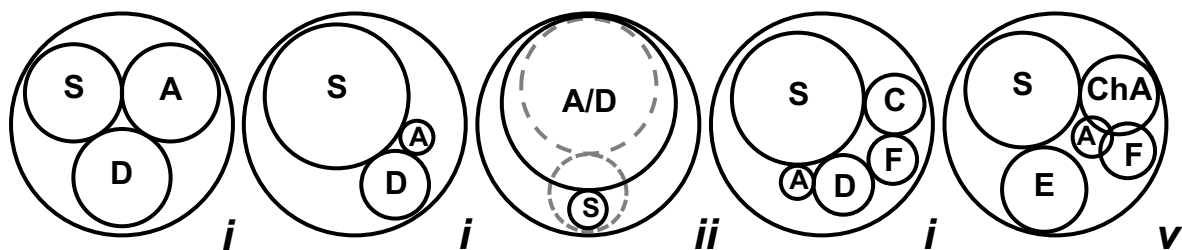


Figure 2: visualisation of dynamic reconfiguration within M's DLC

Configuration *i* represents all languages of M's DLC equally balanced. However, his comments indicate that this is not representative of the way M uses his DLC in different contexts; in fact, such balance is not representative of any DLC because the constituent languages would be in a constant state of flux as they responded to long-term and short-term

changes in the multilingual environment. Figure 2 proposes that the DLC itself is an ever-changing nucleus in which there is constant reconfiguration among the constituent languages. This concept is visualised in configurations *ii*, *iii*, *iv* and *v*. Configuration *ii* represents M in every-day social contexts in Spain. Spanish (S) is by far the most prominent of his three DLC languages, Darija (D) is used more than MSA (A), and these two languages are considered separately, most likely separated by function (spoken/written). Configuration *iii* represents M when he visits his family in Morocco. Darija and MSA are considered holistically and are overwhelmingly prominent, yet Spanish still plays an essential role, albeit drastically reduced. However, when M travels to Morocco with his Spanish-speaking partner, the prominence of Darija/MSA reduces and Spanish use increases (indicated by the dotted lines). Configuration *iv* represents M at work in Spain. Spanish is the most prominent language in this context, Darija and MSA are again separated by function, the former being employed more than the latter, Catalan (C) now enters the DLC as it plays an essential administrative role, and French (F) also enters the DLC for commination with African immigrants. Finally, configuration *v* represents M socialising online. Spanish is still the most prominent language, but also Arabic Chat Alphabet (ChA) emerges and overlaps with French and MSA as they merge in translanguaging practices. Moreover, English (E) also emerges, not necessarily as a productive language for M, but as a receptive one, vital for multimodal navigation of an overwhelmingly English-dominant Internet. Thus, it would appear that the DLC is constantly in flux, subject to social, cultural, and temporal changes, the latter of which may be long- or short-term.

We have explored the dynamic nature of M's DLC as he navigates the ever-changing multilingual environment, however, the examples we have seen are of a mostly practical nature. The remainder of the discussion will focus on the DLC in relation to the affective domain; specifically emotions, identity, and attitudes.

4.1 DLC and emotions

M's comments reveal emotional issues relating to a new language entering the DLC, his responses to taboo topics, his emotional expression in intimate 'heat of the moment' interactions, and a certain conflict arising from the expression of emotionally charged terms.

Extract 8:

01 R: Crees que la capacidad de expresarte en castellano te ha
02 proporcionado algún entendimiento nuevo sobre ti mismo como
03 persona?
04 M: Sí, porque todo está relacionado, al descubrir otro mundo
05 a través de la lengua, otro mundo de emociones, pues
06 descubres emociones que no lo tenías, y descubres, a lo
07 mejor, otra opción de pensamiento tuyo que no la tenías
08 ... la aprendes con la lengua, y yo personalmente lo valoro
09 muy positivamente en el sentido de que te abre un abanico de
10 posibilidades, o sea amplias el abanico de posibilidades, a
11 nivel emocional, a nivel personal, a nivel de crecimiento, de
12 capacidad de entender, de empatizar.

Extract 9:

01 R: El castellano te permite verte a ti mismo desde una

02 perspectiva nueva?
03 M: Es como ampliar el ángulo, ... al incorporar otro
04 idioma, otras emociones, otra manera de pensar otra manera de
05 expresar.

In extract 8, the researcher asks if M's competence in Spanish has led to a new understanding of himself (lines 01-03). M replies that the new language allows for the discovery of "another world of emotions" (line 04-05), and may also lead to the discovery of a new way of thinking (line 07). He values this very positively (lines 08-09) because it opens a range of possibilities in terms of personal and emotional growth, as well as understanding and empathy (lines 10-12). These comments are also indicative of language attitudes; M holds positive attitudes towards the ability to learn more about his emotional self through the languages of his DLC. In extract 9, the researcher asks if Spanish allows M to see himself from a new perspective (lines 01-02). M comments that incorporating another language, other emotions, and another way to think and express himself "broadens the angle" (lines 03-05). Thus, rather than change from one perspective to another, his comments indicate summation; all DLC languages play a vital role in advancing his understanding of emotional identity.

Extract 10:

01 R: Y eso que has dicho de entender las emociones de otra
02 manera, me puedes dar un ejemplo?
03 M: Los temas tabúes. Como era un tema tabú el sentimiento a
04 través de tu lengua que ya sabías y que te expresabas, la
05 emoción que te genera este tema el tabú, no eres capaz de
06 vivir el sentimiento, ... cuando aprendes otro idioma y
07 este tema no es tabú y con lo cual lo hablas abiertamente,
08 pues igual llegas a conectar y empatizar con este tema y
09 llegas a generar otra emoción totalmente distinta.

Extract 11:

01 R: Es posible que un tema que es tabú en árabe, te sientes
02 más libre de explorarlo en castellano?
03 M: Sí, claramente.
04 R: Dirías que eres más abierto ahora?
05 M: Más abierto, o también ... con más herramientas para
06 abarcar más sentimientos, más emociones.

In extract 10, the researcher asks M for an example of how his DLC languages give him another way to understand his emotions (lines 01-02). M gives the example of taboo topics (line 03), indicating that the emotions a taboo topic can generate in one language may inhibit the experience of the feelings deriving from this topic (lines 03-06). However, in another language the same topic may not be taboo, or less taboo, meaning that it can be discussed more openly (lines 06-07). This allows M to connect and empathise with the topic and means that a totally different emotional response may be generated (lines 08-09). In extract 11, the researcher asks if a topic is taboo in Arabic, would M feel greater freedom to explore it in Spanish (lines 01-02). M indicates that this is clearly the case (line 03). The researcher asks if

M would now describe himself as more emotionally open (line 04), to which he replies that he would, and that now he has a wider range of tools to encompass a wider range of emotions and feelings (lines 05-06). These comments indicate that the constituent languages of M's DLC cooperate with each other, and from this cooperation emerges an emotional intelligence which constitutes more than the sum of its linguistic parts (Aronin & Singleton, 2012).

Extract 12:

01 R: Cuando discutes con tu pareja, te sientes un poco
02 limitado sólo poder discutir en castellano?
03 M: No me siento limitado pero me cabrea no poder hacerlo en
04 árabe porque muchas cosas que diría vienen de un pensamiento
05 profundo, ya que es una cosa sentimental, vienen del árabe y
06 traducidas no valen lo mismo, no? No tienen el mismo valor.
07 R: Entonces, tienes que buscar otras herramientas
08 lingüísticas para poder discutir-
09 M: -para poder decir cómo te sientes, no? O qué es lo que
10 piensas, no? Porque, claro aquel pensamiento florece o surge
11 en otra lengua y tienes que buscar las castañas para decir lo
12 que quieres decir y que se entienda y que tenga el mismo
13 valor en otra lengua
14 R: Para decir que estoy enfadado-
15 M: -enfadado, sí. De hecho, muchas veces cuando discuto con
16 mi pareja digo cosas en árabe-
17 R: -y no entiende-
18 M: -a mí mismo y no entiende pero yo las digo a mí mismo
19 sabes? Es como que tengo la necesidad de decirlo, aunque sea
20 en árabe, sé que no vas a entenderlo, pero lo voy a decir.

In extract 12, the researcher asks M if he feels limited because he can only argue with his partner in Spanish (lines 01-02). M replies that he feels more frustrated than limited because many of the deeper and more sentimental things that he wants to express come from Arabic (line 05), and if the expression of these feelings is translated, their value is lost (line 06). M points out that, when an argument reaches a 'heat of the moment' point, he often says things in Arabic. However, he admits that the use of Arabic is no longer directed at his partner, it is self-directed, used as a conduit to get past the emotional block set up by the limitations of Spanish. He comments "it's like I have a need to say it, even though it's in Arabic, I know you're not going to understand, but I'm going to say it" (lines 19-20). The block caused by Spanish is not lexical, M has no problem in expressing complex ideas in this language, rather it is emotional because the emotion terms have different values across the languages of his DLC. These comments reflect an affectively triggered language switch motivation (Pavlenko, 2005). Despite the incomprehensibility to their interlocutor, when emotions are high, multilinguals may switch to their first, or earlier acquired, language because it feels right. Moreover, in the case of very strong emotions, this switch between languages may be involuntary (Dewaele, 2010).

Extract 13:

01 R: Te sientes más o menos auténtico si tienes que decir una
02 cosa emocional como te quiero?
03 M: Me siento más auténtico diciéndolo en árabe que diciéndolo
04 en castellano, porque justamente con esta palabra yo tengo un
05 dilema, de te quiero a la pareja en mi lengua por ejemplo, en
06 el árabe, o inclusive en el francés, hay una palabra
07 específica de querer a la pareja y hay palabras específicas
08 de querer a un amigo y hay palabras específicas de querer una
09 cerveza, aquí se utiliza quiero para todo ... así, para mí,
10 pierde valor.

Extract 14:

01 R: Justamente lo de querer a una persona, creo que tiene que
02 ser un dilema ¿no? Porque si tu pareja habla castellano y le
03 dices te quiero en vez de decirlo en árabe, para ella es más
04 auténtico pero para ti no.
05 M: Claro. Sí, sí. Es un dilema.
06 R: Claro. Es que quieres decírselo de tal manera que para
07 ella sea auténtico-
08 M: Claro. Algo especial. Pero para mí no es especial.

In extract 13, the researcher asks M about feelings of authenticity when using the emotionally charged phrase ‘I love you’ (lines 01-02). M indicates that he feels more authentic in Arabic (line 03). He faces a dilemma with the phrase in Spanish because Arabic, and even French, have separate expressions for romantic and platonic love (lines 04-08), while in Spanish *quiero* is used for both (line 09). M says that, for him, the expression loses value (line 10). This leads to a greater dilemma expressed in extract 14. The researcher proposes that saying I love you in Spanish is more authentic for M’s partner but less so for him (lines 02-04). M agrees that this causes an internal conflict, he wants the expression to be something special for her, but for him it is not special (line 10). This illustrates that communicating love in a foreign language is ‘extra challenging if it has to be channelled through narrow and imperfect linguistic translations’ (Dewaele, 2008: 1753), and also highlights the culturally specific nature of emotional speech acts (Dewaele, 2010). In this sense, the languages which comprise M’s DLC do not cooperate, leaving him with an uneasy truce between the concept of love in his different languages and the sociolinguistic context as the only option available to express his feelings.

4.2 DLC and attitudes

M’s comments reveal connections between the DLC and attitudes towards self-appraisal and future possibilities mediated by linguistic knowledge, attitudes towards the majority and minority languages of the host culture, and attitudes towards intergenerational transmission of languages and heritage culture.

Extract 15:

01 R: Quiero saber si tu conocimiento de lenguas te hace sentir
02 orgulloso.

03 M: Sí. Claro que sí.
04 R: Te hace sentir satisfecho?
05 M: Sí.
06 R: De haber aprendido lenguas-
07 M: -aprendido lenguas, sí.
08 R: Te hace sentir como cubres todas tus necesidades?
09 M: También. Y también lo veo como una herramienta que me da
10 muchas oportunidades y me abre muchas puertas.

In extract 15, the researcher asks M if his knowledge of languages makes him feel proud (lines 01-02), if it makes him feel satisfied (line 04), and if it makes him feel like he can cover all his needs (line 08). M replies affirmatively to all these questions and adds that he sees this knowledge as a tool that gives him many opportunities and opens many doors for him (lines 09-10). Above, we saw how languages from M's repertoire enter and leave his DLC in response to fluctuations in his multilingual surroundings. Here, we see that M holds positive attitudes towards the languages of his DLC as a unified resource which may provide him with future opportunities. This type of attitude is also intrinsically connected to identity in the sense of the 'ideal L2 self' (Dörnyei, 2005). M's 'future self' orientation is realised through his DLC languages; they are how he positions himself socially (Garrett, 2010).

Extract 16:

01 R: ¿Hay una posibilidad que el español puede convertirse en
02 tu lengua materna?
03 M: Yo creo que ya lo es. ... Yo considero ya el español
04 como una lengua materna. ... El materno y el no materno,
05 para mí, se traduce en el grado de uso, el grado de dominio.
06 Si tú dominas una lengua a la perfección, si eres capaz de
07 gastar bromas en esta lengua, si eres capaz de leer el
08 trasfondo de una frase en una lengua, yo creo que allí es
09 llegar a colgarte la medallita de materno.

Extract 17:

01 R: ¿Crees que tienes algún vínculo emocional [...] al catalán?
02 M: Al valenciano, al catalán, no. Ya no tanto. Al revés, lo
03 veo como un palo en la rueda, me supone a mí- como algo que
04 tengo que aprender obligado, ¿sabes? [más] que un aprendizaje
05 para mejorar mis oportunidades.

In extract 16, the researcher asks if Spanish could become a L1 for M (lines 01-02). M responds that he thinks it already is (line 03), stating that what makes a language a 'mother tongue' for him is related to the extent of control and use (line 05). This implies that his attitude is positive towards Spanish entering his DLC over the long term. This is again highlighted when M comments that once a person can tell jokes in a new language or read into the deeper connotations of a text or phrase, that person can "pin a little maternal medal on themselves" (line 09). This medal metaphor indicates that M feels proud not only of achieving a high competence in a new language but also of adding that language cumulatively to his DLC.

Contrarily, in extract 17, the researcher asks M if he feels any emotional connection to Catalan. M replies that he does not, calling the language “a thorn in my side” (line 03), and indicating that he has learnt it as an obligation rather than to improve his possibilities (lines 04-05). Further research into how attitudes shape or restrict the DLC could be very interesting. However, here, we propose that this negative attitude will restrain Catalan in becoming more than a very short-term and highly function-specific constituent of the DLC.

Extract 18:

01 R: Cuando tengas hijos, cuales son las lenguas que quieres
02 enseñarles?
03 M: Fundamentalmente, árabe. Eso sería el cometido por
04 excelencia.
05 R: Y por qué árabe más que otras lenguas?
06 M: El árabe porque es la identidad, ¿no? La identidad de uno.
07 Yo creo que mi granito de arena identitario para mis hijos va
08 a ser aprender árabe, ¿no? ¿Qué consigo con esto? [...] que
09 ellos se relacionen con el mundo- la mitad del mundo de su
10 padre, ¿no? Que en realidad es la mitad pero ocupa una gran
11 parte. Para mí, mi mundo, de Marruecos del árabe y todo esto,
12 para ellos no va a suponer lo mismo, no van a tener el valor
13 que yo le tengo. Obviamente, mis hijos si nacen y se
14 desarrollen en España, en Castellón, no le van a tener el
15 mismo valor. ¿Qué pasa? Que si a eso le añadimos que no
16 pueden comunicar con sus primos, con sus tíos, con sus
17 abuelos y tal, lo van a perder para siempre.

Extract 19:

01 R: En qué lenguas castigarías a tus hijos?
02 M: En árabe, en darija.
03 R: Por qué?
04 M: Porque lo voy a intentar transmitir en todos los aspectos,
05 la lengua, en el castigo, en la alegría, en la fiesta, y en
06 cantar nanas para dormir.
07 R: En qué lenguas los elogiarías?
08 M: En darija igual. ... El idioma vínculo entre yo y mi
09 hijo, que me identifique con éste.
10 R: De esta manera ¿crees que les darías a tus hijos un
11 vínculo afectivo con la lengua?
12 M: Claro. Me sería más fácil inclusive para transmitirles
13 modos de afecto que no están en castellano.

In extract 18, the researcher asks M which languages he would like to teach his future offspring (lines 01-02). He replies that it would be fundamentally Arabic (line 03). When asked why, he replies that if his children were to learn Arabic he would have provided them with his identificatory “grain of sand” (line 07). He indicates that he wants his children to be able to relate to their father’s world (lines 09-10), but then goes on to state that “in reality it’s half [of my world] but it occupies a large part [of it]” (lines 10-11). M is also fully aware that Morocco

and Arabic will not have the same value to his children as they do to him (lines 11-12), but that if this is compounded by an inability to communicate with their Moroccan family, they may completely lose their contact with the language and culture (lines 15-17). These comments indicate an attitude towards the DLC as a means of cultural expression; M's cultural heritage cannot adequately be expressed solely through his most prominent language. In extract 19, the researcher asks M in which languages he would chastise his children (line 01). M replies that he would do so in Darija (line 02). When asked why, M explains that he would try to transmit this language in all aspects (line 04), going on to list such aspects as punishment, joy, festivity, and lullabies (lines 05-06). The researcher asks in which language M would praise his children (line 07). M replies that he would also do this in Darija because it would be the linking language between him and his children and that they should identify him through it (lines 08-09). The researcher asks if this would create an affective connection between M's children and Darija (lines 10-11), to which M agrees, adding that it would facilitate the transmission of affection in ways not available in Spanish (lines 12-13). These comments show M's attitudes towards the role of the DLC in the intergenerational transmission of emotional and identificatory values. M indicates that the expression of emotion is not the same between his languages; therefore, he wants to transmit a similar base DLC to his offspring so they may have the linguistic-emotional framework in place to deal with this contrast.

4.3 DLC and identity

M's comments reveal that linguistic knowledge in general is a defining point in terms of his identity, the cultures attached to his DLC languages cohabit without conflict in his sense of self, negotiation of meaning or differing sociopragmatic norms has a cumulative effect on his personality, and the long-term addition of a new language to the DLC enriches his already strong self-perception.

Extract 20:

01 R: Crees que el conocimiento de lenguas ... determina tu
02 identidad?
03 M: Obviamente. Yo creo que sí. La identidad, al fin y al
04 cabo, es un acumulo de aprendizajes, de cosas vividas, no?
05 Cosas vitales ... que al final constituyen la identidad de
06 uno, sean idiomas, sean experiencias, sea educación

Extract 21:

01 R: ¿Te identificarías como multilingüe o multicultural, o las
02 dos cosas?
03 M: Multilingüe sí, pero multicultural no. Me considero más
04 intercultural. ... La diferencia entre lo intercultural y lo
05 multicultural es que intercultural es dos códigos culturales
06 o estas diferentes culturas conviven en el espacio o en el
07 ser. Yo no tengo una lucha interna entre lo que adopté de la
08 cultura, por ejemplo, castellana o española o castellanense
09 en este caso con lo mío original.
10 R: O sea, no son culturas separadas.

11 M: No, no. ¡Qué va, qué va! No, no, no. Todo lo contrario.

In extract 20, the researcher asks M if he thinks his knowledge of languages determines his identity (lines 01-02). M replies that this is obviously the case (line 03), adding that identity is the accumulation of different types of learning, different things one has lived through (lines 03-04). He continues that these vital things, whether they are languages, experiences, or education, in the end, construct one's identity (lines 05-06). In extract 21, the researcher asks M if he identifies as multilingual, multicultural, or both (lines 01-02). M replies that he considers himself multilingual but intercultural rather than multicultural (lines 03-04). He explains that his different cultures cohabit within his construction of the self (lines 06-07), and there is no internal struggle between what he has adopted from the host culture and what he originally had (lines 07-09). The researcher remarks that they are not considered separate cultures (line 11) and M confirms that they are totally the opposite (line 12); that is, they form a unified hybrid culture. As Norton (2013) points out, subjectivity is produced across different social sites and structured according to different power relations; under these conditions the individual may assume different subject positions. From the above comments and earlier comments relating to emotions and attitudes, we may argue that M takes different subject positions according to the languages of his DLC; son, brother, future father (Darija), mediator, translator (Arabic); friend, lover (Spanish). However, it takes all the languages of the DLC for him to realise his full identity, it is not possible to do so through any of the constituent languages alone. Furthermore, through language, the individual may reposition themselves from a marginalised to a powerful subject position. We may argue that the extent to which M has adopted Spanish into his DLC constitutes his resistance to being positioned by others (Harklau, 2007; Duff & Talmy, 2011). Through language, he identifies as an 'intercultural' citizen, in this way he takes control of his subject position and redefines himself as an expert professional (intercultural mediator), a role in which his heritage languages, far from being marginalised, perform an essential and highly valuable function.

Extract 22:

01 R: Crees que cambia la personalidad cuando hablas lenguas
02 distintas?

03 M: Sí y no. ... Yo no lo llamaría personalidad ... la
04 personalidad es la misma ... todas la lenguas tienen un
05 patrón de comportamiento, un código de comportamiento que
06 rige comunicarse en esta lengua no? Claro, cada lengua tiene
07 el suyo, lo adoptas, lo incorporas, aprendiendo la lengua lo
08 incorporas, puede que influya en tu personalidad de alguna
09 manera

10 R: Es sumativa.

11 M: Claro, es sumativa, pero no es que cuando hablo en
12 castellano tenga una personalidad y cuando hablo en árabe
13 tenga otra personalidad, no. Cuando hablo castellano, hablo
14 bajo un código de conducta ... Yo no creo que sea cambio de
15 personalidad, sino cambio de código de comunicación ... Mi

16 marco de referencia en árabe es éste, entonces hay cosas que
17 si yo las quiero decir en árabe, las tengo que decir de esta
18 manera. Cambio el repertorio al castellano, esto en
19 castellano cómo se dice? se dice de esta manera. Sí yo
20 quiero decirte te quiero, en castellano, te lo voy a decir de
21 esta manera ... en árabe es totalmente distinto, y yo no he
22 cambiado de personalidad, yo te quiero igual, lo que cambio
23 es el uso de la palabra con todo lo que conlleva.

In extract 22, the researcher asks M if he perceives a change in personality when he uses different languages (lines 01-02). M replies both yes and no, suggesting that for him it is not a case of personality change, rather that each language has a behavioural pattern or code (line 05) that governs communication, and that incorporating this code may have some influence on his personality (line 08). The researcher proposes that this influence could be cumulative (line 10), M agrees but reiterates that his personality does not change as a result of switching from Arabic to Spanish. On the contrary, he points out that when he speaks Spanish he is under the influence of a specific code of conduct, he continues “I don’t think I change my personality, but I do change the communicative code” (lines 14-15). M points out that if his referential frame is Arabic, it will affect the way that he can express certain things, conversely switching to Spanish implies finding and understanding the new frame with which to regulate the expression of the same concepts (lines 16-19). He illustrates his point by returning to the phrase *I love you*, explaining that saying this in Spanish implies a specific manner which in Arabic would be totally different (lines 20-21). He says “my personality hasn’t changed, I love you all the same, what I change is the word and everything that that brings with it” (lines 22-23). These comments are related to affective (re)socialisation (Pavlenko, 2005). The incorporation of a new language into the DLC does not change the personality but rather adds to it cumulatively as the individual negotiates new communicative frameworks, necessarily sociocultural in nature, and compares them with those already present in the DLC. The words may change but the basic feeling, the inner state, remains unchanged (Pavlenko, 2005: 228).

Extract 23:

01 R: cómo te sientes utilizar otra lengua que no es tu lengua
02 natural?
03 M: De momento me siento muy cómodo utilizando el castellano,
04 más que nada porque he tenido la suerte de dominar la lengua,
05 con lo cual no tengo ninguna dificultad ni para escribir ni
06 para hablarlo, con lo cual no me genera este sentimiento
07 interno que muchas veces se genera. El decir, necesito
08 utilizar mi lengua materna, que es la original, que es el
09 árabe o el darija en este caso, o sea, no tengo esta lucha
10 interna, no? Más que nada porque tampoco me influye mucho a
11 la hora de valorar mi identidad, no? Sé quién soy, sé dónde
12 vengo, sé cuál es lo mío y cuál es lo que adquiriré, y también
13 lo cuento como mío.

In extract 23, the researcher asks M how he feels about the fact that he now uses Spanish more frequently than his mother tongue, Darija (lines 01-02). M replies that he feels very comfortable using Spanish (line 03), ascribing this mainly to his competence in the language. He goes on to say that he does not feel the need to use his mother tongue and this does not generate any feelings of internal conflict (lines 09-10). He points out that this switch of most prominent language does not have much influence when it comes to evaluating his identity (lines 10-11) because, on the one hand, he has a secure conceptualisation of it, and, on the other, he is fully able to distinguish between that which is originally his and that which has been subsequently added (lines 11-12). However, his final comment is perhaps the most revealing. Referring to what Spanish has subsequently added to his identity, M proposes that he also counts it as his (line 13). This comment indicates that M considers the effect of this long-term reconfiguration within the DLC as cumulative in relation to the construction of his identity. This finding can be related to Panicacci and Dewaele's (2017) suggestion that certain personality factors (in M's case, a secure identity conceptualisation) may push immigrants towards new cultural horizons, and a capacity to regulate emotions may convert long-term language switches from an alienating to an enriching experience.

CONCLUSION

The interview extracts in this study show that, in practice, M's DLC languages are assigned different functions to different degrees in different contexts. Other languages from his repertoire may enter the DLC on a moment-to-moment basis in order to carry out context-specific activities and practices which are vital to his daily life. In this sense, the reconfiguration of the DLC is dynamic and constantly in flux as an individual perceives new conditions in the multilingual environment. However, as the interview data shows, the functions assigned to DLC languages are not only practical but also affective. We have seen that on some occasions M's languages work in conjunction, especially in terms of his identity, while on other occasions there is notable conflict between them which he has to negotiate, especially in terms of his emotions.

Regarding emotions, M is able to learn more about his emotional self through the languages of his DLC. Although emotional terms and topics do not have a uniform value across the languages of his DLC, rather than switching perspectives between languages he uses them all together in order to come to new understandings about his emotional identity. However, in intense emotional situations such as arguing or expressing love, the languages of M's DLC often impede each other, leaving him in paradoxical situations. Thus, we see that DLC languages do not always cooperate when it comes to expressing emotions. Where there is cooperation it may result in the emergence of an emotional intelligence that surpasses what can be realised by the constituent languages individually.

Regarding attitudes, M is very positive towards the future opportunities his DLC may offer as a unified resource. Moreover, he is proud of his high competence in Spanish and the new role this language plays in his DLC. Conversely, he shows quite negative attitudes towards Catalan, which he sees as an obligation. We posit that this attitude will restrain the role of Catalan and its durability within the DLC. M indicates acute awareness of the interrelated nature of language and culture and displays a positive attitude towards his heritage languages as means of cultural expression. Furthermore he is highly positive towards transmitting

emotional and identificatory values to his offspring through the languages of his DLC. He is also interested in providing them with a suitable framework to be able to negotiate emotional expression in all their languages. Thus, we see a range of attitudinal evaluations of the languages that comprise the DLC.

Regarding identity, M uses his DLC languages to take different subject positions. He also uses the host language to resist being socially positioned by others, and may use all the languages of his DLC to take control of and redefine his subject position from that of an immigrant to that of an intercultural citizen. However, although M negotiates different aspects of his identity through different DLC languages, it can only be fully expressed by all the languages working together as a set. Switching the most prominent language from Darija to Spanish has not influenced M's evaluation of his identity. The fact that M counts the host language as his own shows a cumulative effect stemming from this long-term DLC reconfiguration. Thus, we see that DLC languages often work in conjunction when it comes to understanding and negotiating identity.

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