

L2 Motivation and Multilingual Identities

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Abstract

By tradition, L2 motivation research has a monolingual bias, the motivational systems of a learner's different languages conceptualized as separate entities rather than as cognitively interconnected. At a time when multilingualism has become a new world order (Douglas Fir Group, 2016) and where there is evidence of powerful identity experiences connected to speaking several languages (Pavlenko, 2006) this is unfortunate. In alignment with the multilingual and dynamic turns in SLA (de Bot, 2015; May, 2014), and adopting a complexity thought modeling approach (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), this article explores multilingual learners' L2 motivation. It is suggested that the motivational systems of a multilingual learner's different languages can be understood as constituting a higher-level *multilingual motivational self system* that is part of an ecology of interconnected and interpenetrating systems. This system contains multilingual self-guides, one of which is the *ideal multilingual self*. Drawing on construal level theory (Liberman & Trope, 2010), the manner and effects of mental representations of an ideal multilingual self are assessed. Finally, it is suggested that motivation deriving from a broader identity which encompasses but in important ways transcends a multilingual person's language-specific identities has a central role to play in a multilingual education.

Keywords: L2 motivational self system; complex dynamic systems; multilingualism; multilingual turn; ideal multilingual self; construal level theory; multilingual education

Introduction

As in SLA generally, where a monolingual tradition substantially predates Chomskyan conceptualizations of linguistic competence, research into language learners' motivation has a strongly monolingual bias. Neither of the models historically dominating the field, Gardner's (2001) Socio-Educational Model and Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System, take account of other languages the individual speaks or is learning. While Gardner's central concept of integrativeness is constructed in accordance with a monolingual logic where (monolingual) native speakers are the reference, Dörnyei's model has a similarly monolingual premise, motivation conceptualized as deriving from the discrepancy between a person's current and ideal self-perceptions as the speaker of a TL. A monolingual bias is similarly evident in empirical work. Studies examining motivation to learn more than one language are scarce, and in those that have been conducted, greater focus has been placed on comparisons than interactions. Although understandable, the monolingual bias has implications. As in other fields of SLA where a monolingual mindset "has been blocking a holistic view of multilingualism" (Jessner, 2006, p. 141), L2 motivation research has treated the motivational systems of different languages separately, rather than as cognitively interconnected. As a consequence, emergent properties of motivation to learn more than one L2 are overlooked. In our globalized, multilingual world this blindspot is regrettable as sight is lost of a potentially important source of L2 motivation; the desire to achieve or improve multilingual competence (see Ushioda, 2017, this issue). This is particularly unfortunate as there is growing evidence of powerful identity experiences connected

to speaking several languages, and that developing a multilingual identity unconstrained by a dominant language or languages can be deeply enriching (Dewaele, 2011; Pavlenko, 2006).

In a world where globalization “has penetrated all aspects of L2 learners’ lifeworlds” (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 22) new ways of understanding people’s motivation to learn languages are required. In this conceptual article I argue that when the aim of research is to understand language learners’ motivation in situations where two or more languages are learned/acquired, a separationist approach does not yield adequate insights. Rather, in line with the multilingual (May, 2014) and dynamic (de Bot, 2015) turns in SLA, I propose that the motivational systems of the learner’s different languages need to be conceptualized as interrelated systems that are simultaneously constituents within a higher-level multilingual motivational system. Adopting a “complexity thought modeling” approach (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), where “aspects of a particular problem are described in terms of complex, dynamic systems in order to develop hypotheses for research or plans for action” (p. 41), and drawing on complexity-generated understandings of L2 motivation (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015), multilingualism (Jessner, 2008) and self-concept development (Nowak, Vallacher, & Zochowski, 2005), I suggest that in situations where bilinguals/multilinguals learn additional languages, or where monolinguals are learning two or more L2s, focus needs to be directed to the dynamic interactions of the L_x and L_y motivational systems and the emergent motivational properties arising therefrom. Having previously suggested that motivation can be generated when L3 learners are encouraged to focus on the multilingual person they want to be (Henry, 2012) and should be supported in developing visions of a multilingual self (Henry, 2016), in the current article my aim is to explain how, through processes of emergence, multilingual self-guides come into being and the effects they can have on L2 motivation. Because the self-conception of

being/becoming multilingual is central in developing these ideas, the article begins by examining the identity experiences of multilinguals.¹

Multilinguals' Identity Experiences

Although the phenomenology of being a speaker of several languages and the emotions attaching to self-identifications as being multilingual have received little research attention, work by Pavlenko (2006) shows how the identity experiences of people who switch between languages are varied and multidimensional. Analysing over 1000 written responses to the question 'Do you feel like a different person sometimes when you use your different languages?', she found that while some multilinguals have ambivalent experiences of identity and belonging, others are proud of their multilingualism and intercultural experiences. For some of Pavlenko's informants – particularly those for whom learning an additional language involved a sense of loss – transitioning between different and phenomenologically distinct lifeworlds constituted a source of discomfort. For such people the identity experiences connected with being multilingual could involve feeling fragmented, incomplete and inadequate.

However a majority of Pavlenko's respondents were enthusiastic about being multilingual, celebrating the experience, and mocking the idea that being a speaker of different languages might somehow entail a schizophrenic existence. Commonly, people asserted the uniquely enjoyable and empowering experiences of being multilingual, stating for example that they felt "very lucky", and that it can be "a very pleasant feeling because it gives me choices I wouldn't have if I were monolingual". These participants appeared to thrive on the diversity created by moving between languages and to derive enjoyment from the "hybridity and relativity of their existence" (p. 29). Being multilingual also involved a sense of feeling "linguistically integrated", Pavlenko observing that multilinguals with positive identity experiences may not necessarily

“perceive such sharp differences between their linguistic selves” (p. 27), and demonstrating how, in their texts, they “position themselves discursively as whole” (p. 26).

For the majority of Pavlenko’s respondents, the identity emerging from experiences of speaking several languages was one of feeling empowered, enriched and fortunate in having unique opportunities, choices and perspectives. In other research multilinguals report perceiving high levels of agency when making choices about language use for personal expression, and describe feelings of freedom and flexibility (Panayiotou, 2006). Indeed, it is because being multilingual involves selecting between languages that Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) argue that multilinguals can find themselves living “at the intersection” between their languages (p. 132). Further, the same researchers suggest that when making choices and exercising agency, multilinguals can experience being close to their different languages in the sense of possessing a “multilingual self” that, akin to a “multilingual holy spirit”, can invade and envelop the body (p. 133).

What appears very clearly in this research is how, in addition to identities connected to the different languages they speak, multilinguals can also develop an identity that transcends those that are language-specific. Whether characterized by diversity, hybridity and integration, or by discomfort, fragmentation and loss, these multilingual identities appear as phenomenologically distinct. If, then, people who speak several languages develop an identity that is more than a simple conglomeration of discrete L2 identities, interesting questions arise for motivation research. What effects might a multilingual identity have on motivation, and how, in relation to current theorizing, can this identity be conceptualized? Addressing these questions, in the sections that follow I introduce a systemic model of multilingual motivation that extends Dörnyei’s (2009) L2 Motivational Self System framework by additionally accounting for the

effects of identity experiences connecting to a multilingual identification. I begin by looking at the central role played by the complexity principle of emergence in both the L2 motivation and multilingualism research paradigms.

Complexity Theories and Emergence

Although now some twenty years since Diane Larsen-Freeman (1997) first proposed that language development is best understood as a complex system, it is only recently that a ‘dynamic turn’ has taken place in SLA, and only now that a critical mass of researchers is engaging in complexity conversations (de Bot, 2015; Larsen-Freeman, 2013). With the recognition that complexity perspectives can serve “both as a useful heuristic and an integrative platform” (Vallacher & Nowak, 2007, p. 756), research in applied linguistics is now moving beyond the purely metaphorical use of complexity principles to the development and empirical application of complexity models (de Bot, 2015; Verspoor, de Bot, & Lowie, 2011). While interest in complexity conceptualizations of SLA phenomena is far from uniform, two areas where footholds are now firmly established are *motivation* (e.g., Dörnyei, 2000b; Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015) and *multilingualism* (e.g., Aronin & Jessner, 2016; Jessner, 2006, 2008a; Herdina & Jessner, 2013).

There are good reasons why people working with motivation and multilingualism are finding complexity approaches appealing. While motivation researchers are faced with the task of investigating a phenomenon that by nature is “dynamic and changeable” (Waninge, Dörnyei, & de Bot, 2014, p. 704), and where “the common experience would seem to be motivational flux rather than stability” (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 46), for those researching multilingualism the level of complexity inherent in the multitude of interactions between different language systems “renders

conventional approaches to L1 and L2 acquisition ineffective” (Herdina & Jessner, 2013, p. 755).

Embracing complexity perspectives requires a restructuring of the way that language acquisition processes are conceptualized (de Bot, 2012, 2015). A challenge common for researchers in both fields where focal phenomena continually “wax and wane depending on environmental demands” (Herdina & Jessner, 2013, p. 754) is to develop designs and methodologies that can capture the constant variation characteristic of the systems they investigate (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). While an eclectic range of CDS principles has been drawn upon, some have been found to offer particularly “meaningful and valid mappings on to the problem spaces” of the respective fields (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 25). While in motivation research attention is often paid to *attractor states* (since they provide the closest CDS equivalents to ID factors) (for empirical work see e.g., Dörnyei, 2014; Waninge et al., 2014; and for a conceptual account, Hiver, 2015), in multilingual research focus is more frequently directed to *interactions* between different language systems (see e.g., Lowie & Verspoor, 2011, 2015).

In both fields *emergence* is of central importance. For example, changing degrees of observed motivational intensity (e.g., Yashima & Arano, 2015) and the growth and attrition of linguistic phenomena (e.g., de Leeuw, Opitz, & Lubinska, 2013; Opitz, 2013) are both understood as the emergence of novel behaviors. Similarly, in the “complexity thought modeling” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 41) in the current article, emergence is the base concept upon which propositions are constructed. Specifically, it is suggested that interactions between L_x and L_y self-guides lead to the emergence of multilingual self-guides, and that these multilingual self-guides impact on L_x and L_y motivation.

In complexity conceptualizations of psychological phenomena, the principles of emergence and self-organization – the way in which order and stability arise from the system’s intrinsic dynamics – provide root explanations of growth (Van Geert, 1991, 1994). Indeed, it is exactly because system stability is an emergent property that Byrne and Callaghan (2014) maintain that it becomes necessary “to start from emergence and develop a science that fits that crucial aspect of complex reality” (p. 7). Emergence can be understood as “the arising of novel and coherent structures, patterns, and properties during the process of self-organization in complex systems” (Goldstein, 1999, p.49), and an emergent property as something that originates spontaneously from the system’s internal dynamics, that is novel and not previously existing, and which displays a distinct and identifiable wholeness (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014). As Larsen-Freeman & Cameron (2008) emphasize, emergent behavior is something “more than the sum of its parts”, and a phenomenon that “cannot be explained reductively through the activity of the component parts” (p. 59).

The Self as an Emergent, Higher-Level System

In complex dynamic systems, growth (development) is a function of relationships between the system’s different components, interconnections functioning to achieve system-level coherence (Vallacher & Nowak, 2007). Processes of iterative and adaptive self-organization are particularly transparent in psychological systems such as personality or motivation, where interactions and mutual adjustments of the system’s different elements function to bring about different states of higher-order coherence around particular properties. This means that, over time, the system demonstrates stability and consistency (Nowak et al., 2005; Vallacher & Nowak, 2007). Indeed, it is for this very reason that people’s belief, attitude and value systems, although not entirely fixed, tend to be robust and resilient to external pressures or influences. It similarly accounts for

how complex systems such as the self-concept can be characteristically stable, yet also responsive to situational changes (Markus & Kunda, 1986), and explains why a person who “consistently, over a period of years, endorses a set of personality attributes as a self-descriptive can demonstrate remarkable fluctuations in her self-view over the period of a few days” (Stein & Markus, 1996, p. 354).

As previously discussed, in complex dynamic systems higher-order cognitive states and accompanying patterns of behavior emerge without higher-level supervision or control. However this is rarely a single-step process. Rather, as Vallacher, Van Geert, and Nowak (2015) explain, it “typically involves many iterations of mutual adjustment among elements before they are sufficiently organized to promote a system-level property”, the same authors going on to point out that “once a system-level state emerges, it stabilizes the system by constraining subsequent thought and behavior” (p. 59). Thus, when structure and order appear at a higher level, stability is both contingent upon and the outcome of the system’s internal dynamical processes. Applying these ideas to analyses of self-concept development, Nowak et al. (2005) explain that different self-concepts interact to bring about the emergence of higher-order properties and that, over time, these movements “become coordinated to achieve a higher-order action” (p. 352). In this framing, the self-concept can therefore be understood as the product of constant interactions between different subsystems (such as e.g., self-efficacy and self-esteem).

In CDS theory systems are conceptualized as chronically susceptible to the influence of other systems, and thus ‘open’. Importantly, influence between open systems does not only take place between systems at the same level; rather, the direction of the influence one system exerts on another can be vertical as well as horizontal. In this way the self-concept can be viewed as a ‘nested system’ comprising multiple layers where change is influenced by the “whole

environment of other relevant systems, including systems with which it is interpenetrating and with which it shares sub-systems” (Byrne & Callaghan, p. 35). Indeed it is because complex dynamic systems have permeable boundaries and because interpenetration between systems in a network is continuous and bidirectional that, compared to hierarchical metaphors, the notion of ‘nesting’ more effectively captures the complexity of system interrelations (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Mercer, 2015).

Researching Multilingualism Using a Systems Approach

Researching multilinguals’ language development involves the investigation of related systems in common networks (Lowie & Verspoor, 2011). Any language system is likely to contain many subsystems nested one within another (Spoelman & Verspoor, 2010). In system ecologies, nesting makes it possible to understand how different systems share a common structure, how interactions between systems at the same level lead to the emergence of novel properties in those at a higher level, and how these higher-order systems simultaneously exert an influence on lower-level systems. In their systemic account of multilingual acquisition and development of the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM), Herdina and Jessner (2002) argue that in situations of multiple learning/acquisition, languages cannot be conceptualized as separate, autonomous systems. Rather, they need to be understood as interdependent, in constant interaction, and as constituting subsystems of an overall *Multilingual System*. This point is similarly emphasized by Lowie and Verspoor (2015) who offer the following instructive explanation:

Similar to dynamic systems in the physical world, languages consist of many embedded subsystems. Linguistic subsystems are for instance the phonology, the morphosyntax, and the semantics of a language, which in turn consist of subsystems for different languages in a multilingual speaker (see Lowie & Verspoor, 2011). The language system itself is

embedded as a subsystem in the larger cognitive system, which is embedded in a person's body and mind. (p. 73)

In a multilingual language system, the behavior of individual language systems will depend on the behaviors of related systems. Consequently, it makes little sense to investigate language systems in isolation (Jessner, 2008), de Bot (2016) going so far as to question whether this is indeed even possible. Nested together in a higher-level structure, a multilingual's different language systems not only influence the development of particular languages, but also "the development of the overall multilingual system" (Jessner, 2008, p. 274). In Herdina and Jessner's dynamic model the key feature is an emergent property; the 'M(ultilingualism)-factor or effect'. Manifested in communicative flexibility and divergent, creative and original ways of thinking, the M-factor/effect encapsulates the skills theorized to be uniquely possessed by multilinguals. Importantly, in Herdina and Jessner's conceptualization, the M-factor/effect is both a precondition for and result of the emergence of multilingualism. As an emergent higher-order property, the M-factor/effect can be understood as the outcome of multiple bidirectional and reciprocally causal interactions between the multilingual system and its nested subsystems.

The Multilingual System and the Multilingual Identity System

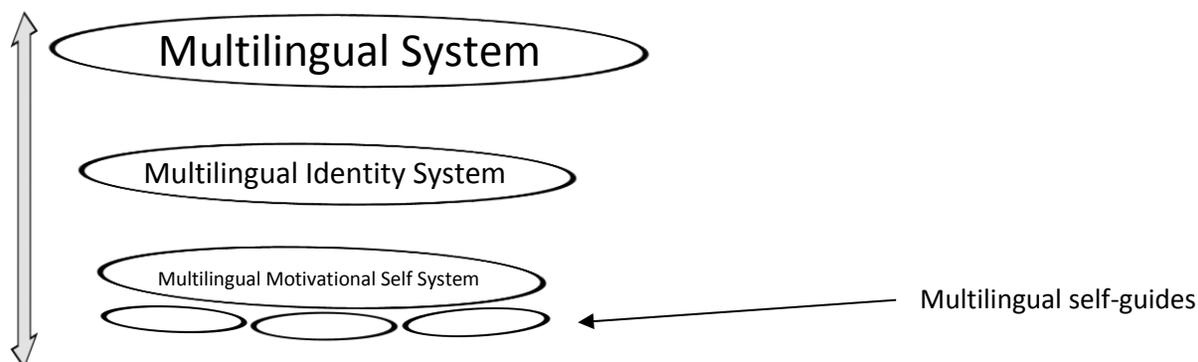
For multilinguals the overall multilingual system (Jessner, 2008) comprises networks of nested subsystems (Lowie & Verspoor, 2015). One of these subsystems is the multilingual identity system. Although unexplored from a systems perspective, in mapping the psychology of multilingualism, Aronin (2016) has developed the concept of *multilinguality* to capture the unique identity experiences, emotions, self-knowledge and cognitive processes that comprise a multilingual identity (see also Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2004). In an ecology of multilingual systems,

multilinguality functions to provide substance and content to the identity subsystems of people who speak or who are learning several languages.

Similarly to the M-factor/effect (Jessner, 2008), Aronin (2016) conceptualizes multilinguality as an emergent property of multilingualism, explaining that it “appears from the use of two and more languages”, and needs to be seen as “*as a whole*, not divided or separated into distinct sub-identities” (p. 145). Arguing that multilingual identities are uniquely constituted by the combination of languages a multilingual person speaks, Aronin (2016) suggests that the linguistic, cognitive and emotional factors together have unique transformational effects, meaning that a multilingual identity is fundamentally different from identities typical of people who are either monolingual or bilingual. As she explains, a multilingual identity embraces “*everything that results from using and learning several languages, both in the present and also potentially in the future*”, and includes “perceptions, attitudes and personal life scenarios, both real and possible” (2016, p. 145). From a motivational perspective, these possible life scenarios and the mental imagery in which they are clothed can be understood as motivational self-guides (Dörnyei, 2009)² and conceptualized as constituting part of a discrete identity subsystem; the *Multilingual Motivational Self System* (see Figure 1). The existence of a multilingual motivation system containing multilingual self-guides raises intriguing questions. How do these self-guides come into being, what forms do they take, how are they cognitively represented, and how can motivational power be harnessed in promoting multiple language learning? These are questions that inform the rest of this article.

Figure 1

A Systemic Representation of Multilingual Identity



NOTE: The Multilingual Identity System encompasses the identity dimensions of multilinguality (Aronin, 2016) and is a subsystem nested within the overall Multilingual System (Jessner, 2008). The Multilingual Motivational System is conceptualized as a subsystem nested within the Multilingual Identity System.

How do Multilingual Self-Guides Come Into Being?

When a person learns more than one language, they can develop self-guides for each language, for example an ideal L_x self, and ideal L_y self. Because in multilingual language learning people draw constantly on linguistic resources from the range of languages they know (Jessner, 2006; Hammarberg, 2009), these self-guides are also likely to interact in working cognition. To explain, in third language learning, even when there may be psychotypological differences, previously learned languages can play a role in processes of acquiring a new language, often functioning as a supply of linguistic support (De Angelis & Dewaele, 2011; Jessner, 2006, 2008; Sanchez, 2011). When one L₂ plays a supporting role in the processes of learning another, it becomes cognitively activated. It is in the context of such situations that interactions between the respective L_x and L_y self-guides can occur. To take an empirical example, for Swedish students learning LOTE, Henry (2010) showed how, in L₃ learning situations, their L₂ English self-

concept was frequently active in cognition, and how interactions between L2 and L3 self-concepts took place. It is from such interactions, together with the influences of attitudes and beliefs about multilingualism, that multilingual self-guides are suggested to emerge.

The type of self-guides that emerge from Lx and Ly interactions and the effects they have on motivation will be a function of the nature of the interaction taking place, and the influences of other interpenetrating systems.³ While interactions between Lx and Ly self-guides will be complex and highly dependent on situational contingencies (and because it is never possible to predict the types of higher-order properties that emerge when complex dynamic systems interpenetrate one another), for the purpose of illustration two scenarios common in third language learning can be imagined. In both, a person is learning two foreign languages. While in the first scenario interactions between the ideal Lx and ideal Ly selves are antagonistic, in the second they function in a mutually complementary manner.

We can first imagine a situation where the relationship between the ideal Lx self and the ideal Ly self is uneasy. When, during instances of crosslinguistic interaction, both become activated in cognition, competition for the learner's generally limited cognitive resources is likely to take place (see Henry, 2012, 2016, for a full discussion). When this happens, the learner can experience discomfort, the need to address the conflict depleting motivational energy. Over time, and as a consequence of a multitude of situations where competition of this sort arises, one of the two ideal self-guides is likely to become chronically dominant. This means that, whenever activated, it automatically poses a threat to its counterpart. Eventually, a point is reached where it systematically overrides the other self-guide, effectively nullifying its motivational power. This would be characteristic of a situation where, for example, a student in a northern European country learns two languages at school – e.g., English and Spanish – and where differences in

social prestige and opportunities for use greatly favor one (English) at the expense of the other (Spanish).

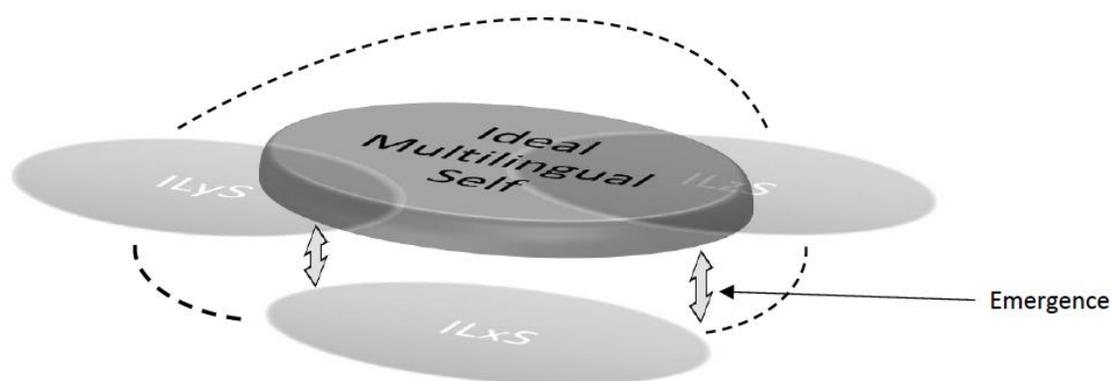
However, it is not simply the case that dynamical interactions between the ideal Lx self and the Ly self solely impact on their intrinsic relations. As a consequence of processes of emergence, higher-level effects might also be anticipated. In this northern European scenario a conceivable effect would be the emergence of a higher-order self-guide representing an identity as someone comfortable and confident in speaking their native language (e.g., Swedish), and the currently dominant global language (English), but not perceiving any additional need or having any particular interest in speaking another language (see Henry, 2011). Similar to individuals wishing to remain “steadfastly monolingual”, it is an identity founded on the person’s indifference to multilingual competence and characterized by a desire to “insulate themselves from other languages by choice or circumstance” (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 26). This higher order self-guide can be understood as a *contentedly bilingual self*. The emergence of a contentedly bilingual self would likely have a systematic and enduring impact on learning behavior in the Ly (Spanish) classroom. For example, its effects would likely be manifested in the routine approaches to learning and the passivity characteristic of demotivated learners (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), and those who, as Kramsch (2009) has observed, “just sit out the language class as a boring but necessary step towards graduation [and who] find themselves vindicated in their monolingual selves” (p. 5).⁴

The second scenario involves an altogether different situation. Here the relationship between the ideal Lx and Ly self-guides is harmonious. Our student learning English and Spanish may not only enjoy learning processes and be instrumentally motivated to develop skills in both languages, but may also view the opportunity to become proficient in a language not everyone

can speak (Spanish) as of significant personal importance (Henry, 2011). Here, when crosslinguistic interactions take place and the ideal English and ideal Spanish self-guides become active in cognition, they will have a mutually complementary relation. Here, interactions lead to the emergence of a self-guide reflecting the person's aspirations to be/become multilingual; an *ideal multilingual self* (see Figure 2). This multilingual self-guide would function as a powerful source of motivation to learn Spanish, generating energy additional to motivation derived from the ideal Spanish-speaking self.

Figure 2

The Ideal Multilingual Self as an Emergent Property of Interactions Between the Ideal Selves of the Different Languages Known and/or Being Learned



To summarize, in both scenarios the *contentedly bilingual self* and the *ideal multilingual self* can be conceptualized as emergent properties of the interactions between ideal Lx and ideal Ly selves (Figure 2), and as components of a higher-level *multilingual motivational self system* (Figure 1). Having a distinct motivational function, these multilingual self-guides operate

additionally to the Lx and Ly self-guides. In the first scenario, the contentedly bilingual self has a demotivating effect. In the second, the effect is the opposite; here the ideal multilingual self functions to generate motivational energy additional to that created by the desire to become a proficient speaker of English and of Spanish.

The impact on Lx and Ly Self-Guides

At this point it is important to recall that in complex dynamic systems emergent properties have a recognizable wholeness. The desire to be/become multilingual is not simply the sum of the desire to speak Swedish, English and Spanish, but is phenomenologically distinct. However, by the same token, neither are emergent behaviors *purely* holistic. Rather, in processes of reciprocal causation, emergent properties interact with the system components whose interactions first led to their appearance. These processes give rise to new behaviors, something Byrne and Callaghan (2014) make clear in their discussion of emergence and the bi-directionality of interactions and behaviors. As they point out, to understand processes of emergence, we need to concern ourselves “not only with interactions among components at the same level but also with downward effects”. Continuing, they explain that this means that “sometimes we have to explain parts in, at least to some degree, terms of wholes” (p 22).

Revisiting the scenarios previously sketched out, we can understand then that the multilingual self-guides also impact on the Lx and LY self-guides. While the *contentedly bilingual self* can have the effect of further weakening the power of the ideal Ly self, the *ideal multilingual self* can have the opposite effect, enhancing the strength of the ideal Ly self. For students who develop a *contentedly bilingual self*, this downwards process can manifest itself in notions that English is sufficient, that knowledge of English will comfortably deliver all the opportunities needed in life, and that learning Spanish is simply not worth the effort. For those who develop an *ideal*

multilingual self, the ideal Spanish self is enhanced. As part of a project of personal development the goal of which is to be/become multilingual, developing skills and becoming closer to the Spanish-speaking person they aspire to be takes on another dimension (a point returned to later).

We also need to note that the emergence of a higher-level *ideal multilingual self* and the concurrent strengthening of the ideal Ly self has two additionally important consequences. First, as a higher-level self-concept, the ideal multilingual self will create increased stability and cohesion within the multilingual identity system. This means that whenever the Lx and Ly selves are simultaneously active in working cognition, they are likely to achieve greater alignment and function in a more consistently complementary manner. In such situations, alongside its linguistically supportive function (Jessner, 2006, 2008), the activation of the Lx in Ly learning can be conceptualized as having a *motivationally supportive* function.

However while a more frequent alignment and consistently supportive motivational function can reduce the likelihood of antagonism, competition between the Lx and Ly selves may never be entirely eradicated. In situations of affective strain, stress or discomfort (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016) it is possible for tension to emerge within the otherwise harmonious relationship between the Lx and Ly selves. In such situations, competition for cognitive resources is still likely to occur. However, as a consequence of the downward effects of the ideal multilingual self, when competition does occur the Ly self will display greater resilience in the face of threat, any negative impact from Lx being less enduring.

It is exactly this effect that is highlighted in Henry's (2011) study of the motivation of Swedish secondary students learning English and a LOTE. One of the participants, a 16-year-old boy fascinated by languages and the opportunities they provide for communicating with people in different parts of the world, described occasional antagonism between his English and his

Russian self-concepts. However, because being multilingual was an important part of his identity, his determination to succeed with Russian was difficult to dent. Not only was his ideal Russian self highly resilient to threats from the English self-concept, when they did occur he was quickly able to suppress the recognition of being communicatively more competent in English, evidenced in his steadfast commitment to remaining in ‘Russian-speaking mode’ (Dewaele, 2001).

How is the Ideal Multilingual Self Mentally Represented?

To recap, I have so far suggested that for people learning two or more additional languages, processes of emergence produce multilingual self-guides. These self-guides can be conceptualized as constituents of a higher-level multilingual motivational self system. While the *contentedly bilingual self* is suggested to have a negative impact on motivation to learn additional languages, the *ideal multilingual self* can have a positive effect. Moving on, the question that next arises concerns the ways in which these multilingual self-guides might be represented in cognition. Because questions concerning the manner in which the ideal L2 self is mentally represented have not previously been addressed in L2 motivation research, and because of the importance of the issue in understanding the motivational potential of the ideal multilingual self and for the design of appropriate interventions, a closer insight into this fascinating area of self theory is provided.

As previously made clear, the self-concept can be conceptualized as a multidimensional, multifaceted structure that researchers define variously in terms of hierarchies, prototypes, spaces and networks (Markus & Wurf, 1987). The self-concept comprises collections of self-schemas (generalizations about the self) generated from previous experiences (Markus, 1977; Markus & Sentis, 1982). The role of these self-schemas is to mediate intra- and interpersonal

processes, and they function in ways that represent the self as both ‘the knower’ and ‘the known’ (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Because self-conceptions are never cognitively active in isolation, the self-concept is best viewed as a “continually active, shifting array of accessible self-knowledge” (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 306). Research demonstrates that numerous representations of the self coexist in cognition, and that “considerable complexity exists in the networks of self information held by each person” (Hinkley & Andersen, 1996 p. 1281). It is for this reason that Hinkley and Andersson suggest that the self “is perhaps best understood as a ‘family of selves’ with various overlapping resemblances and with some selves more prominent, *elaborated*, and accessible than others” (p. 1281 emphasis added).

While considerable work has been carried out into the visionary dimensions of L2 motivational self-guides (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; You & Chan, 2015), the way in which ideal L2 selves are *construed* remains to be fully explored. Construal refers to the manner in which a self-concept is mentally represented, the nature of the image, and the level of abstraction (Lieberman & Trope, 1998). In a language learning context, construals of self-guides are likely to involve representations of L2 interaction. However, the types of interaction featured in people’s mental representations of future language use are likely to differ. While some people might conjure representations that involve interaction and communication taking place in the context of interpersonal relationships (e.g., sitting in a café, chatting with imaginary friends), for others representations may focus less on person-to-person exchanges and be instead characterized by images where productive activities (e.g., giving a speech), or receptive activities (reading an email) are more generally featured.⁵

A particularly important aspect of mental construal concerns the *psychological distance* from the imagined event. Psychological distance, which is the central concept in Liberman and

Trope's (2010) construal level theory (CLT), is the extent to which an event is removed from the person's direct experience. Psychological distance is highly individual and is anchored in a person's perception of themselves in the here and now. Events that are further from the here-and-now point of reference are considered to be *psychologically distant*. Conversely, those that are closer are considered to be *psychologically proximal*. Psychological distance exists across four dimensions: time, space, social distance and hypotheticality. While each of these distances is of itself distinct, the psychological operations involved in travelling mentally across the different dimensions are the same (Bar-Anan, Liberman, & Trope, 2006).

In addition to showing how the manner in which people conceive of events that are temporally distant is phenomenologically similar to the ways in which they conceive of events that are physically distant, socially distant, or hypothetical, Trope and Liberman (2010) also demonstrate that thinking about a distant event on one dimension facilitates thinking about distant events on another. Thus, when invited to imagine an event that is distant on one dimension, people have a tendency to similarly imagine events that are distant on the others. Consequently – and this is the essence of CLT – it is hypothesized that there exists “a common mechanism that people use to travel mentally over time, space, people, and possibilities” (Fujita, Trope, & Liberman, 2015, p. 405).

The next thing that needs noting is that the further away in psychological distance an event might be, the greater challenge there is in constructing an image. For proximal events the conjuring of mental representations is facilitated by drawing on the rich and detailed experiences of the present. Not only this, but representations can be individualized and tailored to incorporate uniquely idiosyncratic features prescient to the immediate environment. However, as the psychological distance increases, opportunities to draw on direct experiences decrease. This

means that we have to rely on processes of construal, mentally constructing representations of distant events from the sometimes limited knowledge currently available.

Travelling across psychological distance demands the use of *cognitive abstraction*. Cognitive abstraction is a reductive process that, as Fujita et al. (2015) explain, “entails extracting the essential, core (i.e. gist) aspects of objects or events while ignoring surface-level, or verbatim, features” (p. 405). By means of illustration, they provide the example of making preparations for a seaside vacation:

Consider the challenge of constructing a representation about a distant future event. Much about distant future events is subject to change. In planning a beach vacation for next year, for example, it is unclear – and perhaps even unknowable – what clothes one might need. We cannot know exactly what the weather will be like, and our waistlines might change, constraining which bathing suits may be suitable. There are some features, however, that are likely to remain invariant irrespective of how that future event manifests. For example, for many of us, a beach vacation means that we will be on a beach with a drink in hand, feeling the warmth of the sun on our faces. We may not know which beach, what drink, or how warm, but every beach vacation will have these elements. This schematic information about beach vacations is sufficient to create a representation with which to make predictions about and construct preferences related to this event. As the event becomes more proximal we can update this schematic representation with the idiosyncratic and unique features that distinguish this particular manifestation of the event from others like it. Thus, with greater proximity, we can represent a beach vacation as enjoying *this* stretch of Miami Beach, drinking *this* mojito

made at *that* drink stand, while basking in the 90-degree weather with gentle breezes and no clouds. (Fujita et al., 2015, p. 405)

In this example it is the process of abstraction – or high-level construal – that, when the vacation is first conceived of, allows the person to extract invariant features from their ‘beach vacation schemata’.

Psychologically Distant Events and Possibilities are Difficult to Concretize

When “distant times, places, perspectives of other people, and possibilities” are envisaged, they are represented cognitively as high-level construals (Fujita et al., 2015, p. 406). In fact, the psychologically distant objects or states to which connections are made may not be immediately obvious; nor are they necessarily linked to current situations or events. Moreover, they may not readily lend themselves to mental concretization, and may even be abstruse. Generally, they will lack the degree of detail characteristic of lower level construals. To illustrate the difference between a low and a high level construal, let us take the following example of an imagined future event. A student from Holland has been delegated to attend an international conference as part of a schools democracy program. Apart from making a short presentation about the citizenship work going on at her school, she knows that she will be spending three days at the venue, meeting fellow delegates from all over the world. While preparing for the conference she might in her mind’s eye imagine herself giving a fluent and well-received presentation in English. Here the image of this 5-minute event would likely contain a degree of detail (the script of the speech may already be prepared and the clothes she will be wearing already decided on). At the same conference, our student might also imagine mingling at various receptions and coffee breaks, talking with other participants not only in English, but also perhaps in other languages she knows. However, the manner in which these two types of activity are mentally construed may be

very different. With regard to the mingling, there are more *hypotheticals* and various different *possibilities*; she has no idea in what directions conversations might lead, where they might take place, the type of interaction, her mood and emotional state, or what languages she might speak. Consequently, the images of casual social interaction that she conjures are likely to be more abstract, diffuse and lacking the detail of the more concrete mental image of the presentation.

Turning to a language learner's ideal selves, similar differences are likely to be observed in the manner in which the ideal *Ly* self and the ideal *multilingual* self are construed. Because during the course of learning the *Ly* students will have experienced TL-cultures mediated in various multimodal forms and will have encountered TL-speakers (if not in real life, in books, videos and on the Internet), these experiences provide a body of phenomenological material from which an ideal *Ly* self could – potentially at least – be constructed. While, in the absence of imagery training (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014) this may not always be easy, the mental image of speaking a familiar language in known surroundings is nevertheless likely to be visually more detailed and more concrete than an image of being/becoming multilingual. The experience of being/becoming multilingual is hard to represent in mental imagery; not only are there more *hypotheticals* and various *possibilities*, but as demonstrated by Pavlenko (2006) and Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015), it is a highly subjective experience. This means that the level of construal of the ideal multilingual self will be much higher, and that images of being/becoming multilingual in the future will lack the degree of detail more generally characteristic of the learner's ideal *Ly* self.

Abstract Images of an Ideal Multilingual Self can be Highly Motivational

To recap once again, I have suggested that for people who develop an ideal multilingual self, motivation to learn the *Ly* can be greatly enhanced in that developing TL competence becomes

part of a larger identity project. However, at the same time, it is also clear that the image of an ideal multilingual self is likely to lack detail and elaboration. How then, if the construal of an ideal multilingual self takes place at a higher level of abstraction, can it have positive effects on motivational energy? Indeed, the reasonable assumption would be that an abstract and loosely defined image of being multilingual would be unlikely to have any substantial motivational impact.

Counterintuitively, research indicates that abstract construals of future identities can indeed be highly motivational. To begin with, studies show that when people are prompted to think about psychologically distal future selves, their construals tend to be abstract. However, because they are abstract, the focus of the image shifts to the *essence* of the experience (Wakslak, Nussbaum, Liberman, & Trope, 2008). To best understand this point, it is useful to return to the example of the beach vacation. As Fujita et al. (2015) explain, because an abstract, high-level construal of a vacation in the sun might lack clarity and detail, it can instead function in a way that forges valuable connections “to other remote life experiences such as seeing people whom we have not seen in a while, visiting exotic locations, and more generally, highlighting our distant dreams and aspirations” (p. 406). Consequently, while representations of psychologically distant events might be abstract and diffuse in terms of *detail*, they are rich and elaborated in terms of the *aspirations* that they embody.

Further, because construals of psychologically distant events are inherently abstract, they become freed from situational constraints. This means the focus of the image tends to shift attention *inwards* towards the individual’s central, intrinsic and more generally idealistic concerns (Kivetz & Tyler, 2007). Specifically, research shows that future selves that are psychologically distant tend to be construed in the form of generic personality traits, and that this

is particularly true in situations when people are asked to imagine actions that are related to a distal future self (Pronin & Ross, 2006). As Kivetz and Tyler (2007) explain, in the construal of future selves that are psychologically distant, people are more likely to focus on aspects that are central to their notion of self, which align with their core values, principles and beliefs, and which reflect “the person’s sense of true self” (p. 193).

The observed tendency of an increasing focus on self-relevant content correspondent with higher levels of construal is important. This is because when people pursue goals that are personally meaningful and which, in different ways, connect with their inner sense of self, they experience greater satisfaction and demonstrate greater on-task perseverance (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998, 1999). Providing a comprehensive theory of the motivational effects of goals that are more fundamentally connected to a person’s central identity concerns, and to their inner or ‘core’ sense of self, Sheldon and Elliot (1999) explain that *self-concordant goals* can be conceptualized as a type of self-concept. Further, given that a self-concordant goal can “energize and direct so much of people’s behavior” (p. 485), it is a self-concept of considerable importance, Dörnyei, Henry, and Muir (2016) explaining how the possession of a self-concordant goal is centrally characteristic for language learners who experience periods of intense and sustained motivation. In combination, research where construal level theory is applied to possible selves (Kivetz & Tyler, 2007; Pronin & Ross, 2006) and studies demonstrating the motivational impact of self-concordant goals (Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001) show how an ideal self that is psychologically distant and construed at a high level of abstraction has the potential to have a substantial effect on motivation (Oyserman & James, 2011).

Mental Representations of Ideal Multilingual Selves

While the previously cited studies by Pavlenko (2006) and Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) suggest that people who speak several languages are likely to possess some form of multilingual identity, a question of particular interest for motivation research is whether students learning two or more foreign languages – and who are in the process of being/becoming multilinguals – might also develop a multilingual identity. Furthermore, if they did, how might a multilingual identity be mentally construed? Carrying out extensive ethnographic research at a secondary school in Sweden where language learning was actively promoted by the school's leaders, and where large numbers of students were learning not just one foreign language in addition to English but often two, and sometimes even three, I had these questions constantly in my mind.⁶ During focus group interviews I invited students learning two or more LOTEs whether they identified themselves as multilinguals, and, if they did, to describe the images that came to mind when thinking about a multilingual identity.⁷ Similarly to the multilinguals studied by Pavlenko (2006) and Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015), the students emphasized the sensory and perceptual aspects of being/becoming multilingual. Rather than describing images containing depictions of imagined events or situations (for example, switching between languages during interaction), the students instead described images using figurative language, the metaphors they employed indexing openness, empathy and discovery:

For me openness is something very important and being able to speak several languages opens more doors. You are less limited. And so when I see myself in the future, I have an image that I am multilingual and I have opened more doors. (Felicia, grade 8)

Being able to speak lots of languages, it is a feeling. That you are not like stuck in your little box. You are open to things and go out and discover, so to say. It is a feeling, how should I put it, of expanding your awareness in some way. (Daniel, grade 9)

Sure, it would fun to go there and speak to people. But for me it is more like an interest. That there are languages all around me. (Max, grade 9)

You can feel that you are a more social person. You can perhaps experience yourself as more social. But at the same time, for me anyway, it is the feeling that I am another person. (Gino, grade 9)

Not only do these descriptions reflect a deeper feeling and personal value attached to being/becoming multilingual, but the students also emphasize the social and intersubjective benefits of a multilingual repertoire:

I don't think that it really makes such a great difference which languages I can speak. Sure, I want to speak them well. But I want to speak several languages. (Carmen, grade 8)

It feels powerful. It feels good to be able to speak several. But it is not only the feeling of being able to speak several languages. But more the sense of a feeling of having things in common with others. (Sophie, grade X)

Downplaying the sense of a desire to become proficient in a particular language, for these students – and for others like them who attend schools where languages are valued and linguistic diversity is celebrated – the abstract image of an ideal multilingual self may have a powerful effect on motivation. Specifically, the desire to be/become multilingual can function to shift the ultimate goal of learning inwards, an idealized multilingual identity becoming part of the collection of core self-knowledge in the person's self-concept and aligned with their 'true self' (Kivetz & Tyler, 2007). Of course, students who perceive of themselves as being/becoming multilingual and who attune to the affordances in educational and social environments are frequently outnumbered by those who lack similar desires, or for whom the social/educational environment quite simply does not provide such opportunities.⁸ Nevertheless, multilingual self-guides can still have an important role to play in generating motivation to learn languages other than English. It is to this as yet untapped potential that I now turn in the final sections of the article.

How can the motivational potential of Multilingual Self-Guides be Harnessed in Promoting Multiple Language Learning?

The Transformative Potential of Possible Selves

It is the transformational potential of possible selves that is the most compelling feature of Dörnyei's (2009) reconceptualization of language learning motivation. Not only do an abundance of studies in psychology's various applied disciplines show how visions of an imagined future can have powerful effects on current behaviors, but numerous ideal self-based interventions have been successfully carried out in areas as diverse as school achievement, psychosocial wellbeing, career counselling and in various therapeutic contexts (Dunkel & Kerpelman, 2006). Importantly, there are now a number of studies showing how motivation is

boosted when language learners take part in imagery training designed to stimulate projections of future L2 use (e.g. Chan, 2014; Mackay, 2014; Magid, 2014; Sampson, 2012). Given indications from a number of educational contexts of declining motivation to learn LOTEs (see e.g., Busse, 2017, this issue), a self-guide centered on the vision of being/becoming multilingual could have a significant role to play in generating motivation.

While the notion of multilingual self-guides is novel,⁹ the tools teachers need to support students in generating and maintaining a positive 'self-as-multilingual' image are not. In recent years important work has taken place in developing innovative visualization techniques that can be profitably used in language classrooms (see e.g., Arnold, Puchta, & Rinvoluceri, 2007; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Hadfield & Dörnyei, 2013). With relative ease, many of these programs and activities can be adapted to focus on visions of being/becoming multilingual, thus providing genuine opportunities for students to develop and enhance positive multilingual identities. For students with a cosmopolitan outlook, work can usefully be directed to strengthening a multilingual vision, transforming it into action, and keeping it alive (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014). For students lacking motivation to learn LOTEs, two intervention types with a focus on multilingual self-guides have the potential to increase motivated learning behavior.

Interventions for Generating an Ideal Multilingual Self

For students lacking a particular reason for learning LOTEs, or who lack an affective attachment or cultural affiliation to the TL, the desire to perceive of themselves as multilingual may have greater motivational potential than a desire to be proficient in the TL per se. Outside of societally bilingual contexts, opportunities to develop a language-mediated identity and an ideal L2 self capable of generating motivation are often limited for LOTEs. While TL-experiences and exposure/use outside the classroom may not always be extensive, inside the classroom, as Block

(2007) has suggested, there may “be too much first language-mediated baggage and interference for profound changes to occur in the individual’s conceptual system and his/her sense of self in the TL” (p. 144). At the same time, and ever increasingly so, school environments provide multilingual spaces within which identity work can take place (Canagarajah, 2013). As a consequence of migration and transnational family configurations, many classrooms today are populated by students who speak different languages in different situations (i.e., at home, at school and in interaction with peers) (Duff, 2015). In the changing school and free-time environments shaped by global migration flows, not only is multilingualism the norm, but being a speaker of several languages constitutes a valuable social resource (Blommaert, 2010). In these spaces, the sense of being/becoming multilingual can have a different meaning than in the foreign language classroom. Specifically, self-identification as a speaker of several languages can provide access to participation in language practices taking place within the multilingual spaces of local contexts (Gynne & Bagga-Gupta, 2013).

Given the combination of difficulties students can experience in developing LOTE identities, and the motivational potential of an ideal multilingual self where mental imagery is more inwardly-oriented, an important strategy involves orienting to local multilingual communities and language practices. Specifically, interventions could valuably be directed to the exploration of different experiences of being multilingual within the wider school community. By focusing on the unique and often positive experiences of translanguaging (Garcia, 2009) and use of language resources in critical and creative ways (Li Wei, 2011), work on constructing an ideal multilingual self can be carried out. If provided with opportunities to explore multilingualism in its *broadest* sense (i.e., not just in an FL context) and with self-enhancing interventions that encourage students to begin to perceive of themselves as being/becoming multilingual in *local* as

well as *global* contexts, the positive effects that an ideal multilingual self can have on LOTE motivation can begin to take place.

Interventions for Transforming the Contentedly Bilingual Self

While the ideal multilingual self may be an important source of motivation in situations where people learn more than one foreign language, it is worth recalling that it is not the only multilingual self-guide. As a consequence of antagonistic relations between L_x and L_y self-guides, and negative attitudes and beliefs about the value of multilingualism, many students may develop a contentedly bilingual self. As previously suggested, this self-guide will have a negative impact on L₃ motivation. However it is important to note that possible selves are dynamic, malleable and susceptible to change (Henry, 2015). Not only do changes take place to the quality and manner of visualization of L₂ self-guides (You & Chan, 2015), but research shows that shifts from one possible self to another can also take place (see e.g., Chan, Dörnyei, & Henry, 2015). Consequently, for students with a contentedly bilingual self, interventions designed to transform this into a *feared* self could be of real value.

In addition to an ideal self, people will often have a counterbalancing feared self. This is particularly common in situations where possibilities for different visions exist (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). For students with a contentedly bilingual self, an important intervention would involve transforming it into a *feared bilingual self*. This involves challenging the self-conception of being someone comfortable in only speaking their L₁ and English, and triggering a sense of discomfort associated with being a person who, in a globalized world and (possibly) a local multilingual school context, *only* speaks their L₁ and English. As with the ideal multilingual self, motivation would derive not from a desire to speak a particular foreign language (although over time this would hopefully be a valuable side-effect), but rather of becoming a participant in

global (and local) multilingual communities (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). By working to change students' beliefs and attitudes, not only might it be possible to transform a contentedly bilingual self into a feared bilingual self, but also to create conditions under which an ideal multilingual self might emerge.

The Role of Motivation in a Holistic Pedagogy for Multilingualism

Shifting focus from language learners to language teachers, additional value may attach to working with motivational strategies centered around multilingual self-guides. As Cenoz and Gorter (2015) report, there is a current trend in language education towards adopting a holistic approach to multilingualism aimed at “integrating the curricula of the different languages so as to activate the resources multilingual speakers have” (p. 4). In a holistic approach, students are encouraged to use their resources “cross-linguistically” and, in so doing, to become more efficient in their learning than would be the case were languages to be taught separately (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). The importance of a multilingual pedagogical approach is similarly emphasized by other multilingualism researchers, notably De Angelis (2011) and Otwinowska (2014). While Blackledge and Creese (2010) identify a need to view all languages spoken in any given classroom as a collective social resource, in their ‘translanguaging’ approach, Garcia and Li Wei (2014) argue that language teachers need to see the language practices of learners as a single linguistic repertoire containing “features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages” (p. 2).

In the development of a holistic pedagogy for multilingualism, motivation has a central part to play. Not only would a focus on multilingual self-guides facilitate processes where languages are reframed as a collective linguistic and social resource, but it could also have the structural effect of providing concrete opportunities for enhancing the integration of language teaching.

Specifically, if the same interventions, the same visualization techniques and the same activities designed to develop visions of being a competent Lx or Ly speaker are also used to promote visions of being a competent *multilingual* speaker, and if this uniform collection of strategies was systematically employed across language classrooms (including English, mother tongue and heritage classes), important added value would follow. Given that language teachers may embrace pedagogies of multilingualism but lack opportunities for concrete forms of collaboration (Haukås, 2016), a cross-language motivational program based on visualization techniques designed to nurture and develop multilingual identities could provide an important space where teachers can work to construct school-wide pedagogies for operating between languages (Kramersch, 2013).

Conclusion

A multilingual turn is taking place in second language acquisition research, the monolingual bias that has shaped the formulation of research problems and development of methodologies no longer sustainable (May, 2014). With the abandoning of monolingualism as an organizing principle for the study of language acquisition come demands for an “epistemic reorientation” and for ways of investigating multilinguals’ language experiences that offer alternatives to “predominant monolingual theories, constructs, and research practices” (Ortega, 2014, p. 33). In the context of a “rethought SLA” where it has become necessary to reconsider and revise the models used to research language development (Douglas Fir Group, 2016), and in line with the dynamic turn in applied linguistics (de Bot, 2015), Dörnyei’s reconceptualization of L2 motivation as a self-system is propitious. With L2 motivation conceptualized as a self *system*, the motivational systems of different languages can be understood as functioning not only within ecologies of other motivational systems, but also within other psychological, psycholinguistic

and social systems. Moreover, because the self-guides forming the centerpieces of Dörnyei's model are inherently dynamic (Henry, 2015; You & Chan, 2015), the motivational self system approach is ideally suited to studying the evolution and development of multilinguals' language learning motivation as a dynamic process (de Bot, 2012; de Bot & Jaensch, 2015).

The conceptual extension of Dörnyei's self system model generated in the "complexity thought modelling" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) carried out in this article is intended to encourage a shift away from the monolingual mindset characteristic of much of the L2 motivation research so far conducted. Not only might the multilingual motivational framework proposed here facilitate the construction of holistic designs to investigate the motivational effects of crosslinguistic interactions, but it also opens up possibilities to explore motivation deriving from a broader identity which encompasses, but in important ways transcends the language-specific identities and concerns in a multilingual person's life. Finally, because Dörnyei's self system conceptualization is accompanied by a toolbox of visualization techniques for enhancing the motivational capacity of possible selves (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), the multilingual self-guides identified in this article may have a value beyond that as psychological constructs; incorporated within a multilingual curriculum (Kramersch, 2013), they constitute the type of "innovative and sustainable lifeworld solutions" that can support language learners in a multilingual world (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 39).

Notes

1. While there is substantial debate around definitions of ‘bilingualism’ and ‘multilingualism’, my use of the terms ‘multilingual’ and ‘multilingualism’ refers to situations involving either the learning/acquisition of two or more languages additional to the learner’s L1. Further, following the arguments of Cenoz and Gorter (2015) and Block (2015), in this article the terms ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ multilingual are understood as “distinguishable yet interrelated and interlinked phenomena” (Block, 2015, p.236).
2. Here it should be noted that, as Dörnyei (2009) points out, self-guides do not exist a priori and not everyone can be assumed to develop self-guides and certainly not in every domain of life.
3. For example, different social (i.e., family) and educational (i.e., class, school) systems.
4. Here Kramsch is describing the case of U.S. students learning a single foreign language. See also Lanvers (2017, this issue) for a discussion of UK students who are contentedly monolingual.
5. Here it is important to note that construals are highly personal, generally situated and, as one of the reviewers pointed out, as varied as the individuals who ‘construe’ them. For a discussion of differences in e.g., males’ and females’ construals of ideal selves, see Henry and Cliffordson (2013).
6. This research was carried out as part of the MOTISSE (Motivational Teaching in Swedish Secondary English) project.
7. Several of these students had L1s, such as, for example, Arabic and Persian.
8. For work on the affordances of multilingualism see Aronin and Singleton (2012).
9. The idea of encouraging learners to focus on the multilingual person they wanted to be in the future was first suggested by Henry (2012), similar proposals also made in Henry (2014, 2016).

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