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The experience of languaging. Integrating Applied Linguistics and Philosophical Practice in the study of (English as a) lingua franca communication.

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Part I

Situating the research

1. Introduction

Since around the turn of the millennium, Applied Linguistics (AL) has seen the growth of literature promoting the understanding of 'language' as a social process of communication, i.e. as *languaging*. The paradigmatically significant implication about the study of languaging is that it enables enquiries of communication in dissociation from specific communities (cf. Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2022). This is relatively new in terms of linguistic research since, traditionally, language has been studied as a linguistic system and analyses of discourse and pragmatics have also been tied to specific speech communities (Jacquemet 2018). The emergence of the study of languaging is, moreover, closely linked with contemporary societal developments—there is a real-world need to better understand language in times of globalization and linguaculturally diverse societies. Social changes like globalization and technologies in (mass) communication, have brought about an unprecedented dynamic complexity in the social structures and practices by which we engage with each other—and language/languaging is one of these practices (Seidlhofer 2003a; 2005b, 2011b; Blommaert et al. 2005). As Busch (2017b) describes it,

> speakers participate in varying spaces of communication which may be arranged sequentially, in parallel, juxtapositionally, or in overlapping form. At different periods in their lives, at different moments of their day, or even simultaneously (with the help of digital means of communication, for example), speakers participate in several spaces that are socially and linguistically constituted in different ways. (Busch 2017b: 342–343)

This (socio)linguistic "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007) cannot be grasped sufficiently by the traditional study of linguistic systems, because the latter builds on and seeks to find relatively stable linguistic categories within relatively homogeneous groups of speakers. If dissociated from these traditional notions, the study of the social process of languaging it is better suited to capture the complex and dynamic ways by which 'language' is realized today. Speaking in AL terms, the study of languaging is intrinsically related with the attempt to better understand language as it is experienced by speakers and to potentially resolve contemporary "real-world problems in which language is a central issue" (Brumfit 1995: 27).

In this thesis, I investigate *the phenomenon of languaging* and *the study of languaging* as AL problems. I take an interest in *languaging* as an AL problem, because under the conditions of superdiversity, the everyday life experience of language may be characterized by the attempt to reach a felicitous communicative outcome with others in situations where language is not easily available and self-evident. In this regard, this thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of the human languaging experience in contemporary times. Moreover, I approach *the study of languaging* as an AL problem, because the knowledge it generates is

significant for what we may demand of speaking subjects in terms of what they can and should do to resolve the challenges of lingual communication in superdiversity.

Specifically, I investigate a widely unaddressed bias in research into English as lingua franca (ELF) communication. Focused on a global phenomenon of communication, the study of ELF communication has played an important role in describing and better understanding the process of languaging in superdiverse and globalized lifeworlds. The research has a bias, however, that leans towards descriptions of languaging via ELF as relatively unproblematic and convivial endeavour. This thesis will demonstrate that this bias only partly results from unbalanced databases of communication in relatively favourable settings of communication (cf. Seidlhofer 2020b). Thus, the thesis investigates how the "favourability" bias may be corrected at the theoretical and methodological levels of languaging research. These examinations involve exploring the scope of this bias in the field of ELF research and the discussion of the implications it has for the expectations we raise against speakers about solving the problem of lingual communication.

The approach I take in this thesis involves both applied linguistic and philosophical types of enquiries. This is because this research project is in essence concerned with the human condition of being lingual in contemporary times of globalization and superdiversity, and with the relationship between (the study of) languaging and the constitution of the speaking subject. In other words, this research seeks to better understand what it means to language and to be lingual, and how both experiences are shaped by the social reality/knowledge we produce. Developing an approach of combined applied linguistic and philosophical enquiries, this thesis will demonstrate the potential of such an approach in the study of languaging and give answers to how and in how far such a combination is possible and academically reasonable.

The three key elements of this research are:

- An exploration of ways to correct the unaddressed bias in ELF research to which I refer as the favourability bias, and to unlock the unexploited potential for understanding languaging in unfavourable conditions of communicative interaction.
- The development and operationalization of an approach to studying languaging as a lived philosophical problem.
- Empirical insights into lived language experience and the epistemological, existential, and ethical significance of languaging as social process and practice in contemporary lifeworlds.

The following sections of this introductory chapter provide more detail on the underlying rationale of this research (1.1), terminology and differences of basic views of 'languaging'

(1.2), my motivation and position as a researcher in this project (1.3), and the structure of this thesis (1.4).

1.1. Rationale and research questions

This research is guided by the overarching aim of gaining a better understanding of languaging in contemporary times of globalization and superdiversity. It has two main objectives:

A) To correct the favourability bias in ELF research.
B) To develop and operationalize a combined approach of applied linguistic and philosophical enquiries in the study of languaging.

Elaborating on objective 'A)', the present enquiry is rooted in the motivation to correct the unaddressed bias in ELF research, to which I refer as *the favourability bias*. Scholars have pointed out that the field of ELF research can significantly contribute to understanding AL problems that are related to social, economic, and political problems of globalization, because the use of ELF is *the* global means of communication (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247; Widdowson 2020b: 26). However, there is a considerable gap in the field of ELF research, which limits this potential: most studies rely on data from communication in relatively *favourable* settings of interaction, whereby the more problematic sides of globalization have remained out of view (cf. Seidlhofer 2020b). 'Favourable' here includes features like interlocutors meeting on relatively equal terms, willing to cooperate in the co-construction of meaning, having a shared interest in understanding each other, relatively low stakes as regards the outcome of the interaction, and tending to come from socioeconomically privileged backgrounds. Seidlhofer (2020b) is one of few who have addressed the favourability bias as an issue in ELF research before. She calls for more diversified databases but also points to problematic conceptual consequences of the favourability bias: some researchers have come to think of often observed and rather positive features of languaging behaviour, such as cooperativeness, as features of ELF communication *per se*—the generalization ignores, however, how such features may be enabled by the favourable conditions in which the observed ELF interactions take place (Seidlhofer 2020b; cf. 2004).

Considering the global role of ELF communication and the still widely unaddressed issue of the favourability bias in ELF research, the present research responds to the desideratum for studies that invest in correcting this bias. While this thesis focuses on ELF research, addressing the favourability bias as an issue in *this* field can carry relevant implications for others. Ortega (2018, 2019) points out, for example, that the favourability bias is a wider problem in the study of multilingualism. She discusses it with a focus on Second Language Acquisition

research[1]. Given careful mediation between different fields, those concerned can benefit from the insights of the present enquiry: a deeper understanding of the characteristics of the favourability bias in ELF research can help identify these in other fields; additionally, researchers may adapt the approach that the enquiry takes to identify the nature and scope of the favourability bias in their fields and take appropriate measures to correct it.

Addressing research objective 'A)', this research seeks answers to the following questions:

- Which empirical and analytical aspects maintain the favourability bias in ELF research? (RQ1)
- What implications does the favourability bias have for the AL potential of ELF research in understanding and resolving contemporary problems in which language is a major issue? (RQ2)
- Which empirical insights and which conceptual and analytical "tools" can serve researchers for avoiding and correcting the favourability bias in future research? (RQ3)

The second objective concerns the way of how these questions are approached. Regarding doing AL research on languaging, research objective 'B)' is the exploration, i.e. theoretical development and empirical operationalization, of a combined approach of AL and Philosophical Practice (PP) enquiry. Described broadly, PP is a kind of enquiry which takes its starting point in the subjective experience of philosophical problems in everyday life. PP can be found in two established forms mainly: as an educational practice of doing Philosophy in and with the public, and as a form of consultancy (cf. Romizi 2019: 86). Since this research takes concern with the social embedding and implications of AL research on languaging, the publicly more engaged form of philosophizing is foregrounded. Thereby, a participatory and combined approach of PP and AL enquiries is developed.

Pursuing research objective 'B)' followed from the engagement with the questions formulated under research objective 'A)'. As I examined the scope and nature of the favourability bias in ELF research, I identified theoretical and methodological dimensions of it which relate to an underspecified notion of 'availability' of linguistic resources (see chapter 4). I found that the literature tends to remain vague about this notion and that the default interpretation is that linguistic resources are available if they are "in" a speakers' repertoire by some form of past acquisition. Conditions of access tend to be neglected, however. Looking into to subject-oriented (Busch 2017b; 2021a) and space-oriented (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010;

[1] It could be said that the favourability bias is not even unique to language-related research. In a famous publications on bias in the subjects of Behavioural Sciences and Human Psychology, Henrich et al. (2010) state that most papers published in the world's top journals rely on data from "the weirdest people in the world"; "WEIRD" being an acronym for "Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic" societies.

Pennycook & Otsuji 2014) conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire, I identified these theoretical frameworks as valuable complements to ELF research. They consider biographical and situational conditions that may take an impact upon the linguistic resources speakers have available for languaging in a particular encounter. What these frameworks did not cover sufficiently, however, is an understanding of the experiences and challenges inherent to languaging and being lingual as such, which may affect the availability of communicative resources depending on the favourability of conditions (see chapter 5). Regarding the favourability bias in ELF research, such understanding appeared most significant, however, for counterbalancing the idea(l) that languaging in ELF communication is *per se* an easy, cooperative, and friendly endeavour. Therefore, this research enquires into the epistemological, existential, and ethical dimensions of languaging by involving a PP perspective.

There is furthermore a methodological interest in exploring the combination of AL and PP enquiries in the study of languaging. The example of the favourability bias in ELF research will reveal that naïve understandings of 'languaging' (i.e. those which neglect the relationship between communicative conditions and the features and success of languaging) easily couple with contemporary neoliberal transformations of societies that responsibilize individuals over solving "their" problems—problems which are often of a more structural kind (see chapter 4, 4.3). Such a coupling effect runs counter the AL concerns to better understand and potentially resolve language-related problems, which include matters of language advocacy and support of speaker voice. Recent studies have pointed out that language is instrumentalized by neoliberal transformations (e.g. Flubacher & Busch 2022). Therefore, it is significant for AL research to explore methodologies which strengthen the (self) critical attitude and awareness of the social embedding of AL. Drawing upon PP appears very promising for these purposes, as it engages with AL problems from the perspective of the speaking subject and implies procedures of reflection on the research process and practice.

Combining AL and PP in the study of languaging, it is part of this research to develop this approach. Thus, the exploratory research questions targeting objective 'B)' are:

- In how far can PP contribute to the AL understanding of what it means to language in the more and less favourable conditions of globalization and neoliberal transformation? (RQ4)
- How can a combined approach of AL&PP enquiry be operationalized in the theoretical and empirical study of languaging? (RQ5)

To give answers to these questions, this research includes an empirical study which puts the theoretical framework to the test of practice. The narrower research questions of this study

will be provided in chapter 7 (7.2.2). The study investigates how participants experience languaging, and whether and how they make sense of experiences that shake their epistemological, existential, and ethical outlooks in ways relevant to understanding issues of availability of communicative resources in languaging. Aiming at insights into lived experience of languaging in favourable *and* unfavourable conditions of communication, the study involves participants with migration experience (in the Austrian immigration context) but is not focused on those persons and contexts exclusively. Additionally, to allow the drawing of implications for languaging research more generally, the study does not focus on experiences with ELF communication alone. Nonetheless, set within the bigger scope of this research, the central question the empirical study intends to answer eventually unifies objectives 'A)' and 'B)':

- What are the potentials and limitations of a combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in the study of languaging and in correcting the favourability bias in ELF research? (RQ6)

The empirical findings of the study are discussed with a focus on their significance for correcting the favourability bias in ELF research and for the potentials and limitations of a combining AL and PP in the study of languaging.

1.2. 'Languaging': terminology and perspectives

At the most general level of definition, the term 'languaging' refers to the social process of communicative human interaction via linguistic means. Throughout this thesis, however, different aspects of the phenomenon are foregrounded and discussed. These relate to different views of the problem of lingual communication, different epistemological perspectives, and studies which use their own terms and concepts of languaging. Therefore, the nature of this research calls for mediation between these. This introductory section explicates the most relevant terminology and views of 'languaging'.

1.2.1. Initiation views vs. languaging views

In the introductory paragraph to this thesis it was already mentioned that globalization and technical innovation in the areas of (mass) communication have brought about social changes that prompted a shift from the study of language as a linguistic system towards the study of language as a social process, i.e. languaging. These two takes on linguistic enquiry imply two fundamentally different views of the problem of lingual communication. By 'problem of lingual communication', I mean the everyday-life challenge of reaching a favourable communicative outcome with others via use of linguistic means. Views of this problem differ significantly in

two regards: they either orient towards solving the problem of lingual communication by *initiation* into a specific community, or to individual speakers' engagement in *languaging*. In the literature, these views often remain implicit and/or difficult to identify because of similarities in terminology. Thus a delineation of the key differences of initiation views and languaging views is needed.

What I call the *initiation view* of the problem of lingual communication has a relatively long tradition in linguistic enquiry. Traditionally, solving the problem of lingual communication (in linguistic diversity) was seen as a problem of primary socialization and initiation into a specific speech community. Throughout the 19th century, the (socio)linguistic study of language was "focused on local, small-scale populations and face-to-face encounters" (Jacquemet 2018: 1). Thus, linguistic terminology and descriptions of, for example, '(a) language', 'a speech community', 'communicative competence', and 'the native speaker' are bound up with the idea of rather homogeneous speech communities (Widdowson 1984: 40; Blommaert et al. 2005: 211; Seidlhofer 2011b: 72). The members of a speech community are considered to hold shared beliefs, values, and to follow shared conventions of (linguistic) behaviour which sediment into the linguistic system of a/their language (Jacquemet 2018). In theory thus, amongst the members of a speech community the problem of lingual communication is to a considerable degree already solved from the start—they share ground by *being* 'native', i.e. having been born and initiated into the same speech community. In the scenario of communication across different speech communities, initiation views imply that successful language use is a matter of employing the right forms and uses to make those meanings and perform those actions the forms make and perform in the respective speech community and its language. In language education for "outsiders", hence, initiation views of the problem of lingual communication translate into efforts of assimilation. This is because they build on the assumption that outsiders to a speech community (i.e. 'non-native speakers') can solve the problem of lingual communication by target language knowledge and behaviour that comes as close as possible to the 'native' speaker.

Today, however, many of the traditional and basic (socio)linguistic concepts are being reconsidered. This is because ideas such as the homogeneous speech community show clear limitations in the attempt of describing language (use) in linguaculturally heterogeneous societies and the varying social spaces that speakers engage with. Borrowing terminology from agility business trainings, contemporary lifeworlds are increasingly observed and perceived to

be "vuca", i.e. volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous [2]. For speaking subjects and applied linguists alike, this means that the traditional assumption of stability in the qualities of and links amongst language, people, cultures, and interactional spaces is proving rather inappropriate. Instead, communication must be achieved under conditions which are linguistically challenging to prepare for. People do not necessarily fit the ideals of homogeneous native speaker communities following which predictions about interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, conventional language use, and cultural values could be made. Additionally, contemporary forms of mobility concern people and text and transcend all areas of life—the sheer amount of variation of interlocutors and their various and fluid linguistic repertoires makes it unrealistic to work on one's own repertoire "to fit them all" from the start. The conditions of superdiversity hence require researchers to recognize that speakers today participate in a variety of fluid interactional spaces which are linguistically and socially structured in different ways (Busch 2017b: 343). While pointing out the complexity of language in a "vuca" world, it must be recognized that speakers still also encounter patterns of linguistic stability. Linguistic diversity within a group of speakers, for example, does not necessarily translate into "instability" with regard to interactional communicative practices. Speakers may establish common linguacultural ground and language use amongst each other which grow and regularize into familiar shared patterns, and which allows them to expect certain behaviour in languaging of those others[3]. Despite observations of such regularization, however, the linguistic repertoires and use of language of contemporary speakers tend to challenge and evade traditional description by the homogeneous 'speech community' and 'a language/languages' (Seidlhofer 2003a; 2005b, 2011b; Pitzl 2018a).

Let us now turn to the *languaging view* of the problem of lingual communication. In this thesis, ELF research is the instantiation of languaging research that is put in focus. There is, however, no established description of a broader field of "languaging research". I elaborate on some of the basic characteristics of the languaging-oriented strands[4] of ELF research to outline the languaging view and research as understood in this thesis. ELF communication has been defined as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011b:

[2] The term 'vuca' can be found across representations of companies on the internet which train leaders to steer their businesses successfully through the often quickly changing conditions. It is also frequently indicated that the term has its origins in the U.S. Army and was used to describe how the world was changing in the wake of Cold War (see for example, Lovejoy & Lucas 2021; S & P Unternehmerforum GmbH 2023; and Training Industry 2023).

[3] Examples of such "stable" languaging practices in conditions of "instability" are provided by studies on ELF communication in transient international groups in business contexts (see Pitzl 2018b; 2022b). I elaborate on these studies in chapter 4 (4.1).

[4] In the field of ELF research there are also more form-focused strands of enquiry, some of which show characteristics of an initiation view of the problem of lingual communication. I discuss differences between these strands in more detail in chapter 3.

7, omitted emphasis). Foregrounding an AL interest and a languaging view, it has furthermore been pointed out that the phenomenon allows to investigate how humans

> can cope with situations in which they have to make do with using whatever linguistic resource they have at their disposal to negotiate common ground and a favourable communicative outcome with others with whom they have little in common in the way of lingua-cultural background. (Widdowson 2020b: 26)

Compared to the initiation view, studies taking such a languaging view of the problem of lingual communication have an important advantage in grasping the complexity and fluidity of language phenomena. Because they foreground the process, they are less dependent on established linguistic demarcations and on drawing them. This way, ELF research has contributed insights significant for reconsidering traditional sociolinguistic concepts in the light of contemporary language phenomena. Empirical findings have demonstrated, for example, that ELF users communicate successfully with each other despite nonconformities to native speaker conventions (Firth 1996; 1990; Seidlhofer 2004; 2009a; Cogo & Dewey 2006; Hülmbauer 2007; Dewey 2009; Pitzl 2018a). Contrary to the traditional initiation view, studies suggest that amongst the key strategies for reaching communicative success in linguistic diversity are: letting go of established norms, engaging in situated form-meaning negotiation, and appropriating English to the respective communicative needs of the interlocutors of the particular encounter (Seidlhofer 2001; 2011b; Cogo 2008; 2012b; Hülmbauer 2009; 2013). The languaging-oriented study of ELF communication thus encourages a shift towards a languaging view of the problem of lingual communication.

By example of ELF research, the following three characteristics describe languaging views of the problem of lingual communication. First, languaging views recognize the globalized, fluid, and de-territorialized spaces of interaction through which speakers navigate today. They acknowledge that in such conditions the establishment of "common linguacultural ground" becomes an intrinsic part of human interaction (Seidlhofer 2011b: 4; cf. Jacquemet 2018: 1). Second, languaging views tend to foreground the general human capability for languaging as decisive for solving the problem of lingual communication (Widdowson 2003; 2016; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017). By contrast, traditional initiation views typically explain communicative success by the communicative competence of the 'native'(-like) speaker and sticking to established norms of language use. In ELF research the capability for languaging is considered to show in how ELF users "make expedient adaptable use of their linguistic resources" (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247). This capability has furthermore been described as the capacity for the "adaptable creative use of the potential of virtual language" (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017: 33). The "potential of virtual language" is basically

conceptualized as the infinite meaning potential inherent to linguistic code, which is only partly realized in actual usage. It includes attested and normative linguistic forms and uses of 'a language' but is not limited to these[5]. The third characteristic of languaging views is thus that they emphasize speaker agency in and responsibility for linguistic meaning negotiation in situ (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247), and the agency of speakers over language change regardless of 'native' speaker status (Seidlhofer 2011b: 49–50).

1.2.2. Epistemological perspectives

In this research different aspects of the phenomenon of languaging will be foregrounded by assuming different epistemological perspectives on languaging (*poststructuralist*, *interactional*, and *phenomenological*). In doing so, I draw on biographical subject-centred research which has demonstrated how these perspectives complement each other in the study of lived language experience (Busch 2017a; 2017b, 2018; Purkarthofer & Flubacher 2022). Which perspectives are foregrounded in this thesis and when will be recognizable by the context and information provided. Since I will develop a theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem expanding the complementary perspectives named (see chapter 5), these three shall be introduced briefly here.

Taking a *poststructuralist* perspective, the term 'languaging' denotes the empirical phenomenon of the social process of languaging *and* the product of conceptualizing and studying that phenomenon, i.e. the concept of 'languaging'. From a poststructuralist perspective the reality of languaging is constructed socially. Thereby the differentiation between empirical phenomenon and concept is foregrounded as an analytical one. Awareness of the analytical distinction is important in this thesis because it is concerned with the relationship between how we think about languaging and how we understand and try to resolve AL problems in which language is a major issue. At the same time, the analytical differentiation cannot be neatly made. Thus, only if it is necessary to speak of languaging as a concept alone will I mark the term orthographically as 'languaging'.

The *interactional* perspective on languaging plays an important role in this thesis. First, it is the view most evident in ELF research, where 'languaging' is dealt with mainly as an interactional, social meaning making process and studied by focus on the linguistic processes of interaction[6]. Thereby, languaging is foregrounded as an agentive and intersubjective process

[5] For literature developing and elaborating on the concept of virtual language see Widdowson (1997, 2003, 2020a: 14–15); Seidlhofer (2011b: 109–111); Hülmbauer (2013); and, Seidlhofer & Widdowson (2017).

[6] Chapter 03 will elaborate in detail on how languaging is investigated and understood in ELF research.

of meaning making and communication. Hence close relationships are found in ELF literature between 'languaging' and notions of developing speaker agency and the human capability for languaging (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011b: 98). Explicating my take on such interpretations of the interactional perspective on languaging, I acknowledge the relationship between languaging and agency—yet I emphasize that agency is not a matter of individual intention and capability alone. Rather, I follow the understanding that "[a]gency is *always distributed* […] among human actors, mediational means and the various *discourses* that circulate through them. It is always something that is negotiated between individuals and their social worlds" (Jones & Norris 2005: 170, original emphasis). Furthermore, the interactional perspective will be assumed in the methodological analyses of the empirical investigations of this research. These examine the generated data (i.e. first-person accounts of lived language experience) as products of interactional processes amongst participants and the researcher, who engaged with each other in particular settings and methods of enquiry (see chapter 9).

The third perspective, the *phenomenological* understanding of languaging, plays a key role in this thesis: it builds the ground for conceptualizing how languaging can bring about experiences of philosophical problems of an epistemological, existential, and ethical kind (chapter 5). From a phenomenological perspective, "language is not mainly seen as a conventionalized, sedimented system of signifiers but primarily as an intersubjective bodily emotional gesture which relates the experiencing/speaking subject to the other and the world" (Busch 2017a: 52; cf. Merleau-Ponty 2012). Following this understanding, in this thesis the term 'languaging' denotes an intersubjective, social process in which users of language do not just act upon *language* but always also upon their own *relatedness* with others. Moreover, understood as a bodily gesture, speakers' language use can have corresponding transformative effects. These may be intended (e.g. by working on the languaging self in the form of language learning) or not. In addition, the phenomenological perspective foregrounds lingual relatedness as an existential condition of being human. Thus, the engagement in languaging is considered a constitutive process relevant for the (languaging) subjects that humans are, and can be, in the social realities they share. An important note on terminology around the phenomenological perspective on languaging is that this thesis draws on Busch's (2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2021a) work on the linguistic repertoire and will keep original terms such as 'language' (instead of 'languaging'), and the 'speaking subject' (instead of 'languaging subject') where respective references are made.

1.3. Introductory notes on researcher positionality

To my knowledge this research is the first which points out relationships between AL and PP, and which combines them in an enquiry on languaging. It is my positionality as a researcher and practitioner, across and within these fields, which has prompted this kind of enquiry. To make these origins more transparent, this section provides some autobiographical notes. They focus on my professional and academic background and on experiences that were relevant for embarking on this research. I report on different roles I assumed as a student of and researcher in the fields of ELF and multilingualism research, as a language teacher, and as a philosophical practitioner.

Given that doctoral students are not yet established researchers and often face precarious working conditions in academia[7], it is not unusual that they maintain various professional orientations during and after their studies. In my case these orientations span across AL research, teaching, and PP. These contexts have assumed varying degrees of relevance in different phases of my professional life. On paper, I could in fact add economics and tourism, since I attended an upper secondary vocational college which provided me with business and controlling education and training as a waitress and cook. My involvement with the named fields of enquiry and application may also be explained by a more personal situatedness between theory and practice. It is reflected in my educational and professional choices: I took the vocational path towards 'Matura' (the Austrian final exams after upper secondary which qualify for further academic education), I chose a teacher training programme for my academic studies, I invested my interest in AL, and I engaged with a practically oriented form of doing Philosophy. These choices seem to speak of a liking for wandering straight through the dichotomy of theory and practice. Whatever the reasons, for me this thesis documents the mutual inspiration of the different roles and perspectives I assumed. So, what are these roles and perspectives?

I am an educated teacher of the subjects of English, Philosophy, and Psychology—studies which I completed at the University of Vienna between 2010 and 2016. From 2015–2016 I additionally completed the bachelor's programme for English and American studies. In the finishing papers of both programmes, I engaged with ELF research under the supervision of Barbara Seidlhofer (who should later become one of two supervisors of this

[7] During my employment as a Pre-Doc University Assistant at the University of Vienna scholars in different European countries drew attention to the precarious working conditions for early career researchers which impact negatively upon the quality of research output (University and College Union 2021; Bahr 2022). Also in Austria and at the University of Vienna grassroots initiatives formed which problematized professional re-orientation of well qualified non-professorial staff due to the structural conditions in place (Breth et al. 2021; Uni-Wien-Unterbau 2023).

thesis). In my bachelor's paper I took an ELF perspective to analyse listening activities of an English coursebook for the kind of English that was represented. In my diploma thesis I investigated what kind of meanings linguistic resources assumed for refugees and locals in Vienna who engaged with each other during 2015 when large numbers of refugees arrived in Austria. Having observed basic support encounters at Vienna *Westbahnhof* (one of the main stations and arrival points of refugees at the time), I was particularly interested in whether and in how far ELF was available as a means of communication and actually used. I did not investigate further the notion of 'availability' in ELF research then. As evident from this thesis (chapter 4 in particular), the issue of availability should regain my attention in the course of my doctoral studies. These started in 2019, but not yet in 2016, when I left academia for the time being to pursue a profession as a teacher.

Already from the beginning of my teacher training in 2010, I was engaged in various contexts of language education. As regards German language education, I taught refugees in a grassroots organization in Vienna, teenagers and adult migrants in public education centres (e.g. Wiener Volkshochschulen), socioeconomically well-situated international students between eleven and 17 years old in a German language summer camp, and students in the French and the Austrian school systems. Between 2017–2018 I completed my first school year as an English language and Philosophy and Psychology teacher in Austria. Until my employment as a University Assistant at the English Department of the University of Vienna in 2019, I continued my teaching profession in the form of giving workshops in public education settings (e.g. public library Graz, Volkshochschulen). In late 2018, I reoriented towards the academic context. I became a lecturer in the English language teaching programme at the University of Graz, and I got a service contract with the applied linguist Elizabeth Erling, who engages with the question of socioeconomic inequities and multilingualism in the English language classroom[8].

In retrospect, the confrontation with the variety of learners, contexts, and conditions for learning and teaching has left a deep impression on me. Above all, because it contradicted the standardization developments in the Austrian school system and language integration programmes which, by and large, simply translated the competence descriptor bands of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) into teaching/learning goals[9]. Through my academic, professional, and volunteer involvement with migrants and

[8] See for example, Erling & Seargeant (2013); Erling et al. (2019); Erling et al. (2023b); Erling et al. (2021); Erling et al. (2022a); Erling et al. (2022b); and, Erling et al. (2023a).

[9] For early and current versions of the CEFR see, Council of Europe (2001, 2018, 2020); for adaptations made in the Austrian context see, for example, Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum (2005, 2007); and, Bundesministerium für

refugees, I furthermore learned about the significance of the CEFR levels for legal integration and access to social services. In my role as a language teacher, I felt a strong responsibility for what my teaching practice would tell students about 'language', its "successful" use, and who is a "good" learner and user of English/German. The engagement with ELF research during my diploma and bachelor studies had alerted me to language ideologies and educational standardization through language policies. Confronted with the urgency some of my students experienced and explicitly expressed with regard to their language learning, however, I also felt a certain dissatisfaction with this engagement—a kind of undulating feeling and tension between what I knew from ELF research and what I was confronted with and required to do as a teacher. The following train of thought will make this feeling more tangible:

I know that ELF is globally available and successfully used by speakers of all kinds of languages—but in the contexts in which my students are involved this is not necessarily the case; I know that speakers can solve the problem of communication by drawing upon all their linguistic resources and engaging in shared meaning negotiation—my students, however, report of troublesome experiences with multilingual language use in their everyday lives; I know that negative experiences with (lingua franca) communication in linguaculturally diverse contexts are enforced by a reality that follows traditional ideas about language, the native speaker and standard language ideologies, and that the concept of 'ELF communication' can contribute to a change for the better—despite which, in supporting my students to cope with the challenging language experiences and situations they confront in their everyday lives, I feel empty handed; … would I not deny their experiences by telling them of a reality of language use in linguistic diversity in which communicative success is easily reached by drawing upon all linguistic resources available? How could I dare tell them to "just" language!?

I shall highlight that ELF research is in fact not as naïve to challenges and subjective languaging realities as my experience suggests[10]. The emphasis and urgency it created, however, gave me enough momentum to pursue this undulating feeling in a doctoral research project.

Turning to my different professional roles, I am furthermore an academically educated and trained philosophical practitioner. I have completed these studies at the University of Vienna between 2018 and 2020, overlapping with the early phases of my doctoral studies. PP is a strand of doing Philosophy which starts with everyday-life experience. It takes the stance

Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur et al. (2008); for critical research on standardization developments related to the CEFR see for example, McNamara (2011) and Shohamy (2001); and for the Austrian context Riegler (2021), and Radinger (2023).

[10] See chapter 03 for a detailed review of ELF research.

that everyday life is the location of origin for philosophical thought and is critical of 'a Philosophy' that enshrines itself within university walls and elite cultures. Philosophical practitioners are basically persons with an academic education in Philosophy and offer their knowledge and skill in (opening spaces for) philosophizing for educational, consultative, and explorative purposes. I was drawn to this kind of doing Philosophy and found it during online research as I was sitting in the *Médiathèque Strasbourg*. There I was planning my German lessons which I held as a language assistant in late 2016 and was reworking my diploma thesis to make a first academic publication in a journal[11]. I was thinking about resuming my academic studies to the doctoral level but also felt an urge for engaging further with Philosophy, which had received little attention in the combined teachers' degree programme of Philosophy and Psychology[12]. In November 2016, I wrote an email to Donata Romizi, who was the scientific coordinator of the PP programme at the University of Vienna at the time. I enquired into whether my teaching degree qualified me as an applicant and whether my young age (25) was a hinderance. I stated that I would like to open public spaces of philosophizing with a focus on language and society in contemporary times. I received a welcoming and informative reply and met with Donata Romizi upon my return to Vienna in early 2017. She was to become the second supervisor of this thesis. For my graduation project and paper of the PP programme, I opened a space of philosophizing about language which engaged language educators and migrants in a grassroots organization. This project was an important inspiration for the research presented in this thesis.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is structured into four parts: Part I situates the research within the fields of AL and PP; Part II presents the theoretical investigations of this research; Part III reports on the empirical investigations; and Part IV draws the main conclusions of this research, which synthesizes the theoretical and empirical insights gained. Still an element of Part I, Chapter 2 introduces the two types of enquiry combined in this thesis, i.e. AL and PP. I outline the basic principles and developments of the two fields and delineate the parallels and differences, based on which a combined enquiry appears fruitful for the study of languaging.

[11] See Radinger (2018).

[12] In Austrian teacher education programmes for teachers at secondary school levels, students complete education in two (school) subjects and a general pedagogical training. In these programmes, Philosophy & Psychology are subsumed within one subject. The study programme valid at the time of my studies can be found in the archive of curricula of the University of Vienna (https://senat.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/s_senat/konsolidierte_Dipolmstudien/LA_HuSOWI.pdf, 24.08.24)

Chapter 3 reviews the notion and study of languaging in the field of ELF research and defines the research gap this thesis seeks to close. I review the contributions that studies of ELF communication have made to the theoretical and empirical description of languaging, delineate in how far the field is an instantiation of AL research on languaging, and discuss scholars' arguments for taking their findings to contexts such as language education and language advocacy. Concluding chapter 3 and Part I of this thesis, I eventually address the widely unaddressed research gap of the favourability bias in ELF research.

Part II comprises the theoretical investigations of this research. These tackle the favourability bias in ELF research by providing complementary perspectives to the dominant theoretical and analytical frameworks of this field. Chapter 4 first pinpoints the *analytical* gaps that nurture the favourability bias, which has so far been discussed mainly as an *empirical* problem. I draw attention to the central yet neglected notion of 'availability' of linguistic resources in ELF research. By close examination of researched cases of ELF in the immigration domains, I delineate how the underspecified notion of availability links with the favourability bias. Additionally, I discuss how both issues imply a narrow focus of explanations of communicative success on individual willingness and capability. Drawing upon research on neoliberal transformations of societies and instrumentalization of language, I problematize potential harmful effects of a naïve understanding of 'languaging' that ignores the favourability bias. Drawing upon expanded notions of the linguistic repertoire in AL research, I suggest complementing the theoretical frameworks of languaging in ELF research by biographical- and space-oriented perspectives. The chapter concludes with a summary of what is "available" against the favourability bias so far.

Chapter 5 introduces a PP perspective on languaging as a further complement to theoretical frameworks of languaging. I develop a theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and conceptualize it as a phenomenon and practice which may bring about experiences that challenge speakers in their fundamental epistemological outlooks on the world, in their existence as languaging subjects, and in their (lived) ethical evaluations of others and themselves. Additionally, I think of languaging as a dispositive to pin down the relationships between AL knowledge generation about languaging and the constitution and experience of the languaging subject. Developing this perspective in the context of this research, I elaborate how this understanding can help tackle the favourability bias in ELF research and complement the study of languaging in grasping issues of availability.

Chapter 6 functions as a conclusion of Part II and a bridge to the empirical investigations of this research (Part III). Following from my theoretical investigations, I formulate the

emerged desideratum for an empirical exploration and integrate the five perspectives covered into one analytical lens: (1) the process-oriented perspective on languaging from ELF research; the (2) biographical- and (3) space-oriented perspectives on the linguistic repertoire; (4) the theory of languaging as a lived philosophical problem; and (5) the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive. Thereby, a first step is made towards operationalizing this multi-perspective framework for empirical research. Furthermore, the chapter includes considerations on how this framework may be deployed in future research tackling the favourability bias in ELF research and beyond.

Part III comprises the empirical investigations of this thesis. Chapter 7 lays out the research design of the study and describes the processes of data generation and analysis. I first explain the rationale and aims of this study, which enquires into lived language experience and languaging as a lived philosophical problem by foregrounding issues of availability and the subject perspective through biographical and PP lenses on languaging. Additionally, I situate the empirical investigations within the greater objectives of this research, giving reason for why the study includes a focus on speakers in the Austrian immigration context and enquires into languaging (rather than ELF communication alone). Exploring how the combined approach of AL&PP enquiry can be operationalized, I also make transparent the theoretical and methodological considerations by which the study was designed. Turning to how it was put into research practice, chapter 7 describes the data generation methods and process. Characterized by triangulation of perspectives and methods, the study deploys an online survey, follow-up interviews, and philosophical group enquiries (a format appropriated from PP for the purposes of this research). Furthermore, the procedures of qualitative data analysis are described in detail.

Chapter 8 presents the findings of the content-focused analysis. These findings grant insights into the subjective meanings that languaging assumes as a process and practice in speakers' lives, and into how these meanings are constituted at the intersections of participants' biographies, the social contexts in which they are embedded, and the concrete situational encounter of languaging. Presenting the findings, I first give an overview of the main themes around what constitutes (in)felicitous languaging, how it is experienced, and how it is explained by participants. Then, I enquire in more detail into phenomena that showed relevant for better understanding issues of availability in languaging and tackling the favourability bias as an issue in ELF research. These phenomena include experiences of ambiguity in the Austrian immigration context, participants' expectations of themselves as speaking subjects and of ELF as a globally used means of communication, language-related experiences of loneliness, norms and moral standards against which speakers are evaluated as "good" speakers and humans, and

explanatory patterns of language-related success. In the concluding section, I discuss the insights gained regarding their contribution to better understanding issues of availability and of languaging as a social process and practice, and to tackling the favourability bias as an issue in ELF research.

Chapter 9 concentrates on the methodological findings of the empirical study by evaluating the potential of the combined approach of AL&PP enquiry. I present analyses which exploit the study's triangulation of data generation methods and theoretical perspectives to gain insight into relationships between what participants shared as an account of *Spracherleben* and how, and how data were generated methodologically and in what kind of interactional research setting. As a newly appropriated method from PP, I examine in particular the interactional processes of the PP group enquiries—an examination which will reveal that these groups showed clear characteristics of spaces of vulnerability as defined by Stroud (2018: 18). I draw upon this concept from language advocacy to consider the potential and limitations of the PP group method in AL research. Concluding the methodological and empirical investigations, I discuss the PP group method and the methodology I developed in this thesis as a participatory complementation to established methods in AL research on languaging and lived experience.

Turning to the final part and chapter of this thesis, Part IV (chapter 10) synthesizes the theoretical and empirical insights gained by drawing conclusions and implications which address the main objectives of this research. Reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of this enquiry, the structure attends to the different frameworks of relevance deployed in this thesis: I first review how the findings contribute to understanding the favourability bias as an issue in the study of ELF communication, and I envision how the bias can be avoided in the future by drawing on the theoretical, methodological, and empirical "tools" developed in this research. Then I summarize in how far the PP lens and the PP groups proved to complement established biographical approaches in the study of lived experience and languaging. Additionally, I discuss the implications of this research for a socially engaged AL and how collaborations between AL and PP may be fruitful for matters of language advocacy. Finally, I consider how this research also carries implications for the field of PP and how PP may in turn benefit from AL research.

2. Applied Linguistics and Philosophical Practice

In this research I combine "doing AL" with "doing PP" to enquire into real-world problems speakers experience with languaging in their everyday lives. Since AL and PP are different and so far separate types of enquiry, this chapter provides an introduction into the basic principles and developments of AL (2.1) and PP (2.2). Furthermore, it draws attention to the parallels and differences that make a first argument for their fruitful combination in the study of languaging (2.2). Before doing so, it is to be noted that both, AL and PP, are characterized by an inert heterogeneity and dynamics that evade definitive and comprehensive answers to what AL and PP *are* (cf. Seidlhofer 2003b: 269–273; Romizi 2019: 86; 2025, in print). As regards AL, I follow definitions which foreground (i.) the AL concern with understanding particular real-world problems by drawing upon and establishing relevance of theory; and (ii.) the constitution of AL as a principled mode of enquiry and mediation between theory and practice, rather than as a discipline. Disciplines are more commonly constituted by the specific theoretical models, the areas of investigation, and the methods that make the discipline, as AL scholars have pointed out (Widdowson 1980; 2020a: 37–50; Seidlhofer & Breivik 2004). Regarding PP, the body of literature which topicalizes on PP as a field and a mode of enquiry as such is much smaller. Moreover, it often remains focused on national contexts and their rather specialized realizations of PP. Hence, an internationally informed understanding and contour of a field of PP is yet to be developed (cf. Romizi & Mooslechner-Brüll 2024: 48-40). Comparing AL and PP, I will point out that the descriptions of AL provided under (i.) and (ii.) above, can be used to give contour to PP as an enquiry and field.

2.1. Basic principles and developments in AL

> The subdiscipline of applied linguistics is an inquiry into the relevance of linguistic expertise to actual language experience. Whenever such expertise is drawn on to resolve a basic language related problem, one may say that applied linguistics is being practiced. In this sense, applied linguistics is a technology that makes abstract ideas and research findings accessible and relevant to the real world; it mediates between theory and practice. (Strevens 2003: 112)
>
> If we accept a definition of applied linguistics along the lines proposed [above] two questions follow from it. First, what kind of real-world problems does applied linguistics typically address? Second, which areas of theoretical inquiry have provided relevant insights? (Widdowson & Kaplan 2003: 114)

These two characterizations of AL appear in Frawley's (2003) *International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics* and are referred to in *The Oxford Handbook of AL* by Kaplan (2012: 25–26) to define AL in "the broadest terms". The entries highlight that AL follows a principled orientation towards experience of real-world problems in which language is implicated; and they

foreground AL as a mediator between theory and practice. In the following, I adopt the approach of defining AL through its basic orientations and principles of doing research, rather than through specific areas and contexts of enquiry.

Seidlhofer (2003b: 271) emphasizes that AL is best defined by "procedural definitions of what AL attempts to do and how it attempts to do it". These attempts consist in trying to understand language-related real-world problems and to establish the relevance of theory for understanding these problems (Seidlhofer 2003b: 272). Using the label of 'AL', these problems have often been reduced to enquiries on language learning and language teaching. This reduced interpretation does not do justice to the full potential and range of actual AL enquiry, however (Seidlhofer & Breivik 2004: iii). As a communicative medium, language is implicated in diverse problems and contexts of every-day life which do not follow disciplinary boundaries. Thus, AL may cover a variety of issues in established areas otherwise referred to as 'Educational Linguistics', 'Forensic Linguistics', 'Psycholinguistics', etc. Borrowing from Seidlhofer and Breivik (2004), I thus follow the understanding that AL enquiry may

> engage in the mediation between expertise about language and experience of language directed at developing an awareness of the way language works, how it affects peoples' lives, and propose what interventions it is desirable and feasible to make in different domains of language use and learning. (Seidlhofer & Breivik 2004: iii)

Looking at the major developments of AL as a field, there is broad agreement on its constitutive real-world orientation. However, there has been considerable controversy about *how* AL should approach the relationship between theoretical considerations and practical problems (Seidlhofer 2003b: 269–324)[13]. The above quoted encyclopaedic entry by Strevens (2003: 112), gives the impression that the mediation between theory and practice proceeds unidirectionally, i.e. theory → practice. A unidirectional version of AL, however, has been heavily criticized. Coining the label "Linguistics Applied", Widdowson (1980, 2000) set it aside from "Applied Linguistics" because unidirectional approaches work by imposition of theory rather than by mediation between different realities and interpretations. If the aim is to establish the relevance of theory to real-world concerns, researchers need to work their way *towards* theory *from* actual language and the particular problem in question (Widdowson 1980: 169).

Following takes on AL that put emphasis on its *multilateral* purpose, the constitutive question is how theory may illuminate the understanding of concrete problems and experience

[13] Literature illustrating the controversy on *The nature of Applied Linguistics* (Rampton 1997, 1998; Brumfit 1997; Widdowson 1998) is provided by Seidlhofer (2003b: 269–323), who explains important positions in this controversy and discusses its relevance for the field of AL.

of langue and vice versa (i.e. theory ⇋ practice). Widdowson (2000: 5) defines AL as "a multilateral process which, of its nature, has to relate and reconcile different representations of reality, including that of linguistics without excluding others". A key characteristic of this multilateral view of AL is that the mediation between different perceptions of reality involves not just academic and non-academic ones, but also the realities and discourses of different disciplines—and this is what makes AL enquiry challenging in two regards. As Widdowson (2000) points out, mediation between different theoretical and experiential perspectives is necessarily *selective*, as one has to decide what is relevant for defining and understanding the problem at hand. This kind of multilateral mediation is also necessarily *appropriative*, since disciplines follow specific conventions of enquiry, terminology, and discourse which may not be fully compatible with one another. Likewise, interests and problems of speakers embedded in real-world contexts are not formulated in AL terms either (cf. Widdowson 2000). Widdowson (1980) highlights that the challenges of mediation are less evident in disciplines like Theoretical Linguistics, because these are more concerned with the coherence and consistency of theoretical models of language. There, it is the discipline which already preselects the relevant theories (Widdowson 2020a: 45). The prime mover of selection in AL is, however, whether theories enlighten understanding of the particular language-related problem at hand. To do AL thus means "to wrestle with the difficult issues of partiality and practicality" (Widdowson 1998: 138). Addressing a so far neglected bias in the study of ELF communication (chapter 4), this research will draw attention to the continuing need for considering these issues if AL seeks to assume a more socially engaged position.

In the controversy on how AL should approach the relationship between theory and practice as a spectrum, there is another position at the opposite of "Linguistics Applied". Rampton (1997: 11) puts forward a "socially constituted, practical linguistics" and envisions AL as a "dialogue that is neither just top-down, nor reliant on the applied linguist as mediator/go-between" (Rampton 1997: 11). It can be said that in this version of AL the boundaries between academic research practice and non-academic enquiry are dissolved. Scholars have pointed out, however, that these boundaries are inevitable to a certain degree and that the need for thorough mediation remains (Brumfit 1997; Widdowson 1998). They highlight that experiences and problems formulated through first-person lenses, personal interests, and professional frameworks are different from academically formulated problems because the former do not have to meet the requirements of academic (disciplinary) enquiry and discourse. It is the mediating function of AL, which establishes mutual significance and relevance (Widdowson 1990; 1998: 138; Kaplan & Widdowson 1992; Brumfit 1997: 91). Additionally,

personal involvement of those undertaking the enquiry (including researchers) requires increased efforts of self-reflection. Personal aspirations, causes, values, and interests in outcome of the enquiry need to be considered as influences on understandings and favoured solutions of the problems in question. Such considerations are standard in academic discourse but not necessarily in everyday life contexts. As soon as enquiries into experienced problems claim academic status, mediation between realities and discourses seems inevitable.

Considering AL today, many researchers orient towards the more socially constituted end of the AL spectrum. This shows, for example, with the *International Association of Applied Linguistics* (*AILA*). It hosts the biggest conferences in the field and, according to its website (AILA 2024), counts more than 8,000 individuals worldwide. Celebrating its 20th anniversary with a world congress in 2023, it explicitly invited researchers to a more socially committed study of language:

> The French edition of the AILA 2023 congress will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of AILA congress […]. This will be the opportunity to emphasize that applied linguistics has been interested in real-world problems, from the outset. Reacting to pre- and post-COVID global issues, this congress will be organized around the theme « Diversity and social cohesion in a globalized world: towards more committed language sciences ». The overall goal will be to reflect on how studies in applied linguistics and the researchers who produce them can participate in the construction of a globalized world in which respect for diversity as a basis for social cohesion requires individual and collective commitment. (AILA 2022)

The passage illustrates efforts for strengthening AL as a field of enquiry which actively participates in the promotion of "diversity and social cohesion". Putting these developments in relation with the above introduced controversy on the nature of AL, a reminder of the challenges of mediation, partiality, and practicality is warranted. With regard to social commitment, Widdowson (1998) highlights that,

> [n]aturally, the commitment has to be to what are deemed to be good causes (Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité etc.), and the assumption is that we can all agree on what these are. But good causes are not always easy to identify, and the commitment could easily be to malevolent causes cunningly disguised. (Widdowson 1998: 137)

Moreover, researchers need to be aware that the socially committed concerns they follow under good intentions may not necessarily overlap with those concerns, interests, and values of speakers experiencing the language-related problems in question. Academic enquiry will still need to orient towards academic aspirations which are not necessarily relevant for those speakers. Additionally, researchers need to keep in mind that AL concepts and models of real-world problems abstracted from one context do not easily translate into "good" models for understanding and solving problems in other contexts. A socially committed AL that ignores this fact may eventually form a revised version of "Linguistics Applied".

Given the pitfalls of a more socially committed AL, it is perhaps a logical development that the field has also seen an increased investment in reflexivity and research ethics (e.g. Sarangi & Candlin 2003; Costa 2016; Hassemer & Flubacher 2020: 161–163). Particular attention has been placed on the need to take into account the interactional processes between researcher and researched when generating data, including aspects of power distribution and voice (e.g. Giampapa & Lamoureux 2011, Kirkham and Mackey 2016, Platzgummer 2021: 87–106). Pérez-Milans (2016: 2), however, points out that in AL 'reflexivity' has been translated primarily into "a necessary commitment through which researchers uncover their respective roles as key social actors shaping the very social processes they intend to study and analyze". Observing a kind of hypercorrectness, scholars criticize that this sometimes leads to a backgrounding of the participants and the social processes investigated, and a foregrounding of the researchers themselves (Heller 2011 qtd. in Pérez-Milans 2016: 2). Drawing upon sociology, Pérez-Milans (2016: 2) considers reflexivity as a process and product of greater social changes in late modernity itself: "[since] stable and bounded cultural systems are harder to be reproduced, [the] reflexive self is seen to be strengthening". From this point of view, reflexivity in AL research needs to include the consideration of one's own epistemological and research procedural decisions as well as reflection on the relationships between the knowledge generated by research and the wider social context (of change).

Assuming the above-described multilateral view of AL enquiry, I take the position that, besides the growth of practices of reflexivity in AL research, the old wrestling partners of partiality and practicality and the need for mediation between different perspectives and discourses remain. Additionally, there is a need for acknowledging the limitations to what the reflexive self can see and recognize. Be it in the role of the researcher or in the role of the participant. As Brumfit (1997) highlights,

> there is no resolution to [the tension between understanding from outside and from inside], only a constant iteration between individuals who incline to one perspective and those inclining to the other, or a willingness to include in a single researcher's agenda orientations of both kinds at different times. (Brumfit 1997: 92)

The latter kind of the AL researcher that Brumfit describes in this quote fits best the researcher positionality I assume in this research project. As outlined in chapter 1 (1.3), this research is motivated by, and draws upon, experiences I have made as a language teacher and perspectives I assumed as an applied linguist and a philosophical practitioner. By deploying biographical methods and participatory group enquiries of PP (see chapter 7), this research will complement these perspectives by participants' own formulation of lived language experience and the stakes involved in languaging.

Finally, another development of AL important for this thesis is that strands of AL enquiry have invested considerably in reconsidering basic (socio)linguistic notions in the light of how language is used and implicated in the problems of today's globalized world. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis (chapter 1, 1.2), traditional concepts like 'a language' and the homogeneous 'speech community' are put to question and new conceptualizations and approaches to studying language have emerged. As described, the shift towards studying language as a social process of communication (i.e. as languaging) rather than as a linguistic system is a result of these developments, and it implies a different understanding of the problem of lingual communication itself. Such an understanding can be found in strands of ELF research, which in this thesis serves as an instantiation of AL enquiry into languaging. In chapter 3, I will delineate how ELF research has contributed to such enquiry and to the understanding of languaging in a globalized world. Before, however, the second mode of enquiry deployed in this thesis, i.e. PP, needs to be introduced.

2.2. Basic principles and developments in PP

Defined broadly, PP is a form of doing Philosophy which is concerned with and embedded in everyday-life experience (cf. Achenbach 2010d; Lindseth 2013; Krauß 2022: 261–262). It comes in various forms and invites various people to engage in, for example, *philosophical cafés, philosophical salons, a philosophical living room, philosophical walks, Philosophy for children, philosophical care, Socratic dialogue, contemplative Philosophy, philosophical reading circles, philosophical counselling, …*. Those who invite others to and facilitate these forms of philosophizing are called "philosophical practitioners" and typically have an academic degree in Philosophy. It is a basic principle of PP, however, that its audience and orientation do not necessarily lie within academia. Philosophical practitioners emphasize that the roots of philosophizing, hence also of Philosophy, lie in everyday-life experience and not in academia (Sautet 1998; Marinoff 2002; Achenbach 2010d). A constitutional cause of PP is thus to engage with philosophical concerns and experiences people encounter in their everyday lives outside of academia, and to open social spaces of philosophical enquiry in which these concerns have a place outside university walls and may be recognized as "philosophical" in the first place (Achenbach 2010c: 77). Since some philosophical practitioners pursue such engagement as a profession, while others combine or integrate it with other professions, or consider it more generally as an attitude to life, the term 'PP' empirically covers a broad range of philosophical practices (cf. Schuster 1999: 3; Krauß 2022: 58). This section provides a review of basic principles and developments of the idea and field of PP. Based on these, I understand PP as *a*

principled mode of philosophical enquiry that takes a concern for the philosophical problems and experiences of concrete humans by engaging with them, attempting to together find terms, concepts, and theories that illuminate the understanding of those experiences and vice versa.

What unites PP as a field and mode of enquiry, is the assumption that everyday life confronts us with *problems of a philosophical kind* which can inspire philosophical enquiry (Mijuskovic 1995: 86; Marinoff 2002: 4; Achenbach 2010b: 19). In the words of Wittgenstein (2003/2019: §123), "[e]in philosophisches Problem hat die Form: 'Ich kenne mich nicht aus.' [a philosophical problem has the form: 'I don't know my way about.']"[14]. We experience such problems, for example, when the self-evident is being challenged and our fundamental outlooks on the world suddenly appear to be rested on shaky grounds. As Mijuskovic (1995: 86) highlights, "[s]elf-consciously or unconsciously we all make ultimate decisions about what exists, what is knowable, and how or why we act." A challenge to these implicit assumptions may in turn be the starting point for reconsidering those ultimate decisions and thus for philosophizing. Another kind of philosophical challenge and inspiration for philosophical thought from life is the confrontation with *Grenzsituationen*[15] (ultimate situations) as defined by Jaspers (1964: 20):

> [T]here are situations which remain essentially the same even if their momentary aspect changes and their shattering force is obscured: I must die, I must suffer, I must struggle, I am subject to chance, I involve myself inexorably in guilt. We call these fundamental situations of our existence *ultimate situations*. (Jaspers 1964: 20, added emphasis)

Jaspers (1964: 20) continues, as we grow aware of ultimate situations we make the kind of existentially meaningful experiences that inspire philosophical thought. In the immediacy and urgency of everyday life, however, these experiences and thoughts often do not receive the necessary time and attention (Jaspers 1964). Hence, based on the assumption that everyday life confronts us with problems and thoughts of a philosophical kind, philosophical practitioners seek to provide for the necessary time, space, and resources of philosophical enquiry in the domains of everyday life.

Another basic understanding of PP is that the theory and body of literature of Philosophy can in principle illuminate the procedure and process of the attempt at understanding the experiences we make in everyday life. Focusing on philosophical consultancy, Romizi (2025, in print: 53) lists reference to philosophical thought amongst the criteria that make a consultancy

[14] Transl. following Anscombe, Hacker, Schulte (Wittgenstein 1953/2009: §123).

[15] *Grenzsituationen* is the original term used by Jaspers (1953/1994: 18). In the English version by Ralph Manheim it is translated as "ultimate situations" (Jaspers 1964: 20). It could also be translated as borderline situations, or liminal situations, which would foreground the experience of liminality in the face of inevitable conditions of human life, rather than the latter as such.

'philosophical': a) philosophical practitioners draw upon the philosophical tradition to provide a foundation and justification for their own realization of PP; and, b) they draw upon the philosophical tradition to provide "thought-provoking stimuli for reflection on the subject matter of the consultancy" (Romizi 2025, in print: 53). Regarding b), it is understood that the relevance of theories and texts may be identified only by the PP interaction of the philosophical practitioners and the participants of philosophical dialogue; pre-determining the relevance of specific philosophical theories would mean to impose assumptions on participants, whereby PP would risk to fall into dogmatism (Romizi 2025, in print: 45).

Moreover, PP involves the question of how PP may illuminate Philosophy. Valuing everyday-life experience as a root of philosophical thought, most philosophical practitioners would agree that Philosophy can benefit from PP (Amir 2008; cf. Achenbach 2010g; Gahlings 2023: 62). Amir (2008: 3) emphasizes a mutually beneficial relationship of the two but points out that the question of "How can Philosophy benefit from Philosophical Practice and Counselling?" has often been neglected. In her work, Amir (2003, 2015, 2018, 2017a) demonstrates that philosophical practitioners gain insights into the philosophical problems that humans experience today and that these insights can inform academic Philosophy regarding issues of real-world significance, practicability, and need for further enquiry. She highlights that the critical appraisal of philosophical theory by these terms does not imply the replacement of academic Philosophy: "I do not contend that a philosophical theory which is irrelevant to everyday life has no meaning." (Amir 2008: 5). Amir (2008: 10) rather highlights that by close collaboration between academic Philosophy and PP, "[p]ast philosophy could […] be re-evaluated according to a criterion of practicability or relevance to our life, and future philosophy could better fulfil its task by answering the needs of our times." Therefore, Amir (2008, 2017b) sees PP as a way for philosophers and Philosophy to assume social responsibility in the context of today's complex lifeworld—a position other philosophical practitioners have explicated too (Weiss 2015a: 418–419; Krauß 2022: 185–186; Gahlings 2023: 261–263).

Despite the potential for a mutually beneficial relationship between PP and academic Philosophy, the actual state of the relationship is rather complicated. Historically, PP developed out of a discontent with the academic discipline of Philosophy. In the 1980ies, philosophers who inclined to a PP perspective observed that academic Philosophy had distanced itself from everyday-life experience. In turn they distanced "their" kind of philosophizing from the academic relative, often by raising sharp and polemic critique against it[16]. The idea of a more

[16] Achenbach (2010j: 201) for example, compares the philosophizing of the academic discipline to pathologic processes of self-digestion: "Wie dem Ulkus-Patienten auch, geht dem Fachphilosophen infolgedessen der Appetit aus, also die Begierde und Fähigkeit, Fremdes aufzunehmen und sich anzueignen. [Like the ulcer patient, the specialist philosopher consequently runs out

life-oriented philosophizing gathered supporters, and a kind of movement formed. The opening of the first *Philosophische Praxis* by Achenbach in 1981 is commonly named as the point of institutionalization of PP (which in Achenbach's case primarily means a form of philosophical consultancy; cf. Achenbach 2010i; Lindseth 2014b: 68; Romizi 2019: 86). In 1982 in the German speaking area, the *Gesellschaft für Philosophische Praxis* (today *Internationale Gesellschaft für Philosophische Praxis*, *IGPP*[17]) was formed. Today, similar associations can be found across the globe (e.g. APPA, PPAI, NSFP)[18]. Philosophical practitioners have furthermore formed a loose community which has been organizing the *International Conference on Philosophical Practice* (ICPP 2024)[19] since 1994. Taking shape as a field in its own right, PP has also seen the emergence of journals like the *Journal of Philosophical Practice* edited and published by APPA, and *La Revista Internacional de Filosofía Aplicada HASER* by the University of Seville. The latter corresponds to the standards of international academic indices (HASER 2024).

However, although PP has developed into a recognizable field of philosophical enquiry, it has found little recognition and acceptance in the academic discipline of Philosophy so far (Romizi 2019: 90–91). A reason why academic Philosophy is reluctant to improve relationships with PP, is that PP does not fit in easily with disciplinary definitions. It is not confined to specific areas and methods of enquiry (Achenbach 2010c: 77). PP is thematically and methodologically relatively open—and it has to be, given its primary concern for the concrete humans and the philosophical problems and experiences that are of concern to *them*. In a concrete enquiry of PP, this openness shows by an attitude of *epoché*[20] towards the definition of the philosophical problem as well as how it is approached methodologically (Lindseth 2014b). *Epoché* basically means 'to put into brackets what is already assumed' while refraining from the illusion that one could be free of interpretive frameworks. Presumptions about the guest, their problems, and thoughts are supposed to be on hold, set aside for the time being, to give way for curiosity and doubt (Lindseth 2014b: 85). Following Achenbach (2010b: 30), such an attitude is necessary for philosophical consultancy, "um [sich] nachdrücklich auf das

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of appetite, i.e. the desire and ability for absorbing and appropriating what is unknown; my translation]". Similarly, Marinoff (2002: 4) takes the position that, "[b]y the late twentieth century, philosophy […] had become too frequently a drab and deficient mind-game, with no apparent purpose other than to grapple with concepts about concepts about concepts, ad nauseam if not ad infinitum."

[17] See www.igpp.org (accessed 12.11.24).

[18] APPA = American Philosophical Practitioners Association (https://appa.edu/) PPAI = Philosophical Practitioners Association of India (https://www.ppai-edu.in/) NSFP = Norsk Selskap for Filosofisk Praksis [Norweigan Association of Philosophical Practice] (https://www.nsfp.no/) (all websites last accessed 25.11.24).

[19] The website www.icpp.site lists all conference venues and organizers from 1994-2021. I attended the ICPP in June 2023 in Romania (www.icpp2023.ro) (all websites last accessed 25.11.24).

[20] The idea of *epoché* as phenomenological reduction is a methodological step in processes of understanding which goes back to the philosopher Husserl (cf. 1922/2002: paragraph 50, para. 56).

einzulassen, was [einem] anvertraut wird. Und dann geht es darum, gemeinsam die Sprache wiederzufinden [to engage emphatically with what one is entrusted with. And then it is about finding language together again]". Therefore, the approach towards finding a thematic focus and appropriate methods in PP tends to be relatively open. It is responsive to the concrete encounter, persons, and philosophical problems involved. In the context of PP, *epoché* also includes to set aside the assumption that the philosophical problem demands solving. PP foregrounds the attempt at trying to understand the philosophical in the experiences and concerns shared by the dialogue partner. This very broad and open approach to doing Philosophy evades a definitory answer to what PP *is*. It is thus challenging to integrate PP within the established disciplinary boundaries of academic Philosophy and its areas of research.

Amongst those engaging with PP, the methodological and contextual openness is widely recognized as a *virtue* as well as a *challenge*. It is considered a *virtue* of PP because pre-defined aims, methods, and areas of interest would undermine the original principle of philosophizing from the concerns of concrete people and their experiences. Additionally, a narrow framework of what PP *is* and what it *is not* would run counter the philosophical cause itself. Romizi (2025, in print: 50) points out, "philosophy encompasses a broad range of methods and objectives, and frequently casts doubt on its very foundations. Consequently, metaphilosophical questions […] are themselves subjects of ongoing philosophical debates and remain far from settled". The debate on the nature of PP is certainly amongst the most prominent ones amongst practitioners. Speaking from my own observations and engagement with PP since 2018: the debate on the nature of PP is found in the earlier publications on PP (e.g. Schuster 1999; Marinoff 2002; Achenbach 2010i; Knox & Friis 2013; Haas 2018a) as well as in the more recent ones (Krauß 2022; Gahlings 2023; Romizi 2025, in print); it has played a major role in the educational programme of PP that I completed at the University of Vienna; and the debate has been led or at least mentioned at PP conferences I attended. The fact that the question of what PP 'is' is still being debated so prominently amongst practitioners may be a sign for the still emergent status of PP as a *field* rather than a mere "movement" (as PP is described, for example, by Schuchter 2020b: 2).

Besides consideration of a virtue of PP, its thematic and methodological openness is recognized also as considerable *challenge* to its institutionalization and quality assurance. Since there is no established organ or regulation, there are offers under the label of "PP" which in fact lack *philosophical* quality, some of which show signs of dogmatism (Romizi 2019: 89–90). With reference to philosophical consultancy, Romizi (2025, in print: 47–48) observes that the approach of defining this form of PP has been too open and led to a kind of anarchy that hinders

its recognition as a profession and laypeople from discerning PP from other offers of consultancy. Attending to the issue of philosophical quality, de Haas (2018a) has pointed out before that practitioners must be able to defend and justify the philosophical quality of their approach in a way other philosophers can trace and identify the relationship with philosophical tradition:

> [a]s philosophical practice, like philosophy, is a patchwork of different, often incompatible practices, there is not a single general criterion to judge all cases. The only measure is [to make explicit] the philosophical tradition a specific practice is, implicitly or explicitly, based upon. (Haas 2018b: 67)

Elaborating this approach to quality assurance in PP, Romizi (2025, in print) in turn provides a systematic framework and criteria to assess whether aspects of content and procedures of concrete realizations of philosophical consultancy show a "family resemblance"[21] to the philosophical tradition (Romizi 2025, in print: 52). I will elaborate on and make use of this framework in chapter 7 (7.2.3), when I appropriate philosophical group dialogues from PP as a participatory method of enquiry into the lived experience of languaging and the philosophical problems it bears.

Taking stock, amongst the defining characteristics of PP as a principled mode of enquiry are:

- A basic orientation towards the philosophical problems and questions of everyday-life experience.
- Dialogic engagement with concrete human beings and the philosophical problems they confront/experiences they make.
- A constitutive thematic and methodological openness.
- The metaphilosophical debate about what PP is.
- The need for intersubjective justification of the *philosophical* quality of concrete realizations of PP.

Following this understanding, I use 'PP' as an umbrella term for the heterogeneous forms it takes in the particular. Nonetheless, there are strands and forms of PP which play a more significant role in this research. Thus, the remaining introductory paragraphs on PP outline some of its discernible strands and established forms, in relation to which I situate this research.

Romizi (2019: 87–88) identifies two major discernible and mutually *not* exclusive strands of PP amongst others: the "paideutic" and the "phenomenological". Turning to the *paideutic* strand first, it takes philosophizing as a path to education of the self (Romizi 2019:

[21] Romizi (2025, in print: 52) uses this term with reference to Wittgenstein (1953/2009: §67).

87). Helskog and Weiss (2021), for example, follow an understanding of 'education' as 'edification' which involves the becoming of the human being and extends beyond the accumulation and training of specific competences and skills. Dialogues of PP are considered to take effect as a "formative way of life" (Weiss 2018: 4) and to encourage the development of "practical wisdom" (Weiss 2017a), as opposed to abstract knowledge and "pure" executive skill. Thereby, PP is furthermore considered to be able to assume responsibility for a societally neglected kind of education (Helskog & Weiss 2021). It is pointed out that contemporary education mainly follows instrumental means-aims approaches. But open-ended ones are required to develop a flexibility of mind, assume the perspective of others, and question the status quo—human qualities needed for democratic citizenship and handling the social challenges of contemporary lifeworlds (Helskog & Weiss 2021: 139)[22]. The paideutic strand of PP thus stands for an educative practice which seeks to provide for socially urgently needed spaces of reflective and caring interaction of human (minds) by participatory and open-ended practices of philosophical dialogue (cf. Weiss 2017b: 27; Helskog & Weiss 2021).

The second discernible strand of PP which Romizi (2019: 87–88) identifies, is the *phenomenological* one. It takes the (bodily) experience as the central point of reference for philosophical investigation and basically involves three elements of phenomenological enquiry, as described by Lindseth (2014b)[23]: (i) *epoché* (the suspense of already knowing), (ii) *eidetic reduction* (a process by which the philosophical essence of the shared concern gains contour and allows further enquiry), and (iii) *transcendental reduction* (the process whereby the philosophical practitioner and the participants give consideration to the concern to which they are, as persons, positioned at eye-level by the philosophical nature of the concern). In this strand of PP, philosophical enquiry is taken to fulfil,

> die traditionelle Aufgabe der Philosophie sich zu menschlicher Erfahrung zu verhalten und versuchen Worte zu finden, welche die Erfahrung in eine Perspektive setzen und ihre innewohnenden Gegensätze versöhnen können.
>
> [the traditional task of Philosophy to behave towards human experience and to find words which set experience into perspective and which are able to reconcile its inherent contradictions].[24] (Lindseth 2014b: 69–70)

Drawing on both strands of PP in this thesis, I would argue, however, that philosophizing may also involve the identification of *irresolvable* ambiguities, and that living in awareness of such

[22] Discussing "competence"-focused training and assessment in language education, there are several studies which corroborate the criticism of contemporary educational practices (e.g. Shohamy 2001; 2011; McNamara 2011; Knechtelsdorfer 2023a). Regarding the neglect of promoting democratic citizenship skills, Radinger (2023) delineates how language policies in language education in the Austrian immigration domain fail to acknowledge immigrants as democratic citizens at all.

[23] The information provided in brackets are a condensed and hence interpreted version of Lindseth's elaborations, who builds on the theories of phenomenological enquiry by Husserl (1922/2002).

[24] My translation.

ambiguity, i.e. of ambiguity as an *ultimate situation*, is an important aspect of "practical wisdom".

Besides discernible strands, there is a variety of concrete formats of PP, some of which I listed in the introduction to this section. To this research *philosophizing in groups* and *in places of the public* are the most relevant and shall be outlined briefly. Placed within the public, philosophizing in groups is well suited for attending to the relationships between individual experience and the social issues of our times. It thus often shows a paideutic orientation. The organization of philosophical cafés, for example, is a common format which engages the customers of a literal café into philosophizing about a certain topic, often suggested by participants themselves (Sautet 1998; Picard 2015; 2021; Sandu 2015). Compared to the philosophical café, the format of the philosophical salon (cf. Gahlings 2023: 22–23) provides a more intimate setting; participants typically have to register in advance and a general topic of enquiry is provided by the practitioner (e.g. What is 'friendship'?). Some practitioners also provide philosophizing in cooperation with public places such as cinemas and libraries (like in this research project; see chapter 7, 7.4.3 on PP groups and partner organizations). A prominent specialization of philosophizing in groups is Philosophy with children[25]. With adult audiences, philosophical practitioners are often engaged in educational services at low-threshold access, like those provided by folk high schools (e.g. Weiss 2017c). Often they also focus on socially marginalized groups and collaborate with NGOs (e.g. Barrientos Rastrojo 2022b). Collaborating with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context, the latter applies to this research project too (see chapter 7, 7.4.3). Eventually, there is also a "school" (Romizi 2019: 86) of philosophizing in groups which takes a contemplative approach in which exercises of meditation play an important role. This approach is less relevant for the purposes of this research, however. It is thus not further elaborated here[26].

This research draws mainly upon philosophical group enquiries in public settings. I still like to briefly outline philosophical consultancy in one-on-one settings, since it is the most established and commonly known form of PP. For some it has become *usus* to speak of "PP" when they in fact mean philosophical consultancy, whereby PP discourse is often quite

[25] Different strands could be named for Philosophy with children but are not further elaborated here; for further literature see for example, Camhy (1986); Lipman (2007); Wiener Gesellschaft für Interkulturelle Philosophie (2017); Martens (2018); Mooslechner-Bruell (2019).

[26] A prominent representative of this "school" is Ran Lahav who established it under the name of *Deep Philosophy*. In this school, philosophizing is understood as a form of contemplation and practiced as such individually and in groups of "togetherness" (Deep Philosophy 2023). It contrasts itself from philosophical debates and discussions by placing resonance with texts and the group members at the centre of its practice (cf. Lahav 2016: 15–16).

irritating, as pointed out by Romizi and Mooslechner-Brüll (2024: 34). It thus seems relevant to explicate the position of this research in relation to this most "famous" type of PP.

The broad recognition of philosophical consultancy links with the already mentioned institutionalization of PP in the 1980ies (cf. Romizi & Mooslechner-Brüll 2024), when Achenbach opened his *Philosophische Praxis* as an offer of life consultancy (Achenbach 2010h). In this form, PP typically takes place in a one-on-one setting in which the practitioner assumes the professional role of a counsellor and thus provides a service to the visitor of "the practice". Furthermore, in this case 'Philosophical *Practice*' is to be understood as a physical practice room and the practice of philosophizing itself. As they invite people to participate in this practice rather than to simply consume it, some philosophical practitioners think of their visitors as "guests" rather than of "clients" (e.g. Achenbach 2010d; Lindseth 2014b). What philosophical counsellors typically do is to support guests with examining their lives and outlooks on the world, with tackling philosophical questions, and gaining new perspectives on their situation and the concerns they bring to the philosophical dialogue. Following Achenbach (2010d: 15), this concern often evolves around the question of "What am I actually doing?", rather than of "What should I do?". Regarding approaches in philosophical consultancy, some pursue an *analytical* approach, others a more *hermeneutic* one[27]. Overviews of developments in PP have highlighted that philosophical consultancy eventually tends to be oriented towards helping the individual to feel better in some way (Romizi 2018), even though practitioners often claim that a non-help orientation is what differentiates them from psychological counselling formats (Romizi & Mooslechner-Brüll 2024: 39–41). Regarding the effects of philosophical consultancy, Achenbach (2010b: 21), for example, reports that he does not give concrete life help but that such help indirectly results from the philosophical dialogue he offers. Many philosophical counsellors thus consider philosophical consultancy an alternative to (Psycho)therapy (e.g. Schuster 1999; Achenbach 2010f). It has been emphasized, however, that PP does not replace Psychotherapy when it comes to *psychological* treatment (e.g. Mijuskovic 1995).

Exploring the combination of AL and PP enquiries, this research is interested in PP as a form of participatory enquiry into philosophical experiences related to languaging. This research does not aim to implement a form of consultancy, or to reach any therapeutic effects.

[27] A representative of the *analytical* "school" (Romizi 2019: 86–87) of philosophical consultancy is Oscar Brenefier, who founded the *Institute de Pratiques Philosophiques* (www.pratiques-philosophiques.fr, 25.11.24) and trains philosophical counsellors. Gerd Achenbach, Anders Lindseth, and Ute Gahlings can be named as representatives of the more *hermeneutic* approaches to philosophical consultancy, of which the latter two explicitly position their approaches within the phenomenological strand of PP (see Lindseth & Norberg 2004; Lindseth 2014b; Gahlings 2023).

Therefore, philosophical consultancy is of minor relevance. Instead, PP group enquiries set in places of the public, rather than in a separate practice room, are considered appropriate for the participatory approach developed in this thesis. This is because offers of philosophizing in groups are typically realized as community processes of enquiry with a close relationship to democratic empowerment, as pointed out by Romizi and Mooslechner-Brüll (2024: 44). These methodological considerations will be elaborated in chapter 7, when the combination of AL and PP is operationalized in empirical research.

What is still to be mentioned in this introduction into basic principles and developments of PP is that in the last couple of years a handful of isolated research projects have drawn upon PP and/or enquired into PP as an object of study. These projects indicate a re-approaching of PP and academia and are typically carried out by philosophical practitioners who are also researchers in academic disciplines beyond Philosophy. Engaged in higher education research and teacher education in Norway, for example, Weiss and Helskog (2022) develop and promote *reflective practice research* which draws upon philosophical practices. They explore its potential "as a way to develop both professional practice, teaching practice and research practice" (Helskog & Weiss 2022: xii)[28]. In the Austrian context of palliative care and hospice work, Schuchter et al. (2024) explore the potential role of PP in developing caring communities and in supporting care personnel, the dying, and their friends and relatives[29]. Earlier contributions to academic research on care have also been made by Lindseth, the above mentioned representative of the phenomenological orientation of PP (Lindseth et al. 1994; Udén et al. 1992; Lindseth & Norberg 2004). Furthermore, based in Spain, Barrientos and his team reach out to Latin American countries and develop philosophical workshops to meet the philosophical needs of prison inmates: the BOECIO project is funded by the EU and includes the quantitative evaluation of the workshops' effects on the participants regarding the development of dianoetic and ethical virtues (Barrientos Rastrojo et al. 2024)[30]. Such quantitative measurement is not taken in the present research project.

Concluding this section, there is, to my knowledge, no research which has bridged AL and PP enquiries before. This thesis can, however, be considered part of the recently emergent discourse and investigations that draw relationships between PP and academic enquiry. Specifically, this research seeks to gain insights into languaging as a lived experience by integrating a PP lens and thereby explores how PP may combine with and inspire the AL study

[28] See also, Helskog & Weiss (2021), Weiss (2021a; 2021b), and Weiss & Helskog (2022). The approach builds on Lindseth's (2017) work on reflective practice research.
[29] See also, Schuchter (2016, 2020a, 2020b); Schuchter & Heller (2018); Wegleitner et al. (2018); and, Wegleitner et al. (2023).
[30] See also, Barrientos Rastrojo (2021, 2022a).

of languaging. Refraining from quantitative evaluations, the explorations are of a qualitative kind and examine the potential and challenges of a combined approach of AL and PP, methodological development, and implications for a socially engaged AL. In the subsequent section (2.2), I delineate the parallels and differences between AL and PP, based on which a mutually beneficial relationship can be established.

2.3. Foundation for a combined approach

This research combines AL and PP to better understand what it means to language in the superdiverse lifeworlds of today. As a first step of developing this approach, this section explicates the relationships between AL and PP modes of enquiry. For these purposes, at the top of Table 1 (a-d), I first provide an overview of the relationships that will be discussed. At the bottom of the table, the research objectives are provided. These aim at insights into the lived experience of languaging and at the development and evaluation of the approach. Privileging AL, the question of how such an investigation can contribute to the study of languaging is eventually foregrounded.

Table 1: Parallels and differences between AL and PP—foundations of a combined approach and integrated foci of enquiry.

	Applied Linguistics	**Shared principles**	**Philosophical Practice**
a)	focus on language-related problems	orientation towards everyday-life experience	focus on philosophical problems
b)	multilateral process between theory and practice		
c)	open and responsive to needs of the enquiry in question		
d)	established mainly within academic organization and audiences	constitutes a heterogeneous field of enquiry rather than a discipline	established mainly outside academia with audiences of the public
	a principled enquiry into philosophical problems experienced in languaging		
	What does it mean to language?		
	development and exploration of a combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in the study of languaging		

The most obvious parallel between AL and PP is the primary and constitutive concern with the issues and problems people experience in everyday life (Table 1, a). Both AL and PP enquiries take these issues as the starting point rather than a specific disciplinary theory or method. Thereby both are heterogeneous fields but also clearly discernible by their basic principles and causes of enquiry. The heterogeneous field of AL is held together by the "concern to theorise and analyse social roles and institutions which address language problems, and thus the problems which non-researchers, sometimes unwittingly, confront" (Brumfit 1997: 92). PP can be described similarly: it is held together by the concern for doing Philosophy based on the philosophical problems and experiences people make in their everyday lives. What is different between the two fields is that AL seeks to understand what about the confronted problems is of a *linguistic* kind, while PP embarks on the attempt of understanding the *philosophical* (e.g. issues of an epistemological, existential, and ethical kind).

When the AL and PP foci are integrated to study the social process of languaging, an enquiry is established which investigates the philosophical dimensions of language-related problems that people experience in their everyday lives. From an AL view, such enquiry appears to be promising for better understanding what it means to language in the complex and superdiverse lifeworlds of today. It has been pointed out that with the ongoing social transformations, "communicative discursive and symbolic practices have moved into the centre of what are now the key sites of economic production and often, concomitantly, of political struggle" (Heller et al. 2018: 6). Such struggles involve the negotiation of epistemological "truths" about the nature of language use, about what makes "good" languaging practice, and what we consider necessary in forming ourselves towards being "good" languaging subjects. As a socially negotiated communicative practice, hence, languaging can involve the confrontation with the fragility of such "truths" and ambiguities in concepts of "good" languaging. The PP focus on experienced philosophical problems, together with AL focus on experience of languaging, can thus serve the attempt of better understanding these fragilities and ambiguities by grasping the epistemological, existential, and ethical dimensions of the political struggles and experiences people make with language in relation to contemporary social transformations.

Parallels in the principles of AL and PP allow of a combination in approaching the study of languaging. Both modes of enquiry are in essence multilateral processes of mediation between theory and practice (Table 1, b). They share the constitutive understanding that everyday life implicates problems of a linguistic/philosophical kind which are, for various reasons, not necessarily noticed and dealt with as such without a respectively dedicated enquiry.

AL and PP perform such enquiries by engaging in processes of mediation between theory and practice, taking the position that such mediation needs to go both ways. Furthermore, as regards topics of enquiry, contexts, and methods, AL and PP are *responsive*, hence relatively open modes of enquiry (Table 1, c). This is because both give primacy to the experienced problems in question. As regards methodological openness in AL enquiry, it has been pointed out,

> dass die Angewandte Linguistik oft über den vorhandenen linguistischen Forschungsstand hinausgehen und gegenstandsbezogen neue Methoden und theoretische Konzepte entwickeln und dabei auch auf andere Disziplinen Bezug nehmen muss. Die Unterscheidung von Theoretischer und Angewandter Linguistik wird damit obsolet.
>
> [that AL often has to move beyond the given state-of-the-art in Linguistics and has to develop new methods and theoretical concepts as appropriate to the researched phenomenon, whereby it also has to relate to other disciplines. The differentiation between Theoretical and Applied Linguistics hence becomes obsolete.][31] (Knapp 2004: xviii).

This methodological and thematic openness is very similar to PP. I have already pointed out above (section 2.2) that in PP, an attitude of *epoché* is considered necessary for grasping the philosophical issues that people share, and for together finding language that speaks *from* these issues rather than just *about* them. Method-driven approaches are considered inappropriate for these purposes, since their intrinsic logics pre-determine the subject, object, and path of enquiry (e.g. they pre-determine what counts as a problem, as an insight, what is measured/measurable and primary or secondary to the enquiry; cf. Lindseth 2014b: 72). PP thus engages with methodological and theoretical development as part of the enquiry. As Achenbach (2010f: 314) puts it, PP works *on* methods rather than just follows them. Both AL and PP are modes of enquiry which are constituted as processes of mediation between theory and practice, and which proceed by a principle thematic and methodological openness. These parallels allow of a combination in approaching lived philosophical problems related with languaging.

Important for this research project is that the principled modes of AL and PP enquiries are, or can be pursued, in a way they meet academic criteria. This is more obviously the case with AL, which has established mainly as an academic field of enquiry. Academic principles may also guide PP enquiries, however, even though it has established mainly as philosophical enquiry outside academic contexts and in direct engagement with non-academic audiences (Table 1, d). Also outside university contexts, Romizi (2023, 2025, in print: 56–61) points out, philosophical dialogue must fulfil certain criteria in order to be considered 'philosophical': as a shared process of reasoning, philosophical dialogue must strive towards a minimal level of

[31] My translation.

intersubjectivity rather than to simply exchange subjective points of view; moreover, claims to intersubjective intelligibility and truth must be open to criticism, and enquiry must be geared towards an analysis of general, fundamental questions and universal concepts rather than of the persons. This means that while PP enquiry takes the concrete experiences and concerns of particular subjects as a starting point, the enquiry focuses on the involved matters of the basic human condition rather than on the psychology of the concrete individual subject. The criterion of "anti-psychologism", as Romizi (2025, in print: 59) highlights, is an important feature that differentiates philosophical consultancy from Psychotherapy. The five criteria of philosophical enquiry (i.e. reasoning, intersubjectivity, possibility of criticism, anti-psychologism, and universal concepts) listed by Romizi (2025, in print: 61–62), provide for a compatibility of PP enquiry with the established kind of enquiry we find in AL.

Considering establishment as an academic field, AL is widely recognized in the landscape of universities. In comparison, the yet emergent field of PP has seen the strongest efforts in the direction of a recognized professional field[32]. However, looking into the rather complicated relationships of both AL and PP with their respective disciplinary academic relatives, i.e. Linguistics and Philosophy, PP may as well take shape as an academic field of enquiry in its own right. To explicate this parallel of AL and PP as a possibility for PP, a brief excursus is necessary into the kind of gap that AL has sought to fill in relation to Linguistics.

Following a contemporary definition, "[AL] differs from Linguistics in general mainly with respect to its explicit orientation towards practical, everyday problems related to language and communication" (AILA 2024). It is part of the history of AL to define itself through differentiation from the discipline of Linguistics, since the limitations of the latter build the *raison d'être* for the former. It was pointed out that Linguistics, like any academic discipline, works in its own terms of relevance which prioritizes the theorization and production of an analytic construct of language over language matters relevant from the point of view of the language user and everyday life (cf. Widdowson 1980; 2000: 5–6, 2013; Brumfit 1997). Because of the necessary disengagement with everyday-life experience, applied linguists criticized that linguistic theory failed to grasp the language-related problems people experience in their everyday lives. As Widdowson (2000: 5, original emphasis) points out, "ideas and findings from linguistics can only be *made* relevant in reference to other perceptions and

[32] Gahlings (2023: 236–260), for example, has recently contributed a *professional* ethics for PP. Similarly, even though Krauß (2022: 11) explicitly states that in his book 'PP' is thought of primarily as an idea, the books' subtitle "Eine Profession zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch [A profession between tradition and awakening]" sets clear focus on PP as a profession. Moreover, since the early days of institutionalization of PP under that name, it has been a major interest to define PP as a profession practiced by philosophers outside universities (e.g. Achenbach 2010a; 2010e).

perspectives that define the context of the problem"—to do this with linguistic problems of everyday-life experience is the main endeavour of AL enquiry.

It was furthermore emphasized that the need for AL mediation between theory and practice remains upright if so-called "actual language" collected in big corpora of spoken and written data is researched in Linguistics (Widdowson 2000; 2020b). At the turn of the century, the advance of corpus linguistics revolutionized the study of language. Big empirical samples of spoken and written data superseded the previous abstract analyses of language as an internalized, idealized and empirically non-observable system within a language user (Widdowson 2000: 4). Studying "actual language" now, some linguists claimed the direct relevance and applicability of their findings for real-world contexts such as language teaching and learning (e.g. Sinclair 1997: 30). However, as Seidlhofer (2011b: 182) underlines, corpus linguistics reveal valuable insight into actual language performance indeed; yet without AL mediation, linguistic enquiry and theory remains oriented towards disciplinary interests and thus distant to the concerns and the reality of actual language users (Seidlhofer 2011b: 22; 2016).

The historical development of PP has a parallel with the one of AL just outlined. As elaborated in section 2.2, philosophers inclined to a PP perspective criticized that academic Philosophy and the insights it generated did not speak *from*, nor *to* the kinds of experiences and philosophical problems people encounter in their lives; but these experiences and problems are considered the root of Philosophy itself. Until today PP has been established mainly as a professional field that is concerned with exploring the relevance of philosophical thought and practice for everyday life and vice versa. If compared to AL, there seems to be potential for an additional, more academic orientation of PP—as an academic field of enquiry in its own right. By such a form, PP could fill a gap in the academic landscape of Philosophy. As Amir (2008) points out, filling this gap is important to better understand contemporary problems and social concerns that are brought about by the challenges that are put to formerly taken-for-for-granted truths, values, and securities. At the same time—and significant for this research project—in the study of languaging the non-academic orientation of established PP may serve as a complement to the academic-discourse orientation of AL. Considering that the philosophical dialogues of PP take place "in the field" of everyday-life contexts and immediately engage audiences outside universities, PP provides a repertoire of participatory formats of enquiry *by* and *in* which participants voice, analyse, and interpret experienced problems themselves and together with the practitioner. Drawing upon this repertoire, for example, the appropriated

method of PP group enquiries in this research opens discursive spaces of enquiry within the everyday-life domains of participants (see 7, 7.2.3 and 7.4.3).

Following from this comparison of AL and PP enquiries, it can be said that both are kinds of enquiries which basically mediate between theory and practice, abstraction and experience. They evolve right at the point where the dichotomy dissolves and the differentiation between theoretical and applied enquiry becomes obsolete. Furthermore in the attempt of better understanding contemporary real-world problems in which language is implicated, they seem to complement each other in research foci and approach of enquiry. Acknowledging parallels and differences between AL and PP, however, each still operates upon its own terms and a combined enquiry demands for mediation and considerate integration of the two modes. This introductory chapter on AL, PP, and their parallels and differences has initiated this process of mediation and integration in this thesis. Seeking to contribute to the AL study of languaging, the following chapter will introduce the field of languaging research—the study of ELF communication—and the research gap which motivated me to combine AL and PP enquiries.

3. ‘Languaging’ in English as a Lingua Franca research

As a heterogeneous field of research, AL covers a variety of subfields which investigate phenomena of languaging. In this thesis, I focus on ELF research. Investigating the global phenomenon of ELF communication, it has made significant contributions to the conceptualization of language as ‘languaging’ and its description in linguacultural diversity. In this chapter, I offer an introduction and review of the literature of ELF research. Furthermore, I identify the existing research gap which this thesis seeks to address. First, section 3.1 provides a genealogical sketch of ELF research, reviewing some of its main contributions to the conceptualization of ‘languaging’ and insights into ELF communication. Section 3.2 serves to explicate my understanding of ELF research as an instantiation of languaging research. Doing so, the section points out the relationships with other fields that study processes of languaging, notably with the contemporarily widely recited study of translanguaging. Section 3.3 reviews arguments that scholars have made about the AL relevance of insights into ELF communication. Additionally, it gives examples of how ELF scholars have sought to support speaker voice and contribute to the resolving of language-related problems in contemporary times. Finally, section 3.4 draws attention to the widely unaddressed favourability bias in the field of ELF research. The examinations will demonstrate that a correction of this bias is significant to better understand and resolve AL problems that speakers experience today, particularly if these speakers face systemic disadvantage.

3.1. From ‘language’ to ‘languaging’ in ELF research

Investigating ELF communication as a global phenomenon of language use and superdiversity, ELF research has become a resource for understanding processes and problems of languaging today. This is because the very establishing of the field implied to reconsider and challenge the traditional concepts and paradigms that had hitherto informed the study of language as a linguistic system, rather than as languaging. To better understand the contribution of ELF research to the conceptualization and understanding of languaging, this section provides a genealogical sketch of the field, and a review of the most relevant insights gained. Amongst the three typically named pioneers of ELF research (Seidlhofer, Mauranen, Jenkins; cf. Jenkins 2018: 1), I will foreground Seidlhofer’s work (e.g. 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2005b, 2011a, 2011b). As it proposes a function- and process-oriented study of ELF communication, it is most relevant to the study of languaging and hence to this thesis. It also includes the much-quoted definition of ELF communication that I already provided in the introduction of this thesis

(chapter 1, 1.2)[33]. Literature by Mauranen (e.g. 2005, 2006, 2012) and Jenkins (e.g. 2007, 2009, 2015) will be dealt with in less detail because they stand for more form-focused, hence less languaging-oriented approaches to ELF research[34].

Until the turn of the millennium, the phenomenon of ELF communication had received little scholarly attention, let alone acceptance amongst established linguists. Some considered it a deficient kind of English (e.g. Quirk 1985) because the linguistic forms of ELF communication do not fit traditional notions of ‘standard’ and ‘native’ English (Seidlhofer 2011b: ix). Since ELF is used by speakers across the globe, the users of it also defy description by the traditional concept of the homogeneous ‘speech community’. These concepts, however, were dominant in language studies at the time, which also found expression in the study of the global use of English within the *World Englishes* paradigm[35]. Following this paradigm, scholars recognized the legitimacy of “Englishes” outside the so-called “inner circle” comprising the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (e.g. Kachru 2015: 154). At the same time, World-Englishes researchers re-applied traditional linguistic thinking by drawing new boundaries around the so-called “outer-circle varieties” of English (e.g. Nigerian English, Singapore English) and their respective speech communities (e.g. Kachru 1996; 1997, 2005; Kachru et al. 2006). Thereby, users of English/ELF were again categorized into compartments of relatively homogeneous groups of speakers, each living together in *a* specific geographic region and/or *a* social domain and/or stratum. The critical point that ELF scholars have made in contrast is that the phenomenon of ELF communication crosses right through the countable compartments of traditional linguacultural demarcations: it shows amongst interlocutors from various linguacultural backgrounds across the globe and in all kinds of social domains and constellations of speakers (Seidlhofer 2001; 2009b; Breiteneder 2008; 2009; Cogo 2008).

While traditional views denied the worth of studying ELF communication, ELF scholars argued for such enquiry precisely because the phenomenon challenges traditional linguistic concepts—concepts which were considered inappropriate for describing the most used kind of

[33] For the reader’s convenience: Seidlhofer (2011b: 7, original emphasis) describes ELF as “*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*”.

[34] For the basic positions of these strands and their relationships with each other see, Seidlhofer (2011b); Seidlhofer et al. (2015); Jenkins (2015); Mauranen (2018); and, Widdowson (2020b).

[35] As both ELF research and World-Englishes research are concerned with English language use as a global phenomenon, their research interests appear very similar at first glance. However, those taking a languaging perspective on the study of ELF, focus on how ELF serves as a resource for communication across the globe. World-Englishes research tends to be more concerned with the identification of different varieties and the description of these varieties as linguistic systems. As to the proximity in the concern with “global English” but the discrepancy between initiation and languaging views taken on it, controversies about the phenomenon and research on ELF have emerged between the fields (see for example, Berns 2008, 2009, 2015; and, Seidlhofer 2015b).

English on a global scale. Focusing on the educational context, Seidlhofer (2011b) followed the AL principle of mediating between real-world language problems and linguistic theory: she highlights that there is an incongruity between how English is used globally as a lingua franca, and how it is “thought of as ‘a language’ and a language subject” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 9). Considering ELF “a legitimate use of English in its own right” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 24), she additionally underlines the relevance of research it, by pointing out that the phenomenon of ELF use is both consequence and cause of globalization. Scholars interested in the phenomenon also saw legitimate reason for its enquiry as it constituted “the largest use of the English language today” (Björkman 2013: 172). It can thus be said that the field of ELF research emerged in acknowledgement of the changing conditions of communication in globalized and superdiverse societies. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of ELF communication is widely recognized—and the conceptual efforts which needed to be made for this recognition left their mark on the field of ELF research. As Pitzl (2018a) points out, “[i]t has become one of the main aims of ELF research to document and analyze the processes and linguistic outcomes of the variation ELF exhibits—*and to find ways of adapting existing sociolinguistic concepts in light of ELF descriptions*” (Pitzl 2018a: 15–16, added emphasis).

Considering the documentation and analysis of the processes and linguistic outcomes of the variation of ELF named by Pitzl (2018a: 15–16), a development within the field is significant for a languaging-oriented study of ELF. It consists in research which foregrounds ‘ELF’ as *communication* and focuses on the *function* of the linguistic forms it takes (rather than on the linguistic systems/languages to which they may “belong”). Thereby, the functionally adaptive use of the resource of English in lingua franca communication comes to the fore and traditional linguistic demarcations are less relevant. Such a view is encompassed by Seidlhofer’s seminal work on understanding ELF (2011b), which includes the much-quoted definition of ELF communication that I already provided in the introduction of this thesis (chapter 1, 1.2)[36]. This definition (Seidlhofer 2011b: 7) places emphasis on the communicative function that the use of ELF assumes amongst speakers who engage in languaging with various linguacultural backgrounds. A similar understanding and useful metaphor of the ELF encounter is provided by Mortensen (2013). He describes ELF as the use of English in a “lingua franca language scenario”—‘scenario’ being understood in terms of *commedia dell’arte*, a kind of improvised theatre in which the actors rely on a set of more or less rudimentary building blocks to perform their play in interaction (Mortensen 2013: 36). Providing the definition,

[36] For the reader’s convenience: Seidlhofer (2011b: 7, original emphasis) describes ELF as “*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*”.

Mortensen (2013: 36) first defines the *language scenario* “as the linguistic resources available in a given communicative encounter between two or more speakers by virtue of their individual language repertoires”. Then, he describes the *lingua franca language scenario* as a language scenario in which there is

> a distinct (mis)match between the participants’ individual language repertories [sic]: There is either no overlap at all on the speakers’ L1 [first language[37]] or only partial overlap, but there is total overlap on the language that they choose to use as a lingua franca (which may be the L1 of one or more of the speakers, but not all). (Mortensen 2013: 36)

By this definition, the *lingua franca language scenario* is contrasted to the *L1 scenario*. This latter scenario corresponds to the traditional idea of communication amongst native speakers who share first languages from the start (Mortensen 2013: 36). Most relevant for a languaging-take on ELF, by the metaphor of *commedia dell’arte*, Mortensen’s definition puts emphasis on the communicative process in which ELF users engage.

Turning to the description of ELF communication, over the years of ELF research the phenomenon has exhibited an unprecedented degree in flexibility and variation of linguistic forms and functions. Thereby, it defies traditional (socio)linguistic categorization (Pitzl 2018a: 18–20). Moreover, it refutes speculations about the stabilization of linguistic features that would warrant to speak of ‘ELF’ in traditional terms, i.e. of ‘a variety’ of English—even though some scholars still do so (e.g. Modiano 2009, 2017). Table 2 below illustrates some of the linguistic features that are observed in the kind of varying variation of form and function that have been found to characterize the use of ELF.

[37] In AL, the labels ‘L1’, L2’, ‘L3’, etc. are used to evade the traditional native speaker vs. nonnative speaker dichotomy and the ideals and ideologies related with it. However, this numbering has also been found to reproduce traditional concepts of the multilingual subject. Some researchers have thus recommended to use the label of Lx rather than Ln (see Dewaele 2018). Reporting on the literature here, I use the labels as used in the original.

Table 2: Insights into the varying variation of linguistic features in ELF communication.

	Linguistic forms	**Examples from ELF data**[38]
i.)	zero-realisation of third person present tense *-s*	S8: that means (.) if he (.) e:rm m- make disser- dissertation work in er French S1: hm S8: he get the <LN1cs> diplom {diploma} </LN1cs> of charles university (.) and french university can give him also the <LN1cs> diplom {diploma} </LN1cs> (.) (Breiteneder 2009: 260)
ii.)	the use of progressive *-ing*	S3: oh okay S1: @ <7> @@ S3: <7> cos </7> i calculating your ye- years <8> (and) i am </8> little (.) S1: <8> yeah </8> S3: high school (1) this why i was (.) wondering (4) {soft background laughter} (Dorn 2011b)
iii.)	word class shifts	S5: yes _1 so it’s democratic it’s very soli- _0 solidarity (Osimk-Teasdale 2014: 125)
iv.)	idiomatic expressions	S11 [Slovenian]: erm I think (1) I don’t see it in my head (.) how all the groups (er) will are doing different things (.) I’m sorry and one is going to present it (.) <7> because </7> (.) (Seidlhofer 2009a: 204)

The first example (Table 2, i., Breiteneder 2009), serves to illustrate that linguistic variation in ELF communication is found with grammatical features of English such as zero-realisations of third-person ‘-s’. The omission of the grammatical ‘-s’ is frequently found (Seidlhofer 2004; 2011b; Cogo & Dewey 2006), but it does not show as a stable feature of ELF communication *per se* (Pitzl 2018a: 19). Similar observations are made with the use of progressive ‘-ing’, the second example in Table 2 (ii., Dorn 2011a; see also Ranta 2009). From a traditional point of view, such deviations from the native speaker norm of English are supposed to be problematic for communication. However, taking the progressive ‘-ing’ as an example, Dorn (2011b) demonstrates that in ELF communication grammatic features that are “norm-deviating” from a traditional view, often fulfil communicative functions that are not found in the idealized ‘native’ speaker English: the progressive is used to effectuate a vivid image of circumstances in the minds’ eye of the listener, to communicate emphasis, express frequent repetition, and to converge towards the interlocutors’ language use (Dorn 2011b: 14–21). “Norm-deviating” word-class shifts as in the third example in Table 2 (iii., Osimk-Teasdale 2014), have been found to assume similar communicative functions. Also unconventional

[38] The examples are taken from studies that work with data from the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE 2021) and follow its transcription conventions.

idiomatic expressions such as the example in Table 2 (iv.) are found to “fulfil a wide range of communicative functions serving rapport and tact, humour, emphasis, and clarity and expression of cultural identity” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 143; cf. Pitzl 2009; 2011, 2016, 2018a). This puts a challenge to traditional descriptions of language, since idiomatic expressions are viewed as highly fixed form-meaning relationships. Besides providing an overview of some important findings from ELF research, the examples listed above illustrate how ELF research takes an interest in linguistic forms yet foreground their situated function in the process of communication.

Following a process- and function-oriented study of ELF, two important insights of ELF research run counter traditional initiations views of the problem of lingual communication. First, supposedly problematic norm-deviating linguistic variations are *communicatively effective*: studies on ELF communication even reveal that “attempts to conform to native speaker norms may be communicatively counter-productive” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 137). Second, *variability* is considered an intrinsic feature of language and hence of languaging, i.e. how (ELF) users exploit linguistic resources for communicative effect in communicative interaction (Cogo 2008; 2009, 2012a; Seidlhofer 2011b; Widdowson 2017; Osimk-Teasdale 2018). These empirical observations conceptually challenge and expand the already mentioned World Englishes paradigm. It is to be pointed out that World Englishes research has identified comparable “norm-deviating” features to be specific to so-called “outer-circle varieties”[39] of English but takes these as stable/stabilizing features of these varieties (Kachru 2015: 154). ELF research instead states that “we generally do not see one form taking over and replacing the established conventional form entirely across all ELF contexts. We continue to see variability of forms in different ELF contexts, across different speaker constellations and also within the same speaker(s)” (Pitzl 2018a: 19).

Taken together, the observation of communicative effectiveness despite, or rather because, of the variability of language, puts in focus the question of how ELF users reach communicative success in situ, i.e. *how they language*. Overall, studies show that interlocutors are “absorbed in the ad hoc, situated negotiation of meaning” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 98) and “adapt and blend English innovatively and creatively in order to co-construct meaning and ensure understanding” (Cogo 2012b: 99). It is observed that ELF users make strategic use of their full linguistic repertoires (Cogo 2010; 2016) and deploy strategies of repetition (Lichtkoppler 2007;

[39] In Kachru’s (2015) model of *Three concentric circles of world Englishes* (originally published in 1985), “outer-circle varieties” are varieties of English spoken in regions and populations where English has taken on the role of a second language, typically serving communication in institutions and defined social domains, and mainly as a consequence of colonial ties with countries of the “inner circle”, i.e. “the traditional bases of English” (Kachru 2015: 154).

Kaur 2012), linguistic creativity (Dewey 2009; Pitzl 2012; 2018a), signalling (non)understanding (Cogo & Pitzl 2016), and accommodative convergence (Cogo & Dewey 2006; 2012; Seidlhofer 2009a; Vukovic 2022) to negotiate meaning in response to the communicative needs of the encounter. Table 3 provides an example from an ELF encounter. It is taken from Pitzl (2018a: 216) and illustrates how participants from different first languages strategically use key clues for interpretation, metaphorical creativity, and the variety of linguistic resources available through participants’ repertoires to negotiate meaning.

Table 3: Strategic form-meaning negotiation in ELF communication.

Communicative strategies	**Example data**
use of linguistic resources available (other than English), linguistic creativity	speaker constellation: S1=L1:Danish, S2=L1:Finnish, S3=L1:Catalan, S4=L1:Hungarian, S5=L1:Finnish, S6=L1: German. S1: <smacks lips>is still what the germans call erm of course the <LNger>**kitche** {non-existent word resembling the word for kitchen} </LNger> (.) **kitchen** S2: <clears throat> (.) S1: kitchen er <LNger>**kirche (.) kinder (.) kirsche kinder** {church children cherry children}</LNger> S5: hm S1: <fast>no what was it <LNger>ku-</LNger> </fast≥ S6: =<soft><L1ger>**kueche** {kitchen}</L1ger> </soft> S1: <LNger>**kueche kich-** (.) **kueche kirche kinder** {kitchen church children}</LNger> idea that women (.) tend to be m:inisters of education and whatever (.) but (.) still (.) impressive (.) <coughs> <coughs>(3) {S1 takes a sip of water} but (.) let’s get to work (.) (Pitzl 2018a: 216)

In the example provided by Table 3, an ELF user (S1) with Danish as their first language seeks to draw upon a German idiomatic expression (*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*) to discuss the stereotype which allocates women to realms to do with ‘children’, ‘kitchen’, and ‘church’. S1 explicitly introduces the reference to German and thereby gives the group of speakers a key clue for interpretation of meaning. When S1 struggles to find the corresponding words in English, S6 (a speaker of German) steps in and suggests the word they assume S1 is looking for. S1 accepts the word, rebuilds the idiomatic German expression in English and concludes with a paraphrase of the idea (Pitzl 2018a: 216–217). Without going into more detail here, the example illustrates how a process-oriented take on ELF research provides empirical descriptions of how ELF users handle the problem of lingual communication in linguistic diversity.

On the conceptual level, the empirical findings of ELF research are taken to support the assumption of a basic *capability for languaging* by which speakers exploit the variability of language for communicative effect (cf. Widdowson 2003; 2016; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017; 2022; Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019). This languaging capability is considered to be exercised when language users “make expedient adaptable use of their linguistic resources” (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247). Based on this understanding, ELF communication is particularly significant for gaining insights into (the capability of) languaging, since it is a phenomenon associated with the globalized and superdiverse lifeworlds of today. As pointed out, in these contexts, “[t]he identification and establishment of common ground itself must be understood as a major challenge in the process of transidiomatic communication” (Jacquemet 2018: 1). Thus, the study of ELF communication is considered able to give insight into the “essential pragmatic tactics of communicative [language] use” (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247).

Examples of recent research confirm the actual and potential role that ELF research has in developing the study of languaging more generally. Pitzl (2018b, 2022b, 2022a), for instance, puts forward a micro-diachronic approach towards the analysis of conversational data so as to study the relationships between the transience of group constellations and language use. This methodological invention has followed from engagement with the role of creativity in the use of ELF (cf. Pitzl 2011; 2012, 2016, 2018a). In comparison to earlier studies on cross- and inter-cultural communication, the approach allows to grasp the dynamic complexity of speaker constellations and their effects on language as a process of communication (Pitzl 2022a). Further ELF research gives insight into the relationships, differences, and mutual influences of communication in on- and offline spaces of interaction (e.g. Kohn & Hoffstädter 2017; ViMELF 2018; Bosso 2020; Fernández-Polo 2021). As a globally used means of communication, ELF is frequently found in online communication. This fact is exploited to better understand the complexity of the virtual and physical spaces in which speakers participate today, involving both spoken and written communication. Another example is the research of Bierbaumer (2021), who draws upon ELF research to conceptualize and describe the phenomenon of *International Sign* and how signers negotiate meaning in lingua-culturally diverse encounters. Investigating the role of English mouthing in communicative repair sequences, her empirical research demonstrates that the linguistic forms of English assume a strategic lingua franca function in International Sign (Bierbaumer & Crasborn forthcoming). Eventually, also the present research project can be named as an illustration of ELF research that is relevant to a broader field of languaging research. In the given case, examinations of a

research gap in ELF research spark the conceptualization and research of languaging as a lived philosophical problem.

Coming to the final paragraphs of this review of the study of ELF communication, I would like to situate this languaging-oriented research in relation to the more product-oriented strands of ELF research which were backgrounded so far. To do so, I outline the two most prominent of these strands here. The first is represented by Jenkin’s (2015) notion and study of ELF as a “Multilingua Franca” by which she reacted to criticism raised against ELF research (Jenkins 2015: 59). The critique was that ELF studies would focus primarily on the *English* features of ELF communication, but neglect the diverse linguistic resources that make the phenomenon of lingua franca communication a phenomenon of *multilingual* communication in the first place (e.g. Cook 2013: 37–38). From a languaging-take on ELF communication, it can be acknowledged that the label of “Multilingua Franca” makes the multilingual nature of ELF more prominent. However, Jenkins’ (2015) conceptualization still foregrounds traditional linguistic demarcations. While she is describing the multilingual character of ELF (Jenkins 2015: 73–77), linguistic products are analysed for linguistic features and categorized into traceable sources of speakers’ first languages[40]. Additionally, trying to overcome the traditional term of “L1 transfer”, Jenkins (2015: 75) speaks of a “language leakage” that would show in the linguistic forms that ELF users bring into ‘ELF’ because of their first languages. This description, however, reifies the view of ELF as a deficient kind of language use and also runs counter the findings about ELF users’ strategic deployment of their full linguistic repertoires.

The second prominent product-oriented take on ELF research is represented by Mauranen’s (2018) understanding and study of ELF. Following this understanding, the phenomenon of ELF is investigated as “English that is a *product* of language contact between other languages and English” (Mauranen 2018: 10, added emphasis). Like Jenkins’ (2015) study of ELF as a “Multilingua Franca”, communication is backgrounded in favour of ‘ELF’ as a linguistic system. Particular about Mauranen’s (2018) view is that it seems to retain traditional (socio)linguistic demarcations by shifting the idea of the homogeneous L1 speaker groups to another, a “higher-order” (Mauranen 2018: 10) level with new labels, rather than by truly reconceptualizing it (cf. Widdowson 2020a: 23). Avoiding the traditional term ‘variety’, Mauranen (2018: 9) uses the term “similects” to refer to different “ELFs” and explains: “when speakers who share a first language learn a given second language, their

[40] In this regard, the “repositioning” of ELF as a “Multilingua Franca” can be considered as a continuation of Jenkins’ (2000, 2002) earlier research, which aimed at the identification of mutually intelligible phonological features of international English (the “Lingua Franca Core”).

idiolects display certain similarities in pronunciation or accent, in syntactic features, lexical choices and so on” (Mauranen 2018: 9). Studying the contact of linguistic systems, linguistic features are assorted into “the ELF” of the individual speaker and “the ELF” used amongst those speakers. From a languaging view, the notion of “similects” implies to look at the problem of lingual communication traditionally, i.e. as a problem of primary socialization and initiation into a “higher-order speech community”. Since this thesis is concerned with languaging and the experience of philosophical problems related with it, the outlined product-oriented takes on the study of ELF are of minor significance. What is relevant, however, is that process- and product-oriented perspectives may operate upon very similar terms, while their research objects and objectives are quite different.

Concluding this genealogical sketch and review of the process-oriented study of ELF communication, it can be said that this field has provided valuable insights for the understanding of languaging in globalized and superdiverse lifeworlds. These insights include empirical descriptions of what speakers do with language to reach communicative effect in linguistic diversity, as well as conceptual advances necessary to transcend traditional views of the problem of lingual communication. A particularly relevant resource for understanding this problem in contemporary times are those strands of ELF research which focus on ELF communication as a *process* of form-meaning negotiation in linguacultural diversity. They involve the reconsideration of traditional (socio)linguistic concepts that depend on the idea of homogeneous speech communities, and they imply the genuine recognition of an inherent variability of language and a human capability for exploiting it in languaging.

3.2. An instantiation of languaging research

The process-oriented strand of ELF research can be considered an instantiation of a broader field of languaging research. This section explicates my understanding of ‘languaging research’ and makes visible relationships between studies on ELF communication and studies on the contemporarily widely recited phenomenon of translanguaging. To begin with, the emergence of ELF research, both product- and process-oriented strands, can more generally be named amongst the takes on language-related research that some subsume as the “multilingual turn” in AL (May 2014). The term describes the recognizable increase of studies around the turn of the millennium that investigate language and language use under the aspects of globalization and superdiversity. The so-called multilingual turn speaks of a paradigmatic shift, since contrary to earlier research, *multilingualism*, rather than *monolingualism*, is recognized as the norm (May 2014: 1). Additionally, researchers assume a “performative” (Badwan 2021: 4)

view of language to grasp the fluid and hybrid language practices by which speakers communicate in the complex linguacultural and social interactional spaces of today. Regarding the acknowledgement of linguistic diversity, however, it is to be pointed out that studies promoting the “multilingual turn” do not necessarily imply a process-oriented study of languaging. Similar to the above-described differences of the process-oriented and product-oriented study of ELF communication (3.1), researchers may rely on very different basic views of language/languaging while using the same terms. Indeed, since the concept of ‘multilingualism’ implies a notion of multiple languages as sperate entities, researchers taking a languaging view have debated its appropriacy for capturing the processes of communicative meaning making today (e.g. Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2022).

While the differences of the basic frameworks of language/languaging research are easily overlooked by similar terminology on the surface, the increased efforts of researching multilingualism/communication in linguistic diversity has also brought about a plethora of new terms and respective strands of enquiry:

> [C]odemeshing (Canagarajah 2006), transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet 2005), truncated multilingualism (Blommaert et al. 2005), transnational heteroglossia (Bailey 2007), polylingualism (Jørgensen 2008), translanguaging (García 2009), plurilingualism (Canagarajah 2009), flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge 2010)[41], heterolingualism (Pratt et al. 2011), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2011)[42], translingual practices (Canagarajah 2011), and transglossic language practices (Sultana et al. 2015). (Jacquemet 2016: 336)

It is not within the scope of this thesis to dive deeper into the conceptual underpinnings of each of these terms. What the list by Jacquemet (2016) illustrates, however, are the efforts researchers have been making to grasp the complexity of language and language use today. Keeping in mind that these efforts are made by both product- and process-oriented takes of research, the process-oriented study of ELF communication is positioned within those takes that together make a broader field of *languaging* research. This field is composed by diverse strands of enquiry that tend to operate as separate discourses. They have their own terminology and investigate different aspects of languaging—but they are related by a basic languaging view of the problem of lingual communication.

It seems most reasonable to intensify exchange amongst the strands of languaging research. As they attend to different aspects of languaging, they can, together, provide a broader and deeper understanding of it. Embarking on mediation between strands of languaging

[41] In this thesis, this reference is listed as ‘Creese and Blackledge 2010a’.

[42] In this thesis, this text is referenced by the year of publication 2010 as provided by the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Vol.7, 3).

research, in the following, I point out relationships between the discourses of the study of ELF communication and the study of translanguaging. As I do so, I describe four characteristics of languaging research. I have chosen to draw upon translanguaging research, because it is amongst the contemporarily most, if not *the* most, received and flourishing strands that enquire into practices of language use in linguistic diversity (Li 2018: 9–10).

(1) Challenging traditional (socio)linguistic demarcations:

Both ELF and translanguaging research take issue with traditional (socio)linguistic demarcations of ‘a language’ and ‘a speech community’. ‘Translanguaging’ is defined as the fluid communicative practices by which speakers “engage diverse multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities” (Li 2016b: 8; cf. García 2009; García & Li 2014; Li 2018). By using the prefix ‘trans-’, translanguaging research foregrounds the transience of (socio)linguistic boundaries and the view that these have a socially constructed, but “no psychological reality” (Li 2018: 26). Following Li (2018: 26), “[t]ranslanguaging offers a practical theory of language that sees the latter as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource that human beings use for thinking and for communicating thought”. In comparison to the study of ELF communication, the study of translanguaging can thus principally proceed without the need to identify something “recognizably English” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 110), or Spanish, Arabic, etc., in the phenomenon it observes. At a closer look, however, translanguaging research cannot do fully without the assumption of linguistic resources that are already categorized and recognizable as such either: the very notion of ‘trans’ implies some kind of category boundary that is being transcended. Furthermore, to recognize something as ‘*multi*lingual’, ‘*multi*semiotic’, ‘*multi*sensory’, and ‘*multi*modal’ prerequisites the recognition of more or less countable entities that are recognizably different in, for example, linguistic terms.

Thus, a common characteristic of the studies of ELF communication and translanguaging is a constitutive wrestling with already established (socio)linguistic demarcations. Keeping this in mind, the pivotal conceptual shift ELF and translanguaging researchers need to undertake to study *languaging*, is to genuinely think ‘language/languaging’ beyond the ‘E’ and the ‘trans’. This in fact implies to recognize that “the strategies attributed to multilingual and multicultural ELF users are not essentially different in kind from those employed by ‘monolingual’ and ‘monocultural’ communicators.” (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2022: 459). The critical and significant point for the study of ELF and translanguaging is, that the strategies become more evident in situations where speakers have to make do with whatever

linguistic resource at hand to reach common ground of understanding and language use (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247).

(2) The role of transformation:

The studies of ELF communication and translanguaging share the insight that languaging practices potentially transform established concepts and conventions of language (use), as well as interactional spaces and speakers themselves. Positioning ELF communication as a translanguaging phenomenon, Cogo (2016: 10, added emphasis) observes that ELF users are “using whatever resources available in their multilingual repertoire and *transforming* them to make them accessible and understandable in context”. In the given case, the “transformation” concerns the strategic appropriation of conventional linguistic forms for the purposes of reaching intended communicative effects in linguaculturally diverse encounters (Cogo 2016; cf. 2010). Complementing this view, translanguaging research foregrounds that (trans)languaging may also transform the understanding of language itself and of the related practices of identification: it opens a *translanguaging space*, “where new identities, new subjectivities, and new ideologies are being constituted and reconstituted” (Li 2016b: 20; cf. 2011). We find such considerations also in ELF research, where it is pointed out that the global use of ELF communication brings with it a “renewal of identities” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 85) in linguistic terms.

Thus, both strands of languaging research put emphasis on the transformative potential of the languaging phenomena they observe (i.e. ELF communication and translanguaging). It is to be noted, however, that the literature often remains vague about the primary state of the entity that undergoes transformation. Considering the challenge to traditional views of language, it may be assumed that the kind of transformation most translanguaging and ELF-communication researchers think of corresponds to the conceptual shift from ‘language’ to ‘languaging’. Amongst the transforming entities named by both fields are linguistic forms, functions, practices, concepts of language, communicative spaces of interaction, and speakers themselves.

(3) A natural human capability:

Process-oriented ELF research and translanguaging studies put emphasis on a natural human capability for languaging, rather than on communicative competence[43], when it comes to

[43] The idea and term of ‘communicative competence’ goes back to Hymes (1972), who famously defined it as the abstract knowledge that allows language users to assess the grammatical possibility of an expression, its feasibility in terms of being decipherable, its contextual appropriacy, and whether an expression is actually performed, i.e. attested, as such in the

handling the problem of lingual communication. This emphasis concerns both the exploitation of the variability of linguistic resources for communicative effect and the transformative potential of languaging practices. In translanguaging theory, humans are considered to have a “translanguaging instinct” (Li 2016a; cf. 2018: 24–28). It is defined as “an innate capacity to draw on as many different cognitive and semiotic resources as are available to them to interpret meaning intentions and to design actions accordingly” (Li 2016a: 541). While the translanguaging instinct is defined as an innate human capacity, the availability of resources in the linguistic environment of speakers is considered to play an important role in the degrees to which they may develop this capacity, and “live out” their translanguaging instinct. For example, speakers may be constrained by a monolingual habitus in the educational institutions they engage with (Gogolin 1997). Opening translanguaging spaces (in education) is hence considered vital for the development of individual speakers’ capacity for translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge 2010b; García 2014; García & Li 2014). Note, however, that a differentiation between “monolingual” and “multilingual” languaging practices, reinvokes the notion of “trans” in the sense of passing over the boundaries of languages.

Regarding the need for (trans)languaging spaces, ELF researchers have also called for “encourag[ing] learners to develop a capability for exploiting linguistic resources to communicative effect, i.e. for languaging, rather than getting them to conform to a prescribed competence” (Seidlhofer 2015a: 26). This rationale is based on the understanding of an innate languaging capability that is comparable to the innate capacity for translanguaging described in translanguaging theory: language users are considered to “*naturally* draw on the encoding resources of languages other than English to produce hybrid message forms” (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017: 32, added emphasis). By putting emphasis on the human capability for languaging, both ELF and translanguaging research detach speakers’ handling of the problem of lingual communication from the traditionally emphasized native speaker competence. Instead of initiation and cultural assimilation to established norms of language use, the problem of lingual communication appears to be a matter of continuous learning and unlearning, of flexibility, and the situated appropriation of linguistic forms and functions.

established conventions of ‘a speech community’. Inspiring the communicative language approach to language teaching, the concept is one of the most received, revised, and further developed ones in the field of language learning, teaching, and assessment (cf. Brumfit & Johnson 1979; Canale & Swain 1980; Bachman 1990). Studies on communicative competence and ways of implementing a communicative language teaching approach are still flourishing today (e.g. Cloudia Ho 2020; Adem & Berkessa 2022; Doeur 2022). Despite consideration of contemporary multilingual languaging practices, however, it has been pointed out that traditional ideals of (nativespeaker) competence, linguistic demarcations of languages, homogeneous speech communities, and a linear path of acquisition still permeate newer versions of, e.g. ‘plurilingual competence’ as it is used in the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2018). For critical discussions on current concepts of communicative competence, see Seidlhofer & Widdowson (2017), Pitzl (2017), Rydell (2018), and Knechtelsdorfer (2023a).

In addition, both ELF and translanguaging studies emphasize that individual speakers develop their capability for (trans)languaging in response to the interactional spaces and stimuli that speakers confronted—responses which have an integral component of learning about the world more generally. In the notion of translanguaging put forward by Li (2016a, 2018), the development of the innate translanguaging capacity and its acting out are inseparable from cognitive processes of (re)constructing what is already known. This understanding is very similar to the ideas of languaging that Seidlhofer (2011b) draws upon to conceptualize ELF. In her seminal work on the conceptualization of ELF, ‘languaging’ is referred to as:

- Communicative language use that is interaction with the world and others by which “we may come to a new understanding, a new insight—we develop and learn” (Swain 2006: 98).
- “[A]n endless social process of orienting and reorienting ourselves to environment” (Becker 2000: 288, quoted in Argaman 2008: 483).
- “[T]he full, embodied and engaged interaction with the world that comes when we put languages […] into action” (Phipps 2007: 12) (Seidlhofer 2011b: 98).

Following from the outlined views of languaging, the studies of ELF communication and translanguaging show a considerable overlap in the emphasis on and the understanding of the human capability for handling the problem of lingual communication: humans are considered to have a natural capacity for (trans)languaging, which involves cognitive, linguistic, and affective dimensions of (language) learning. This kind of “learning” may be described with reference to an early definition of (language) learning as a process that “proceeds by unlearning, by recurrent revisions of previous knowledge” (Widdowson 1984: 21).

(4) The link between agency and capability:

Studies of ELF communication and translanguaging set a close link between speaker agency and the development of the human capability for languaging. This emphasis concerns the agentive and strategic exploitation of the variability of linguistic resources for communicative effect, and of the transformative potential of languaging practices. Introducing the notions of languaging listed above, Seidlhofer (2011b) highlights that in ELF communication,

> we see again and again how people use the language to negotiate meanings with each other in communicative contexts, and do on-line interactional work. This performing process highlights *the agency of speakers* and so calls to mind the notion of languaging. (Seidlhofer 2011b: 98, added emphasis)

Likewise, in the context of translanguaging theory, García (2014: 95, added emphasis) writes: “the social features that are called upon by speakers in a seamless and complex network of

multiple semiotic signs […] are linked to broader sociopolitical systems, creating *possibilities for agency and resistance*”. The quotes illustrate that both, ELF communication and translanguaging, are considered phenomena that demonstrate and reveal the degrees of how speakers assume agency in the process of languaging. The respective indicators of such agency are the observed form-meaning negotiations in which speakers engage as appropriate to the communicative and social needs of the encounter. Moreover, regardless of native speaker status, language users are considered “agents of language change” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 8). This is a substantial difference to traditional views of language, where the appropriation of linguistic forms and functions is reserved to the native speakers, or “owners” of a language (cf. Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 2011b: 50).

Considering the concept of ‘agency’ as such, the literature of ELF research and translanguaging tend to remain rather vague. Broadly viewed, they tend to emphasize the link between the human capability for languaging and individual speaker agency. Therefore, relational conceptualizations of agency in sociology, such as the one put forward by Emirbayer and Mische (1998), may be referred to for explication. Such reference lies near because relational understandings of agency can also be found in AL literature about practices of language use and which focuses on questions of equity and social justice in linguistic diversity (e.g. Canagarajah 2013; Radinger 2018; Lehner 2020; Erling et al. 2023a). Based on relational concepts of agency, the development of the human agentive capacity is linked with the confrontation of changing and dynamic situations (Mead 1932; Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Ahearn 2001). As Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 1006) put forward, “[a]ctors who face changing situations that demand (or facilitate) the reconstruction of temporal perspectives can expand their capacity for imaginative and/or deliberative response.” This understanding of agency resembles the above-described idea of languaging via ELF communication as a process of learning and unlearning (Widdowson 1984: 21). Additionally, as outlined above, both translanguaging and ELF communication studies are based on the assumption that the complexity of globalized and superdiverse linguistic environments calls speakers to assume agency in languaging and develop their languaging capability. ELF scholars have emphasized the significance of the study of ELF communication for observing speakers’ agentive reaction to these more general demands:

> The significance of ELF is not that it reveals a different communicative use of language, but that since its users cannot assume common knowledge of socially shared lingua-cultural conventions, there is greater reliance on *individual initiative* in the negotiation of meaning and interpersonal positioning, and in consequence these essential pragmatic tactics of communicative use are made more evident. (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247, added emphasis)

Similarly, the theory of translanguaging is proposed as a practical theory of the kind of languaging practices that speakers agentively exercise in response to the social structures in which they are embedded (Li 2018: 10–11). In both translanguaging and ELF communication studies, we find an emphasis on the inextricable relationships between the human capability for languaging, complex conditions of communicative interaction, and the question of how speakers respond to these conditions by assuming agency as languaging subjects.

In sum, based on the comparison of the study of ELF communication and the study of translanguaging, it can be said that they are both instantiations of a greater turn towards the study of languaging in AL. I explicated these relationships because the research of this thesis takes its starting point in ELF research and eventually opens to investigations of experiences of languaging more generally (chapters 7–9). The four described relationships between ELF research and translanguaging research stand for the characteristics of a broader field of AL languaging research. Based on this description, I later draw implications of this research for the study of ELF communication *and* the broader AL study of languaging (chapter 10, 10.3). Bridging to the subsequent section, a fifth parallel between the fields of ELF and translanguaging research may be named: by engaging with issues of the recognition and agency of speakers, both have developed socially and politically oriented strands of enquiry. For reasons of scope, I will refocus the elaborations on ELF research to review those socially and politically engaged efforts most relevant for pointing out the need to address the blind spot of the favourability bias in ELF research.

3.3. Arguments of real-world relevance

Since the beginnings of ELF research, many researchers’ academic interest in the phenomenon has gone hand in hand with efforts into the social recognition of the traditionally so-called ‘non-native’ users of English as legitimate and agentive users of ELF (cf. Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 2000b; 2011b). Underlining the significance of such efforts, Seidlhofer remarks in 2001, when the field of ELF research was gaining more attention,

> evidence of ELF as a use in its own right, and ELF speakers as language users in their own right, have not yet entered people’s consciousness, not even in the case of colleagues who have dedicated their working lives to protecting human language rights. (Seidlhofer 2001: 137)

Regarding the recognition of ELF users, the domain of language education receives particular attention in the body of literature[44]. The social efforts of ELF scholars, however, also extend beyond language teaching and learning. While a comprehensive overview extends the scope of this thesis, this section reviews some of the more socially and politically engaged investments of ELF research, which illustrate how insights have been received, and how scholars have argued for the real-world relevance of their findings[45].

ELF scholars have been taking issue with the theory and practice of language teaching in particular. For example, putting ELF research on the map of English language teaching and learning research early on, Seidlhofer (1996, 1997, 1999, 2005b) problematizes the conceptual gap between how English is traditionally conceptualized and how it is observed to be used in ELF communication. Additionally, her work is invested in the reconsideration of the unquestioned status of *communicative competence* as the aim of institutional language learning and teaching, and elaborates on the concept of the human *capability for languaging* and its implications for language education (Seidlhofer 1999; 2000a, 2004; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017). Explorations of concrete models of English language education, such as those by Kohn (2011, 2016, 2018), describe how the phenomenon of ELF communication challenges traditional foreign language schooling. In his research, Kohn develop a social constructivist view that is intended to support learners with developing their English as “MY English” (Kohn 2018). Dewey (2012) furthermore suggests a post-normative approach as a “pedagogy of ELF”. The provided examples illustrate that ELF research has invested in discourses of language education, seeking to contribute to discourses of Second Language Acquisition research (SLA) and Teaching of English to speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Still in 2014, May (2014) points out that these discourses and the TESOL industry had remained largely unperturbed by the “multilingual turn”, even though the languaging oriented strand of research gathered momentum already in the late 1990s. Few researchers in SLA (e.g. Ortega 2018; 2019; Tracy-Ventura et al. 2014; Ortega & Han 2017) were yet concerned with the conceptual and practical implications of an increasingly linguaculturally diverse and complex society.

If ELF researchers seek to contribute to discourses like SLA and TESOL, the question is of course why they should be heard. One line of argument for the relevance of ELF research to the theory and practice of language education is that the description of ELF communication

[44] This is also true for translanguaging research. There scholars extend the description of translanguaging as a process of languaging (Jonsson 2013), to translanguaging pedagogies and a stance in language education (García et al. 2017: 49–60), and a political attitude in matters of multilingualism (Li 2022).

[45] For a more comprehensive overview *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca* (Jenkins et al. 2018) may be consulted. It gives a tentative outline of the socially and politically relevant dimensions of ELF research and includes a part dedicated to “ELF, policy, and pedagogy” (Part VI).

can help learners, users, and teachers of English with understanding and potentially resolving the incongruities between ‘the English’ as it is still widely taught (i.e. geared towards traditional ideals of homogeneous speech communities), and English as it is used as a lingua franca and experienced outside the classroom by users across the globe (e.g. Seidlhofer 2005a; 2011b, 2010, 2015a; Pitzl 2017; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017; Dewey 2012; Cogo et al. 2021; Knechtelsdorfer 2023b)[46]. Seidlhofer (2001) moreover emphasizes the social and political significance of conceptualizing ELF communication with regard to the positioning of the so-called ‘non-native’ English language teacher in this world:

> [I]f ELF is conceptualized and accepted as a distinct manifestation of ‘English’ not tied to its native speakers, this opens up entirely new options for the way the world’s majority of English teachers can perceive and define themselves: instead of being ‘non-native’ speakers and perennial learners of ENL (English Native Language), *they can be competent and authoritative users of ELF*. (Seidlhofer 2001: 152, added emphasis)

A motivation and legitimization for ELF researchers to engage with matters of the theory and practice of language learning and teaching thus follows the basic AL interest in mediating between language theory and practice. Foregrounding the social interest, the relevance of ELF research lies in engaging with ‘the English’ people use and encounter in their everyday lives, and to attempt at better understanding and potentially resolving the problems they experience. Thereby, the experience of ELF users can gain more recognition in theoretical and practical considerations of SLA and TESOL.

Extending beyond language education, ELF researchers have argued for and demonstrated relevance of their findings in addressing issues of *voice* more generally. Famously defined by Hymes (2003b), the concept of ‘voice’ comprises two kinds of freedom:

> One is a kind of negative freedom, freedom from denial of opportunity due to something linguistic, whether in speaking or reading or writing. One is a kind of positive freedom, freedom for satisfaction in the use of language, for language to be a source of imaginative life and satisfying form. (Hymes 2003b: 64)

ELF research attends to issues of voice where it investigates how ELF users assume agency in the languaging process and exploit available linguistic resources for the purposes of communicative effect. For example, ELF users are found to communicate successfully independently from established native speaker conventions. Insistence on established norms and conventions, was in fact found to impede communicative processes (Cogo & Dewey 2006;

[46] A brief look into translanguaging research reveals a very similar line of argumentation: “[t]oday’s language education programmes […] cannot reflect diglossic language arrangements, as language addition and/or language maintenance are not appropriate goals. Instead, language education programmes must seek *languaging sustainability*, which refers to the capacity for language practices to endure, but always *in interaction* with social context in which they operate.” (García 2014: 96, original emphasis).

Canagarajah 2007; Hülmbauer 2007; Cogo 2016). Such evidence bears the implication that traditional (socio)linguistic concepts and the initiation view of the problem of lingual communication can put constraints on speaker voice. The basic notions of the principle linguistic variability of language and speakers’ capability for exploiting it in communication of the process-oriented view of ELF communication, are instead considered to “conve[y] a sense of a *liberating* additional means of communication, increasing the repertoire of languages that speakers rely on to function effectively in all areas of their professional and private lives” (Seidlhofer 2011b: 80, added emphasis). Providing a corresponding image for ‘ELF’ as a resource of communication, Seidlhofer (2011b: 81) interprets the notion of ‘franca’ in ‘ELF’ following the Old French sense of ‘franc’ which means ‘free’. In more contemporary terms, ELF is also described as an *open-source phenomenon* (Seidlhofer 2012: 403; House 2013: 281; Saraceni 2015: 166). Thereby, ELF communication is positioned as a kind of language use that stands for great opportunities for seizing linguistic freedom, speaker agency and voice—in the words of Seidlhofer (2011b: 80), ‘lingua franca’ “can refer to a mode of language use which is […] both liberating and effective for personal expression”.

As ELF research strongly suggests a link between traditional views of language use and constraining effects on speaker voice, a substantial number of studies have investigated speaker attitudes and ideologies of language. Some also explore ways of changing these attitudes. Drawing upon literature on AL as a field of enquiry, it may be said that such studies of ELF research follow the AL concern “with the relation of knowledge about language to decision making in the real world” (Cook 2003: 5). Studies investigate, for example, the presence of native- and standard-language ideologies in speaker attitudes and identity formation (e.g. Jenkins 2007; 2009; Kaur 2014; Kaur & Raman 2014; Soler-Carbonell 2014; Baird & Baird 2018). Many such studies have been conducted in Asian contexts (e.g. Galloway & Rose 2013; Ishikawa 2017; Murata 2016; Konakahara & Tsuchiya 2020). Furthermore, language ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes of English language teachers and students are studied to gain insight into institutionalized habitus as regards linguistic diversity in the educational domains (e.g. Llurda 2009; 2018; Ploywattanawong & Trakulkasemsuk 2014; Cogo & Siqueira 2017). It is to be pointed out that similar research is conducted by studies in English language teaching research and multilingualism (e.g. Erling et al. 2021; Erling et al. 2023b). These are often situated in contexts where learners of English can be considered users of ELF. As the studies often do not draw upon discourses of ELF research, it would be misleading, however, to position them as “ELF literature”.

Turning to the question of reception of insights from ELF research across the heterogeneous field of AL, transformative effects are indicated by theoretical discourses on language testing, immigration policies, and language planning. Engaged with these contexts, McNamara (2012), Lo Bianco (2014), and Dorn et al. (2014), for example, draw upon ELF research to argue against established practices that constrain speaker voice. However, ELF research also keeps seeing a need for efforts to transform educational policies, documents, and coursebooks. Regarding TESOL, Seidlhofer conceded in 2010 and 2012 that despite a recognition of the worldwide use of ELF, reference works for educational practice like curricula, policy documents, and testing and teaching materials, “are still informed by notions of NS [native speaker] competence and based on the assumption […] that this is the objective that learners are expected to aim for” (Seidlhofer 2010: 73). More than ten years later, the native-speaker ideal and standard language ideologies are still present in language education, as recent work reveals (e.g. Hall & Cunningham 2020; Cogo 2022; Knechtelsdorfer 2023b). For example, the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) is the most impactful policy paper in the landscape of European language education and assessment (cf. Little 2006; Deygers et al. 2018; Díez-Bedmar & Byram 2019). Over the years, it has seen several revisions to better fit the “multilingual” reality of language users today (Council of Europe 2018; 2020). Following close analysis of the revised 2020 version of the CEFR, however, Knechtelsdorfer (2023b: 99–100) finds that “while the term native speaker cannot be found in the scales any longer, it seems that underneath the terminology the native speaker is still alive and well.”

Recognizing the areas that ELF research can still contribute to socially and politically, it must also be acknowledged that for various reasons and efforts *beyond* the field of ELF research, the so-called “multilingual turn” is becoming a reality in language (teacher) education. At the same time, the example of the CEFR above illustrates that the recognition of “multilingualism” as a reality does not necessarily entail a shift from an initiation to a languaging view of the problem of lingual communication. This is also the case within ELF research, as revealed by the differences between a process- and product-oriented study of ELF communication discussed in section 3.1 above. Indicators of the recognition of contemporary linguistic diversity in the Austrian context are recently implemented mandatory courses on language and multilingualism in teacher education programmes (cf. Universität Wien 2021; 2022; Universität Graz 2021). Furthermore, recent research on teachers’ perspectives on students’ multilingualism and English learning abilities in schools with great linguistic diversity indicates that language-related attitudes have changed (Erling et al. 2023a). Considering that ELF research has had a strong focus on the role of traditional language ideologies and related

attitudes, these findings may also point to an overrepresentation by research of negative attitudes amongst teachers. Erling et al. (2023a: 98) highlight that instead of deficit perspectives, they found beliefs and practices “which create pockets of possibility for multilingual students learning English”.

Imagining a scale of socially “committed language sciences” (AILA 2024), ELF research also covers projects more immediately involved with practitioners of, for example, language education. These projects typically build on the assumption of the transformative potential of (the concept of) ELF communication. As outlined earlier by reference to the notion of the translanguaging space (section 3.2), the theory and practice of ELF communication are considered to open interactional spaces where established practices of language and categorization of speakers and languages can be challenged and re-negotiated. To facilitate realizing this potential in English language teaching, a number of scholars have developed educational material, activities, and programmes for raising the “ELF awareness” of the stakeholders of education (e.g. Sifakis 2007; Pedrazzini & Nava 2011; Dewey 2012; Dewey & Patsko 2018; Sifakis et al. 2018; Baker 2022; Cogo 2022). Furthermore, outstanding in scope and immediate involvement with teachers and students are two ERASMUS+ projects: one on pedagogical differentiation through telecollaboration in intercultural and content integrated language teaching (conducted by Kohn and his team of the TeCoLa project, 2016–2019); and another one developing teacher training and materials aimed at more inclusive multilingual classrooms through “ELF aware” teaching practice (conducted by Sifakis and his team of the ENRICH project, 2018–2021). Much smaller in scope, colleagues at the University of Vienna and I offered a continuous development course for English language teachers in Austria[47]. In this course we treated the relevance of ELF research for English language teaching more like a hypothesis and explored with teachers whether and in how far ELF theory could enlighten their understanding of the experiences they made, the problems they encountered, and vice versa.

Making a transition to the following section (3.4), ELF research has in sum provided good reason for the AL relevance of its findings and demonstrated also how it may support speaker voice, agency, and the situation of learners/users of ELF in particular. However, reminding of the controversy on the nature of AL (chapter 2, 2.1), there is good reason to always also keep a sceptical attitude towards generalizations and intended effects when it comes to

[47] This course was provided in cooperation of researchers based at the University of Vienna (Beate Clayson-Knollmayer, Sandra Radinger, Stefanie Riegler) and the ecumenically governed University College of Teacher Education Vienna/Krems (Eva Knechtelsdorfer). It spanned two terms (Winter 2021 & Summer 2022). Lessons learned and ideas for further development were presented and discussed with ELF colleagues in the symposium *Lingua Franca Communication and Language Teacher Education: The Challenge of Change* held at the Second Language Teacher Education conference at the University of Vienna in 2022 (https://slted2022.univie.ac.at).

social and political engagement of AL. ELF research widely speaks of positive implications for speaker agency and communicative effect in a globalized and superdiverse world. But these effects are not a given, nor is the relevance of ELF theory to concrete contexts. Ideas and findings from any research can only be “*made* relevant in reference to other perceptions and perspectives that define the context of the problem” (Widdowson 2000: 5, added emphasis). To avoid imposition of an “ELF perspective” on concrete contexts and people, “[a]dvancing an intercultural citizenship and ELF agenda” (Costa 2022) and “ELF awareness” (Sifakis 2014) must not proceed without thorough mediation between perspectives—even if the researchers’ intention is to “achiev[e] intelligibility and conviviality in and through ELF interaction” (Costa 2022: 122). The significance of AL mediation between ELF theory and concrete contexts of interaction is underlined by the research gap I draw attention to below, i.e. the favourability bias in ELF research.

3.4. The favourability bias—an unaddressed issue

In the field of ELF research, few researchers (Seidlhofer 2004; 2020b; Jenks 2012; Ortega 2018) have addressed and acknowledged *the favourability bias* as an issue in ELF research so far. In this section, I review what is known about this bias in ELF research and complement this knowledge by relevant discussions of similar bias in other fields of research. Additionally, I point out the AL relevance of correcting this bias, and thereby also the motivation for this thesis. First, however, a terminological note is necessary.

Using the term ‘favourability’ to describe the bias in question, the term refers to the interactional conditions in which communication takes place: relatively *favourable* conditions are, for example, if interlocutors meet on relatively equal terms, are willing to cooperate in the co-construction of meaning, have a shared interest in understanding each other, relatively low stakes as regards the outcome of the interaction, and a socioeconomically rather privileged background; rather *unfavourable* conditions are for example, if the distribution of power amongst speakers is imbalanced, if there are diverging interests as regards the outcome of the encounter, and high stakes are involved for only one of the speakers. As I differentiate between rather favourable and unfavourable conditions, it needs to be pointed out that a binary classification can only be provisional: in the light of the complexity and fluidity of communicative spaces in globalized and superdiverse societies, favourability of conditions is a matter of degree rather than of clear-cut categorization. For now, the binary differentiation serves the purpose of enabling an address and assessment of the scope of the favourability bias in ELF research.

Reviewing literature that addresses the favourability bias as an issue in ELF research, the bias shows *empirically* in the form of unbalanced databases that lean strongly towards favourable conditions of communication (Seidlhofer 2004: 219; 2020b: 30). Studies on ELF communication are widely based on data from socioeconomically rather privileged speakers, and settings where interlocutors can rely on basic mutual benevolence and interest in each other (Seidlhofer 2020b). Looking into corpora used in ELF research, most data are from consensus-oriented interactions in the domains of education, leisure, and business—and from speakers with a relatively high educational and socioeconomic status. The *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE 2021) and its sister corpus *Asian corpus of English* (ACE 2024)[48], comprise interactions from educational, leisure, and professional contexts which focus on interactions of business, organisation, and research. The corpus *English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings* (ELFA 2008), is limited to the academic domain and was compiled at Finnish universities. It includes monologue-like spoken events like lectures and presentations, and dialogic events such as seminars, thesis defences, and conference discussions. Certainly, power hierarchies are also an issue in interactions between lecturers and students, and between renowned scholars and early career researchers. Still the ELFA corpus engages exclusively with speakers from higher education backgrounds and rather privileged socioeconomic status. The bias towards favourable conditions also shows in the literature. Only a handful of studies engage with high-stakes encounters and rather unfavourable conditions like immigration and asylum seeking procedures (Guido 2012; 2014, 2016, 2018; Cogo 2020) and medical consultation settings (Ting & Cogo 2022). There is a considerable gap in empirical research on ELF communication in relatively unfavourable conditions.

Conceptually, the bias shows in descriptions of ELF communication which widely ignore relationships between communicative conditions of an encounter and speakers’ languaging. Seidlhofer (2020b: 30) points out that some researchers have come to think of ELF as generally cooperative and mutually supportive kind of language use. Some scholars describe these features as intrinsic to ELF talk: Meierkord (2000: n.p., added emphasis) for example, argues that ELF studies “stress the cooperative *nature* of lingua franca communication”; similarly, Mauranen (2010: 14) concludes that “[c]ooperativeness has been found to be highly characteristic of ELF”. Very early, however, Seidlhofer (2004: 219) emphasizes that the observed cooperative languaging behaviour might also be a feature of the situational conditions and purposes for which interlocutors meet, rather than of ELF communication *per se*. Criticism

[48] Both, VOICE and the ACE corpus, have seen revisions with regard to corpus features and their technological interfaces which reflects in the recency of the years cited. The years of first releases are 2009 for VOICE, and 2014 for the ACE corpus.

of the all too convivial image of ELF communication was also raised by a study on the use of ELF in online voice-based chatrooms: “what is normal for some interactants in some instances is the need to highlight problems or troubles in communication through laughter, joking, and ridicule” (Jenks 2012: 403). Reviewing research perspectives on ELF, Widdowson (2020b) more recently emphasized: in globalization and superdiversity people may use ELF as a communicative means for getting to know each other, for supporting each other, and so on; however, it may equally be used to effectuate “exploitation, oppression, [and the violation of] human rights and social and individual identity” (Widdowson 2020b: 26). One may add, ELF may also be used where interests do not lie primarily in conviviality and neither in oppression, but simply in getting things done like working on oil rigs and construction sites (cf. Handford & Matous 2015). In addition to the empirical favourability bias, there is a conceptual neglect of the not so convivial and the more mundane purposes of communication, as well as of the more unfavourable conditions of ELF communication.

Except of the few scholars mentioned above, the favourability bias has been hardly addressed and recognized as an issue in ELF research so far. Therefore, the way to correction is still long. From an AL perspective it is a clear desideratum to close this research gap. As outlined in the previous sections (3.1–3.3), the study of ELF communication has shown great potential for understanding the processes of languaging in globalization and superdiversity: because ELF communication is a phenomenon inextricably intertwined with these developments, ELF research can describe the kind of language-related issues globalization and superdiversity have brought about and which characterize the language experience of speakers today (cf. Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247). Ignorance and neglect of the favourability bias, however, limit the potential of ELF research where it is particularly needed from an AL point of view. This is where speakers face unfavourable conditions of communication, which often relates to systemic disadvantage, and where issues of voice and agency become apparent with great urgency, such as in high-stakes encounters (cf. Seidlhofer 2020b). The favourability bias in ELF research thus represents an “AL problem” in the sense of impeding the fulfilment of the AL causes of understanding and potentially resolving of real-world problems in which language is a major issue.

Continuing from the few who have recognized the favourability bias as an issue and gap in ELF research, the question is, *how can it be corrected?* The most obvious way is empirically, by more balanced databases and studies on ELF communication in less favourable settings and with less privileged speakers, as suggested by Seidlhofer (2020b: 35). While acknowledging the need for such databases and empirical research, I also see considerable obstacles to

achieving such balance, at least in the nearer future of about 20 years or so. In this thesis I will thus argue for and develop an additional path of correction, which lies tackling the favourability bias at the levels of theory, analysis, and research approach. Before, however, I explicate the challenges ELF research faces in correcting the favourability bias empirically, by drawing upon observations of favourability bias in other fields of research, particularly in research on SLA.

The first two challenges of achieving balanced databases in terms of favourability of communicative conditions of ELF, are related to researcher positionality and access to ELF encounters in less favourable conditions. First, the favourability bias is far from unique to ELF research but is, because of researchers’ own typically privileged status, often overlooked by whole disciplines. For example, in behavioural science and human psychology, Henrich et al. (2010; cf. Henrich 2020) find that the studies published by the world’s top journals are widely based on data from “the weirdest people in the world”, i.e. from people who live in “Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic societies”. Second, once the bias is acknowledged, there are still pragmatic obstacles of getting access to data from encounters in unfavourable conditions. It is, for example, difficult to be admitted to interactions like asylum seeking interviews, medical treatments, and language testing situations with gate-keeping functions. Such interactions involve sensitive data about participants in vulnerable situations. Vulnerability here does not just concern the clients but also representatives of institutions, as they can become the objects of potential criticism against institutions as well as of the institutions who hold them responsible for what was otherwise established as institutional practice. In addition, if oppressive regimes are in play, institutions are typically shielded from third-party observers. Furthermore, catching data from high-stakes encounters is difficult since such encounters are often unplanned, like interactions between police forces and civilians. Considering researchers’ own position, it is thus easier for them to reach out to students and people somehow related to universities than to people from environments and contexts rather far from the reality researchers live in. Where such contexts are entered through ethnographic approaches, researchers typically enter those fields as outsiders and need to invest time and effort in building up necessary rapport with participants. Such rapport is essential to be given the permission to observe, record, interview and follow them through their daily life. In sum, the listed obstacles can be overcome—and ELF researchers should certainly take the challenge. However, the obstacles also illustrate that a balanced database of ELF communication in terms of favourability will be likely to remain an ideal and a long-term project that requires collaborative and continuous efforts of the whole field.

Additionally, there are challenges to reach more balanced databases which relate to a more research-procedural kind. These can be derived from Ortega’s (2018, 2019) criticism of bias in SLA research[49]. The first relates to the limitations of the “golden rule of generalizability” (Ortega 2019: 34) in AL research. As outlined in chapter 2 (2.1), AL takes an interest in the particular experiences and problems of speakers so as to engage in theorizing that can “give us a different take on reality, to enable us to make sense of experience, and reformulate our ‘real world problems’ in ways that make them more amenable to solution” (Widdowson 2020a: 29). Because AL engages with the particular, generalizations have clear limitations. Additionally, if ELF research follows the principles of AL from a languaging-oriented view, the object of research, i.e. ELF communication, must be considered a phenomenon that is responsive to the conditions of interaction *in situ*. A process-oriented perspective on ELF communication thereby hits the limitations of generalizability earlier than studies which are concerned with the categorization of linguistic forms into abstract linguistic systems that are more independent from particular situations, like the product-oriented study of ‘similects’ of ELF, for example (see section 3.1).

The just outlined research-procedural challenge for correcting the favourability bias in ELF research is related to the second. Ortega (2019) highlights that the favourability bias in SLA research is amongst other reasons maintained because the theory and methodology of (socio)linguistic research was developed for the study of ‘language’ as a linguistic system. Thereby, she argues, “linguistic-cognitive SLA has greatly developed the capacity to describe, explain, and support the kinds of multilingualism exhibited [and conceptualized] by elite multilinguals” (Ortega 2019: 38). Turning to ELF research, the process-oriented study of ELF communication faces the same challenges of overcoming ways of approaching linguistic research by frameworks and methods long taken for granted. It must re-assess methodological appropriacy of established approaches and develop ones which fit the description of languaging in globalized and superdiverse societies. This fact is acknowledged by ELF research, for which it has become a major concern to reconsider basic (socio)linguistic concepts, as described in

[49] In comparison to ELF research, the favourability bias in SLA research has been recognized and discussed more clearly already. Bigelow et al. (2006) and Tarone (2010) studied literacy in second language with participants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and challenge established SLA theories on effective language learning. Their studies critically discuss the lack of studies in SLA with less privileged populations. Ortega’s (2019) later criticism indicates, however, that the need for a broader recognition of the favourability bias in ‘mainstream’ SLA research is still an issue. This seems to be true for the Austrian context at least: in a comprehensive review of research in language teaching and learning from 2011 and 2017 (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2019) few of the studies mentioned engage with socioeconomically less privileged populations. While hardly represented in such bigger collections, there is research investigating performances of students in relation to school types, multilingualism, and socioeconomic privilege (e.g. Herzog-Punzenberger 2017; Erling et al. 2023b; Erling et al. 2021; Erling et al. 2023a).

section 3.1. In recognition of the favourability bias as a hardly addressed issue in ELF research, however, there seems to be need for additional effort into methodological and analytical reconsiderations by which ELF research studies the process of languaging. In this regard, the micro-diachronic approach by Pitzl (2022b), already mentioned in section 3.1, is an important contribution.

Considering the named challenges to achieving balanced databases and empirical research of ELF communication, a holistic approach to correcting the favourability bias in ELF research seems necessary. This means that attempts at its correction need to consider theoretical, methodological, and empirical complements to ELF research. This line of thought is pursued in this research. The following chapter 4 investigates the scope and nature of the favourability bias in ELF research in greater detail and thereby introduces the theoretical investigations of this thesis (Part II). Concluding the present chapter, I first reviewed the contributions of ELF research to the study and understanding of languaging and the phenomenon of ELF communication in particular (section 3.1). Then, I compared ELF and translanguaging research to point out four characteristics by which they can be situated within a greater field of languaging research in AL. Amongst these characteristics were (1) the challenge of overcoming traditional (socio)linguistic concepts; (2) the identification of transformative potential of (trans)languaging practices and respective conceptualizations of ‘language’ and ‘speakers’; (3) the assumption of a basic natural capability for (trans)languaging; and (4) the emphasis on speaker agency (section 3.2). Furthermore, I foregrounded the AL interest in ELF research and reviewed ELF scholars’ more immediate engagement with solving issues of speaker voice and agency especially in the educational domains (section 3.3). Finally, in this section I drew attention to the neglected favourability bias in ELF research and the AL relevance of correcting it: because of this bias, ELF research has untapped potential for understanding the kinds of language-related problems that speakers experience in everyday life and that AL seeks to address. Considering ELF use in situations of the so far neglected unfavourable conditions of communication, a correction of the favourability bias is highly due.

Part II
Theoretical investigations

4. The central but neglected notion of ‘availability’

Opening the theoretical explorations of how to tackle the favourability bias in ELF research, this chapter zooms in on the central notion and term of *availability*. This notion features prominently in the theorization and empirical description of ELF communication, where it is used to refer to the range of the linguistic resources speakers may draw upon in languaging by virtue of their linguistic repertoires. Taking a closer look at these uses, however, it is revealed that the literature is rather vague about what makes linguistic resources ‘available’ and accessible for languaging in situ. Self-evidently it seems to be assumed that linguistic resources are available for use if they have been acquired by a speaker in the past at some point. In the light of the favourability bias, however, the critical question to about availability is whether and how communicative conditions of an encounter have enabling and constraining effects on speakers’ linguistic room for manoeuvre.

By examining the notion of ‘availability’ in ELF research, the investigations of this chapter reveal theoretical and analytical gaps that contribute to the favourability bias in addition to the unbalanced databases of empirical ELF research. To close these gaps, I draw upon biographical approaches and space-oriented notions of the linguistic repertoire. Section 4.1 illustrates the central yet underspecified status of the notion of ‘availability’ in the definition and description of ELF communication. Section 4.2 explicates the need for more relational understandings to complement the concept of ‘availability’ in ELF research: I undertake a close reading of Guido’s (2012) study on the use of ELF in the immigration domains and of Seidlhofer’s (2020b) later reference to this study. The analysis reveals that the neglect of communicative conditions in the notion of ‘availability’ of linguistic resources implies a tendency to reduce explanations of communicative success to speaker willingness. Section 4.3 problematizes this tendency in the light of contemporary neoliberal transformations of society. I discuss how it plays into the hands of ideologies that responsibilize individuals for (solving) problems of a more societal, structural kind. Section 4.3 turns to biographical approaches to studying lived language experience and to space-oriented concepts of the linguistic repertoire. I delineate how these complement predominant theoretical frameworks in ELF research can serve the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research. Summarizing the gained understanding of ‘availability’, section 4.5 eventually takes stock of what the excursus into related fields of languaging research has offered against the favourability bias in ELF research so far.

4.1. 'Availability' in ELF research

The notion of 'availability' plays a key role in definitions and descriptions of ELF communication. This is illustrated by Table 4, which provides quotes from frequently cited literature, listed in chronological order of publication.

Table 4: 'Availability' in ELF research, quotes with added emphasis.

i.	"The point is, however, that these norms are inherent in the virtual language at different levels. They are not those which have been grammatically fixed as the standard language of ENL, and they are *available* for exploitation in ELF." (Seidlhofer 2011b: 118)
ii.	"ELF as a medium of communication can be liberating since for many speakers, its use seems to encourage a relatively unconstrained exploitation of the resources of English and a readiness to draw on resources *available* through plurilingual channels." (Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer 2013: 400)
iii.	"I suggest that we define English as a lingua franca simply as the use of English in a lingua franca scenario. A language scenario is here to be understood as the linguistic resources *available* in a given communicative encounter between two or more speakers by virtue of their individual language repertoires." (Mortensen 2013: 36)
iv.	"[…] what I am talking about could be called 'English as a Multilingua Franca,' with the following working definition: Multilingual communication in which English is *available* as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen." (Jenkins 2015: 73)
v.	"[…] for English as a Multilingua Franca, English is not seen as optional but is always potentially 'in the mix'. It is also different from other orientations to ELF, as although it is always potentially *available* to everyone in the interaction, it is not necessarily used. The reasons for its use, non-use, and partial use, however, remain for now an empirical question." (Jenkins 2015: 75)
vi.	"[P]articipants in these exchanges are not trying to find the 'correct English word', but are using whatever resources *available* in their multilingual repertoire and transforming them to make them accessible and understandable in context." (Cogo 2016: 10)
vii.	"But in the dynamic interplay of the different factors in the communicative process, these forms are compounded expediently from whatever linguistic resources are immediately *available* to the participants, whatever their competences in the source languages might be." (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017: 33)
viii.	"These interrogations [i.e. immigration interviews] are very often carried out in English used as a lingua franca being the only means of communication *available* to both sides." (Seidlhofer 2020b: 31)
ix.	"And ELF users, like everybody else, draw on whatever encoding resources are *available* to them to communicate their meanings and relate to others as best they can to serve their purposes and to meet the contingencies of context." (Widdowson 2020b: 24)

In all the quotes listed in Table 4, the notion of 'availability' plays a key role in defining a potential or actual use of ELF:

- Quotes iii, iv, v, and viii, draw upon this notion to foreground the simultaneous presence of various linguistic resources in an ELF encounter, and/or the presence of ELF as a linguistic resource specifically; "presence" seems to imply "availability" for use.
- Quotes i, ii, vi, vii, and ix, refer to the availability of a meaning making potential which ensues from the "present" linguistic resources in an ELF encounter. ELF users are described to exploit this potential by means of their capability, agency, and linguistic freedom in languaging.

While the notion of 'availability' has this key role in ELF research, the literature is in fact vague about what *it* is that is, or becomes, 'available'. The literature also provides limited specification as to what *makes* that something 'available' for and during the languaging process. Looking into the already outlined and more product-oriented takes on the study of ELF (chapter 03, 3.1), there is a confusing vagueness about the *potential* availability of linguistic resources and their *actual* use. This becomes evident when examining the use of 'availability' in quotes 'iv.' and 'v.' listed in Table 4. These are taken from Jenkin's (2015) paper on ELF as a "Multilingua Franca". In this paper she puts forward that "English is not seen as optional but is *always potentially 'in the mix'*" (Jenkins 2015: 75, added emphasis). Furthermore, English as a Multilingua Franca is considered "always potentially *available* to everyone in the interaction" (Jenkins 2015: 75, added emphasis). Since the paper does not specify any conditions of availability, the description of ELF as a Multilingua Franca implies a ubiquitous availability of English and/or ELF, regardless of whether speakers have any knowledge of English, for example. I refer to both 'English' and 'ELF' here because these are inconsistently described as 'available' in the paper (see quotes iv. and v.), which in turn demonstrates a vagueness about how and whether 'availability of English' and 'availability of ELF' are considered different. Jenkins (2015: 66) claims that her description of ELF as a Multilingua Franca accounts for "the possible influence of 'knowing' (but not necessarily using) English on the speakers and their interactions". However, the claim is inconsistent with the rest of the paper, as it does not specify the knowledge of English as a necessary criterion for availability of English/ELF in communication in the first place.

In academic terms, another problem arises with Jenkins' (2015: 75) description of English as a Multilingua Franca to be "always potentially 'in the mix'". This problem concerns the (im)possibility of falsification: if knowledge of English is not defined as a necessary

criterion for the availability of ELF/English and the language phenomenon observed does not show any recognizably English forms of use, what are the empirical indicators based on which English as a Multilingua Franca is considered *potentially* available? Even though Jenkins (2015: 75) explicitly states that, “[t]he reasons for its use, non-use, and partial use, […] remain for now an empirical question”, the paper provides no indication as to what kind of reasons and empirical indicators that might be. The description of English as a Multilingua Franca (Jenkins 2015) does not fulfil its claim to account for discrepancies between ‘availability’ of ELF/English and actual use. It rather demonstrates considerable vagueness around the notion of ‘availability’.

However, important insights about the empirical study of ELF communication can be gained from the problems of vagueness around the notion of ‘availability’ just delineated. The availability of whatever linguistic resources for lingua franca use *precedes* the empirically observable phenomenon of languaging studied as ‘ELF communication’—ELF research, so to say, necessarily enters the show when it has already begun. Based on this understanding, it is necessary to consider factors that determine the availability of linguistic resources and to define criteria that can be identified empirically. In the more process-oriented takes on ELF research, such criteria are provided more or less explicitly and typically by reference to

a) whether individual speakers have some knowledge of English; and,

b) whether English is part of the linguistic repertoire of all interlocutors.

Examples are provided by the quotes ‘iii.’, ‘vi’, and ‘viii.’ in Table 4. In Mortensen’s (2013) definition (quote iii.), a linguistic resource is available by virtue of individual speakers’ repertoires and if two or more speakers have “it” in their repertoires. In Cogo’s (2016) positioning of ELF as a translanguaging phenomenon (quote vi.), it is also the plurilingual repertoire of the speakers that is the reference base of “availability”. In Seidlhofer’s (2020b) description of ELF communication in immigration encounters (quote viii.), the necessity of criterion ‘b)’ is emphasized where she makes the point that in such situations English is often “the only means of communication available to both sides”. The assumption that English is available to the individual interlocutors by criterion ‘a)’ is either implicit or in fact not made. If looking at quote ‘i.’, Seidlhofer (2011b) seems to think of ‘availability’ rather in terms of the resource of the virtual language that is “available” for exploitation in ELF use. Considering criteria ‘a)’ and ‘b)’ in the light of the favourability bias and the neglect of how communicative conditions enable and constrain speakers’ linguistic room for manoeuvre, they reveal a conceptual neglect: as the two listed criteria of availability are located “within” speakers, they may serve to disentangle those from speaker “external” factors—the critical point is, however,

that speakers and linguistic repertoires are not isolated from their environments, i.e. the “hard” cut between “inner” and “outer” factors of availability poses a hinderance to understanding the situated processes of languaging.

If examined in more detail, incongruencies arise about the notion of ‘availability’ even in the more process-oriented approaches to ELF research. So, despite the just outlined criteria of availability, the notion still needs more attention. This strand of ELF research has put emphasis on the recognition of languaging as a process in which speakers draw upon their full linguistic repertoires to reach communicative effect, and it has provided empirical support for this understanding (as outlined in chapter 3). The criterion of ‘availability’ provided in the literature, and described above under ‘b)’, however, undermines this recognition. If the availability of linguistic resources for languaging depends on an overlap of the linguistic repertoires of *all* participants in an encounter, this implies that English is *un*-available to speakers if it is not shared from the start. But following ELF research and contemporary languaging views, linguistic resources other than the target language are actively involved during the meaning-making processes of languaging (see chapter 3, 3.1, 3.2). Besides, if this implication is followed through, the question arises whether a missing overlap of linguistic repertoires makes, for example, English un-available for both, speakers with and without knowledge of it. In any case, there is a mismatch with established, basic insights of ELF research. It is thus necessary to further specify in how far linguistic resources are (un-)available, to whom, for what purposes in the communication process, and for what reasons.

The need for reconsidering the criteria of availability of linguistic resources listed above under ‘a)’ and ‘b)’, is to be underlined from a more general languaging-point of view of the issue. This is because criteria which locate availability of linguistic resources “in” speakers’ repertoires alone imply an idea of isolated linguistic repertoires that are independent from external factors like the situational communicative conditions of an encounter. This runs counter basic ideas of languaging research following which languaging is a *dynamic* process and transforms language, languaging practices, and speakers themselves. These ideas have been promoted by the process-oriented takes of ELF research as well (see chapter 3, 3.2). Around the notion of ‘availability’, however, it seems to have a rather static notion of the linguistic repertoire still. This is counterproductive since counting linguistic resources “in” interlocutors’ linguistic repertoires does not account for the dynamics of languaging.

The relatively recent micro-diachronic approach to the study of ELF communication developed by Pitzl (2018a, 2018b) must be pointed out as highly relevant here because it provides a clearer idea of how linguistic resources are available from the start and become

available during an encounter. The approach was developed through research on transient international groups (TIGs), defined as "groups of multilingual ELF users who interact for a particular purpose at a particular location for a certain amount of time" (Pitzl 2018b: 30). By this research, the TIG constellation is foregrounded as an interactional condition relevant to how ELF users draw upon multilingual resources. Foregrounding "multilingualism", ELF is defined "as a site of transient language contact in which ELF speakers' Individual Multilingual Repertoires (IMRs) make up a Multilingual Resource Pool (MRP) that is specific to a particular situation/interaction" (Pitzl 2018b: 33). Considering the problems of the identified criteria of availability 'a)' and' b)' above, the concepts of the 'IMR' and 'MRP' still imply a notion of availability that focuses on linguistic resources "within" speakers' repertoires. Thereby, favourability factors such as privilege and distribution of power are still neglected. A critical advancement in comparison to established frameworks within ELF research is, however, that the repertoires are conceived of as *dynamic* and that the 'MRP' is defined as a situationally constituted repertoire. What this means in terms of 'availability' is briefly outlined below.

Figure 1: Dynamic repertoires in ELF as a site of transient language contact, adapted from Pitzl (2018a: 194–199, 2018b: 35).

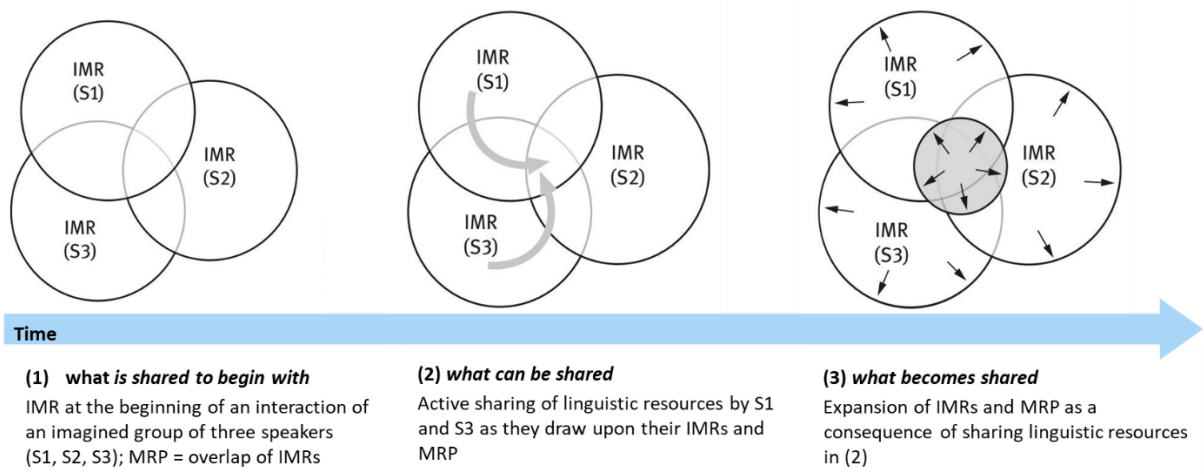


Figure 1 shows an adapted representation of Pitzl's (2018a: 194–199, 2018b: 35) micro-diachronic view of how the IMR and the MRPs change over the time of a transient ELF encounter. In stage (1), a static image of the IMRs of speakers is represented. Where the IMRs of speakers overlap, they are considered to form the MRP, i.e. the "multilingual resources that ELF speakers forming a TIG share to begin with" (Pitzl 2018b: 35). Since stage (1) represents the point *before* actual engagement in languaging, "what is shared to begin with" needs to be thought of as a passive kind of sharing. In my interpretation, all present linguistic resources of stage (1) can principally be shared as speakers engage in the languaging process. In

Pitzl’s (2018a: 194–199, 2018b: 35) original figures, the label “what can be shared” is reserved for stage (2), however: in the second stage in Figure 1, the active speakers S1 and S3 draw upon their IMRs as they engage in ELF communication, i.e. in actively sharing what they can share. Stage (3) results from stage (2). As speakers are drawing upon their IMRs over the course of one or several encounters, they are seen to “gradually expand the shared multilingual resource pool available” (Pitzl 2018a: 25). Highlighting a dynamic notion of individual speakers’ repertoires, Pitzl (2018b: 36) explicates that the “expansion of each speakers’ IMR […] may, in turn, result in bits and pieces of language (and knowledge) that individual ELF speakers may carry into subsequent interactions in other TIGs as part of their IMR.” Thereby, this notion of the linguistic repertoire grasps a dynamic and transformative dimension of languaging.

Regarding a further specification of ‘availability’ in ELF research, the significance of the micro-diachronic view of ELF in TIGs is that it considers linguistic repertoires of speakers as dynamic and situationally responsive to the linguistic repertoires of other speakers. On the level of linguistic resources “in” interlocutors’ repertoires, it can thus account for how linguistic resources become available through speakers’ engagement during a languaging encounter. Which linguistic resources speakers draw upon becomes visible as a factor of availability of linguistic resources in situ. As regards tackling the issue of the favourability bias in ELF research, the micro-diachronic approach still has a rather narrow focus on the individual speaker and the “purely” linguistic factors of the social process of languaging. Communicative conditions, such as power hierarchies and the stakes involved for speakers in an encounter, are not sufficiently grasped by the underlying model of ELF communication presented in Figure 1.

To complete this review of the central yet underspecified notion of ‘availability’ in ELF research, the large body of language ideology and attitude studies already outlined in chapter 3 (3.3) still needs to be mentioned. This area of research is relevant to conceptualize ‘availability’ in ELF research, since it builds on the assumption that traditional views of the problem of lingual communication, language ideologies, and negative attitudes towards ELF can constrain speakers’ linguistic room for manoeuvre. Thereby, extra-linguistic factors do find recognition in ELF literature. Attitude studies, however, make a limited contribution to the specification of ‘availability’ in ELF research. This is because they grant insights into the ideas that speakers have about language, but not into how these ideas concretely influence the availability of linguistic resources as such. Therefore, even though language attitudes find recognition in ELF literature, indeed as enabling and constraining factors of the availability of linguistic resources, there is a lack of research that empirically describes the role of these factors in actual

languaging. This blind spot may be related to a the more general challenge of grasping "availability factors" empirically.

Reviewing the above discussed issues with the underspecified notion and under-researched area of 'availability' of linguistic resources in ELF research, a critical challenge about closing these gaps can be identified for empirical research: the recognizability of availability factors depends upon the lines of "relevant context" that researchers draw around the linguistically observable phenomenon of ELF communication. As elaborated in chapter 2 (2.1), AL research has a flexible definition of 'relevance' that is guided by the question of what is relevant to understanding the real-world problem under investigation. Efforts of mediating between theory and practice recognized, what kind of empirical factors researchers consider relevant in these terms still also depends upon their theoretical assumptions and frameworks of enquiry (cf. Widdowson 2004; Finkbeiner et al. 2012). Thus, confronted with the need for specifying the notion of 'availability' of linguistic resources, researchers eventually face the old wrestling partners of partiality and practicality in AL (see chapter 2, 2.1).

This section has opened the theoretical investigations of this thesis by which I explore how the favourability bias in in ELF research can be tackled beyond empirical means. Based on the gained insights, corrective measures are indeed necessary at the theoretical and analytical levels of research. The investigations made evident that there is a need for theoretical frameworks that complement ELF research by a broader, as well as a more fine-grained, understanding of how linguistic resources are and become available for languaging in situ. The notion of 'availability' in ELF research is vague and too narrowly centred on the linguistic resources "in" the linguistic repertoire of the individual speakers, which in turn appears as relatively isolated from the social and situational context of an encounter. Thereby, the favourability of communicative conditions is neglected—and the bias in ELF research is maintained. To better understand the scope and implications of this neglect, the following section provides a close reading of different research perspectives on a study on ELF in the immigration domains.

4.2. What (and who) makes language 'franca'?

Guided by the question *What (and who) makes language 'franca'?*, the explorations of this section explore the explanatory implications of the neglected notion of 'availability' in ELF research. Following Seidlhofer (2011b: 81; see also section 3.3), the term 'franca' is used in the sense of having the quality of a 'free', 'open resource' for lingual communication that serves the purpose of communicative effect and personal expression. To collocate 'franca' with

'make', however, is unusual also in the field of ELF research. Typically, this quality of language use is implicitly assumed to be given in the observed phenomenon of 'ELF'. I suspend this assumption, however, to create a moment of re-consideration right at the point of looking at the research object of 'ELF'. The explorations in this section will reveal two fundamentally different notions of 'availability' in ELF research. These relate with the disparities between initiation and languaging views I have outlined in chapter 1 (1.2), as well as with those identified between product- and process-oriented studies of ELF communication (see chapter 3, 3.1). What is critical from an AL point of view is that different notions of 'availability' have different implications for what we think that speakers can do to resolve language/languaging related problems, and hence for what we expect them to do.

The explorations of this section take four steps. I first introduce the material of analysis, which is Guido's (2012) study on ELF in the immigration domains. The study suits the purposes of this research as it provides data on ELF communication in less favourable conditions of interaction and explicitly addresses questions of availability of linguistic resources. Furthermore, the study was picked up by Seidlhofer (2020b) to point out the AL relevance of investigating such high-stakes encounters. Read side by side, the two papers allow to examine the authors' views of 'availability'. In the second step, I undertake a close reading to re-consider the research object 'ELF' that the authors refer to in their papers. This examination will reveal differences in the authors' interpretations of the 'franca' quality of language use[50]. In the third step, I investigate these differences with a focus on the related notion of 'availability' of that franca quality. By the fourth and final step, I explore the implications these differences have for answering what speakers can (be expected to) do to resolve problems of languaging.

4.2.1. Step 1: Report on a study on ELF in the immigration domains

In her 2012 study on the use of ELF in the immigration domains, Guido investigates the participants' cognitive and communicative strategies of meaning negotiation. The study analyses two cases of ELF communication amongst Italian immigration officials and immigrants (including asylum seekers) coming from Sierra Leone and Nigeria. In these encounters the immigration officials hold a position of authority and power as they are commissioned with the job of mediating between immigrants and institutions. The immigrants

[50] At this point I would like to express my recognition of the contributions the two authors Guido (2012) and Seidlhofer (2020b) have made to ELF research. This thesis strongly builds on the insights they provided about ELF communication in relatively unfavourable conditions. I shall point out that the contrasts I identify between their papers represents my interpretation of their work. The purpose of my analysis is not to take sides with either of the contrasted views. Instead, the papers allow to draw attention to the relationships between researchers' different views of the problem of lingual communication and to the implications these views have for potential resolutions.

and asylum seekers depend upon that support. Considering the favourability of interactional conditions, stakes and power over the outcome of the encounter are unevenly distributed.

The first case in Guido's (2012) paper is an informal interrogation of a Nigerian immigrant conducted by an Italian mediator. This interrogation served the purpose of supporting police investigations about the identities of some smugglers. The immigrant, who was categorized as an "illegal immigrant", was suspected to know but hide these identities. Analysing the use of ELF in the interaction, Guido (2012) finds that the participants fail to reach common ground of understanding although they engage in strategies of communicative convergence. This is a striking finding since such strategies have been highlighted key elements of effective ELF communication in the literature (Seidlhofer 2009a; Cogo 2009; Dewey 2011; Jenkins 2012; 2022; Vettorel 2019; see section 3.1). Guido explains that the participants' strategies of convergence fail to reach the intended communicative effect because both "tend to adapt ELF grammar to their native linguacultural usage, and scripted register conventions to their native domain-specific discourse routines" (Guido 2012: 228). Following Guido (2012: 228), these native conventions and discourse routines are and remain inaccessible to the respective other. To illustrate this, the paper provides a detailed analysis of a data extract from the interrogation (Guido 2012: 225–228). For the purposes here, I select relevant aspects for further elaboration.

The data extract starts with the Italian mediator's question to the immigrant: "Who assisted you in the journey to Italy?". According to Guido (2012: 226), this question follows a subject-verb-object structure that is conventional for "western" speakers of English and the "western" scripts and discourse routines of an interrogation encounter. The subject-verb-object structure puts animate agents in the liable subject position, which does not correspond to the conventions of the immigrants' first language background of Igbo. In Igbo, as Guido (2012: 226) elaborates in reference to Langacker (1991), constructions for reporting events follow an object-verb-(subject) typology. Guido (2012: 226, added emphasis) thus concludes that the structure used by the Italian mediator, is "*unavailable* to the immigrant's own experiential schemata". The data show that the immigrant responds to the question by following the object-verb-(subject) construction: he reports on "an old ship" taking him and many others over the sea. Following Guido, this structure does not provide information about the identity of the person steering the boat, whereby the Italian mediator interprets the immigrant's response as "a deliberate intention to omit information about the identity from the smuggler and, thus, no reciprocal ELF accommodation took place" (Guido 2012: 226).

In the second case, Guido (2012) investigates another instance of misunderstanding. In this case the Italian mediator misinterprets an asylum seeker's report of psychological abuse because the former makes a literal interpretation of metaphorical uses of language ("these bosses here keep kicking me every day"; "they keep me inside a completely dark place"). Such metaphoric uses, Guido (2012: 229) states, are typical of the narrative conventions used by speakers of Sierra Leone Krio English, which she describes as "the asylum seeker's nativized English variant". Following Guido's analysis, miscommunication in this second case is not primarily induced by an incongruity of speakers' conventions of grammatical and discursive uses of English. Instead she observes a naïve and authoritative mode of interpretation: the Italian mediator "attributed to himself the authority to 'disambiguate' the presuppositions in the asylum seeker's [metaphoric] report by engaging indexically with his own sociocultural reality"; moreover, he showed a "lack of knowledge of the asylum seeker's different native linguacultural background usage reflected in his Krio variant of ELF" (Guido 2012: 229).

Considering these findings, Guido (2012) takes a clear AL stance on ELF research and seeks to contribute to resolving the observed problems of communication. According to her, speakers need three "ingredients" for resolving the communication problems in the given ELF encounters: (i.) awareness of different "ELF variants"; (ii.) knowledge of the "ELF variants" of the respective other; and (iii.) responsible use of power regarding the outcome of the interaction. Putting the gained insights to practice, Guido's final phase of data analysis in case study two (Guido 2012: 225) is concerned with the identification and development of communicatively effective strategies of convergence on the side of the institutional representatives. The focus is on the institutional side of the encounter because it occupies the more powerful position. The official representative is considered to hold the greater responsibility for the successful outcome of communication (Guido 2012: 225). The paper puts forward that the Italian mediators "should develop accommodation strategies of ELF reformulation and hybridization to make culture-bound discourses *conceptually accessible* and socially acceptable to all the participants" (Guido 2012: 236, added emphasis). These strategies are demonstrated by the study.

The paper suggests *ELF reformulation* and *hybridization* as a method to identify and clarify miscommunication. Guido (2012: 229) first elaborates on ELF reformulation as a method based on "entextualization"' (Urban 1996): immigrants' oral reports are removed from the original experiential context and reformulated to fit in with the demanded "western" patterns of logic, indexicality, transcription conventions, etc. The method of entextualization, Guido (2012: 229) points out, is already and usually deployed by forensic specialists. She highlights, however, that such forensic transcripts are still inaccessible to immigrants as they

do "not correspond to the asylum seekers' native discourse parameters" (Guido 2012: 229). Thus, the method is expanded by "ethnopoetic entextualization". It aims to produce a "hybrid ELF reformulation of immigrants' oral reports" (Guido 2012: 237, footnote 13). The eventual hybrid ELF transcript is seen to carry linguistic features recognizable by all participants. Guido (2012: 230) explains that this method is oriented towards Hymes' (2003a) ethnopoetic approach which takes oral narratives as carriers of conceptual patterns of knowledge and social life. At this point, I finish the report on Guido's (2012) study on ELF in the immigration domains.

4.2.2. Step 2: In suspense of the 'franca' quality—ELF that is not 'ELF'?

I move on to exploring what it is that makes language 'franca' in Guido's (2012) and Seidlhofer's (2020b) perspectives on the above reported cases. Suspending the assumption of a given 'franca' quality of the research object of 'ELF', what are the decisive characteristics that make the use of ELF 'franca' in the sense of an open resource of communication?

From a first glance, it can be said that the encounters investigated by Guido (2012) fit Seidlhofer's (2011b: 7) renowned definition of ELF communication (provided in chapter 1, 1.2). This is pointed out by Seidlhofer (2020b: 32) herself, when she states that the interactions investigated by Guido (2012) involve the use of English from speakers with different linguacultural backgrounds. However, when applying Mortensen's (2013) definition of ELF as a lingua franca scenario (provided in section 4.1, Table 4, quote iii.), the fit between the definition and the concrete cases of ELF communication is no longer a given. He defines the lingua franca scenario as a scenario where speakers have no or only partial overlap in their L1s, but "*total* overlap on the language they choose to use as a lingua franca" (Mortensen 2013: 36, added emphasis). Yet, Guido's (2012) analysis suggests that the overlap in the chosen lingua franca, i.e. English, was *partial* in the scenarios studied. This partiality shows in Guido's (2012) identification of the participants' different, so-called "ELF variants". These "ELF variants" occupy an important role in Guido's (2012) explanations of why ELF does not become a shared open resource in the given cases: the overlap in English in speakers' repertoires is considered to *be* partial because of these "ELF variants", and to *remain* partial because the Italian immigrant official and the African immigrants interpret the respective others' use of English in the way it is meaningful to themselves, and because both lack awareness of their own culture-bound use of English (Guido 2012).

If taking a closer, second look at the material, hence, a peculiarity about the object of ELF research arises: even though English is the chosen lingua franca and used amongst speakers

from different linguacultural backgrounds, what is observed to be used does not show the characteristics of lingua *franca* communication as it has been described in the literature. In the cases studied by Guido, the English used amongst participants remains "cognitively and linguistically inaccessible [and] conceptually unavailable" for the respective speakers (Guido 2012: 221). It thus seems that the research object that is studied as 'ELF' in Guido 2012, *is* and *is not* 'ELF'. This observation resonates with Seidlhofer's (2020b: 32, original emphasis) reference to the investigated cases of ELF communication: "[w]hat we have here is an obvious ELF situation, with participants in the interaction coming from different linguacultures, but neither side, for different reasons, is actually *using* the language as a lingua franca."—But then, what *are* they using?

I argue that the observed peculiarity about the research object 'ELF' is more meaningful than terminological fuzziness. Rather, it points to a difference in orientation of the scholars' interpretation of the problem of lingual communication. Regarding Guido's take on ELF in the 2012 study, it can be said that even though processes of convergence are investigated, the interpretation of ELF eventually follows a product-oriented understanding. The data are analysed as cases of contact between "two specific groups of people", i.e. "western" and "non-western" (Guido 2012: 221). These different groups are seen to speak different "variations" of English which have the "same status as those of so-called 'standard' English with their own distinctive syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features" (Guido 2012: 223). Showing awareness of the problematics linked with the concept of 'variety' in ELF research, the paper (Guido 2012: 223) emphasizes that these ELF variations are thought of as fluid and that linguistic transfer can be multidirectional between L1 to ELF. From a languaging take on the study of ELF communication, however, the suggested idea of "ELF variants" resembles the later and less differentiated notion of "similects" by Mauranen (2018; introduced and discussed in chapter 3, 3.1). To a certain degree, hence, thinking in "ELF variants" perpetuates elements of the initiation view of the problem of lingual communication: it retains the idea of homogeneous speech communities and reproduces the traditional language-people-culture triad under the label of 'ELF'. This is reflected in the kind of convergence strategies the paper develops: the reformulated hybrid ELF transcripts constitute a form of translation from "one ELF variant to other ELF variants" (Guido 2012: 223). The hybridity in question is comprised of the countable linguacultural backgrounds of the speakers involved.

Turning to Seidlhofer (2020b), she seems to interpret Guido's (2012) findings rather from a languaging take on ELF communication. Similar to Guido (2012), Seidlhofer (2020b) highlights the need for the study participants to develop appropriate convergence strategies for

resolving miscommunication: "[w]hat these unequal encounters indicate quite clearly is the degree to which effective, and equitable, communication depends on the kind of strategies of accommodation and adaptation that ELF researchers have long emphasized as paramount" (Seidlhofer 2020b: 32). However, Seidlhofer (2020b) refrains from variety-focused terminology. Instead, she speaks of the need for moving towards the language use of the concrete other who is, like oneself, situated in the time and space of the encounter—and not towards the conventions of an idealized homogeneous speech community of which the concrete other is taken to be representative. This reminds of the more general notion of languaging in Seidlhofer's previous work, e.g. the "exploiting [of] linguistic resources to communicative effect, i.e. for languaging, rather than getting them to conform to a prescribed competence" (Seidlhofer 2015a: 26). The critical point made is that this kind of languaging is what enables the possibility of a 'franca' quality of ELF communication—the missing quality in the 'ELF' that is used by Guido's (2012) study participants.

Following from my analysis, the peculiarity of ELF that *is* and *is not* 'ELF' seems to result from basic conceptual differences between a product-oriented study of ELF and a process-oriented study of ELF communication. Focusing on how these lenses take effect in research, the following differences in "creating" the research object 'ELF' can be named:

- *ELF^{0}*: Both product- and process-oriented perspectives start with the observation of communication amongst speakers of various linguacultural background through something that is recognizably English. In a broad reading of established definitions, this observation suffices the identification of 'ELF' in both views. We can refer to this definition as ELF^{0}.
- *ELF^{prcts} vs. ELF^{prss}*: In a close reading, discrepancies about the research object arise at the point where the different theoretical foundations of the product- and process-oriented lenses take effect in research practice:
    - In the product-oriented study, the 'franca' quality of ELF^{0} is construed through the linguistic classification of language features that are traditionally associated with English and those traditionally associated with other languages (and speech communities). The outcome of a product-oriented study is thus 'ELF^{prct}', or multiple 'ELF^{prcts}'. These have correspondences with established linguistic demarcations between languages and varieties.
    - In the process-oriented study, the 'franca' quality is construed through the identification of a certain behaviour: participants appropriate English and linguistic resources generally to the situational communicative needs of the

encounter, regardless of established linguistic demarcations and conventions. If such behaviour is identified, the observed ELF^{0} may show to be ELF^{prss}. If such behaviour cannot be identified, however, ELF^{0} may well show as ELF^{prct} but not as ELF^{prss}. This is the case if speakers are found to stick with their individual ELF^{prcts} and do not meet others in the kind of situational meaning negotiation that characterizes the 'franca' of ELF^{prss} (as is the case in the examples provided by Guido 2012).

Building on these insights, the following step of exploration examines the different interpretations of the research object of 'ELF' regarding the notion of 'availability'.

4.2.3. Step 3: Different views of what speakers have available

This third step of exploration will reveal that the different views of the 'franca' quality of the product- and process-oriented studies of ELF imply fundamentally different understandings of what speakers can possibly *have* and *make* available during the languaging process. These differences correspond to the basic explanatory patterns of initiation and languaging views of the problem of lingual communication. Figure 2 illustrates these differences. It will serve the purpose of explicating respective implications of different notions of 'availability' in ELF research.

Figure 2: Schematic comparison of initiation and languaging views of solving the problem of lingual communication.

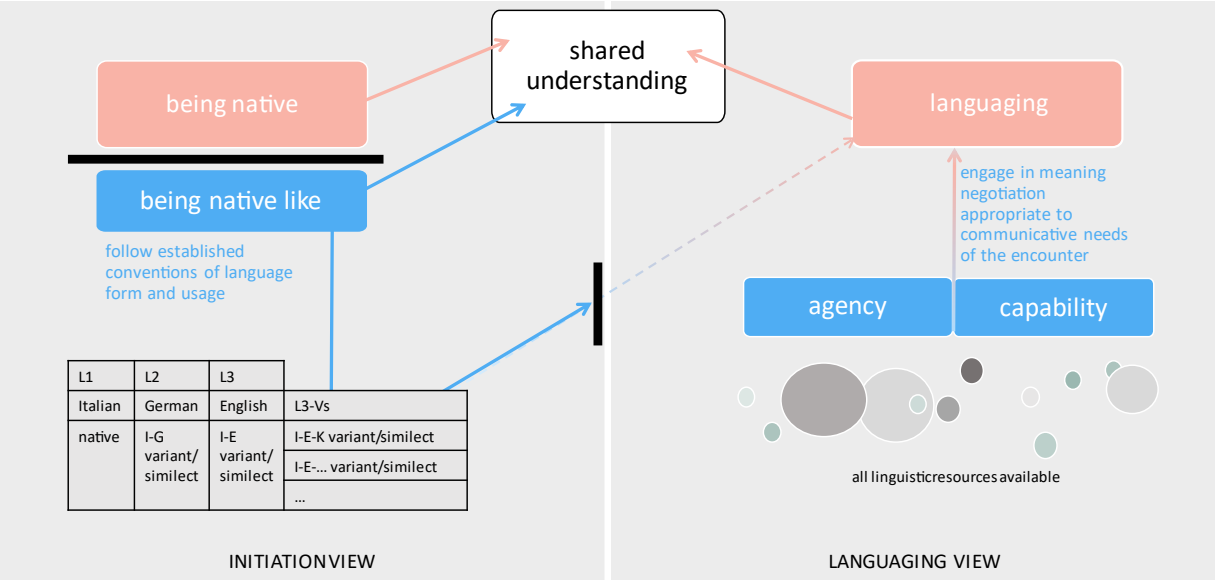


Figure 2 shows two boxes: the left one illustrates an initiation view of how to solve the problem of lingual communication; the right box illustrates a languaging view. Starting with the initiation view of the left, the table at the bottom schematically represents the linguistic

repertoire of an imagined speaker. For a concrete example, one could think of one of the Italian immigration officer from Guido’s (2012) study. The table shows his linguistic resources as clearly demarcated languages, numbered consecutively according to the chronological order of first, second, and third language acquisition. This echoes the traditional view of multilinguals as several monolinguals in one person. In the imagined case, Italian is the speaker’s L1 (or traditionally spoken, his ‘native’ language). The speaker has furthermore acquired German as a second, and English as a third language. Applying product-oriented conceptualizations of ELF to this example speaker, one could further differentiate between “ELF variants” (Guido 2012: 223), or “similects” (Mauranen 2018: 9): the outcome of German second language acquisition forms an Italian “variant/similect” of German which shows linguistic features typical of Italian native speakers. The same would apply to the speaker’s third language English. In the illustrated case, the speaker additionally integrated (knowledge of) further “variants/similects” (like Krio English) into his repertoire (listed in column L3–Vs). Applying Mauranen’s (2018: 10) idea of ELF as a kind of “higher-order […] language contact”, the integrated non-Italian “similects” (e.g. Krio English) still have an Italian imprint and are thus labelled “I-E-K variant/similect” in Figure 2. It shows that the product-oriented concepts of ‘ELF’ follow a traditional view of the linguistic repertoire by foregrounding linguistic demarcations of languages, “variants”, or “similects”.

The traditional foregrounding of linguistic demarcations has consequences for the notion of ‘availability’ and what and who is considered to make language ‘franca’ (in the sense of a free meaning negotiation resource). Let us turn to the centre of the illustrated initiation view in Figure 2: the example speaker has the best chances of reaching shared understanding in ELF^{0} communication, if they follow the established conventions of the ELF^{prct} “variant” of the respective other(s). Moreover, the initiation view implies that non-native speakers of a language (or speakers of a “variant/similect”) can only ever approximate the ultimate ideal of being a native speaker (or speaker of the respective “variant/similect”). It follows that non-native languages and ELF variants necessarily remain foreign to a certain degree, as they are considered to be integrated into one’s linguistic repertoire only with an imprint of one’s own native language. So in the initiation view, there is an assumed ultimate “natural” barrier to being native of another language, “variant”, or “similect” (illustrated by the horizontal black bar between “being native like” and “being native” in the left box of Figure 2). Simultaneously, the initiation view does not accredit agency of language change to non-native speakers. Thereby the norm-deviating forms and uses they produce are not read as an indication of meaning negotiation but as a lack of competence which impedes shared understanding. In consequence,

the kind of languaging understood as ELF^{prss}, and with it the 'franca' quality, is in principle *un*-available to interlocutors who do not already share the same linguacultural conventions and are traditionally legitimate agents of changing those conventions (illustrated by the vertical black bar at the centre of Figure 2 and the blue arrow which changes from a continuous line to a dashed line as it enters the right box of the languaging view). Anyways, from an initiation view, non-native speakers would have no reason to assume such agency because adhering to established norms is considered the most promising path to shared understanding. If we follow a product-oriented view of ELF^{0}, we arrive at a point where the 'franca' kind of languaging should not be possible at all: since the 'franca' quality is construed to be principally un-available to non-native users, the initiation view cannot grasp how and why the situationally adaptive languaging of ELF users is successful at all.

The ideal path to communicative success of the initiation view stands in stark contrast to the languaging view represented in the right box in Figure 2. Let us start again with the representation of the linguistic repertoire of an imagined speaker at the bottom: linguistic resources are now represented as free floating bubbles and without definite language labels; they are loosely organized and painted in shades of similar colours which are meant to illustrate the fuzziness of linguistic categorization. The represented repertoire illustrates all linguistic resources the imagined speaker has "available" for communication, regardless of how these resources are categorized linguistically. The languaging view implies that speakers can principally draw upon all those resources. Speakers are considered to have a natural capability to do so, and to have the agency to exploit linguistic resources in appropriation to situational needs (see chapter 03, 3.2). This perspective stands in stark contrast to the initiation view, because the necessary features for reaching shared understanding do not have to be acquired but are already there, i.e. available, to the speakers. It follows that in the languaging view there is a natural, or *principal availability* of the 'franca' quality of language use. Moreover, the ultimate native speaker barrier which blocks the way to shared understanding in the initiation view, is irrelevant from a languaging perspective. As the natural human capacities of capability and agency for languaging meet with the inherent variability of language, the possibility for shared understanding is enabled and reached if speakers situationally appropriate their languaging. This understanding is reflected by the languaging-oriented idea of proficiency:

> You are proficient in a language to the extent that you possess it, make it your own, bend it to your will, assert yourself through it rather than simply submit to the dictates of its form […] Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage, and make it real for you. So in a way, proficiency only comes with nonconformity, when you can take the initiative and strike out on your own. (Widdowson 1994: 384)

In contrast to the product-oriented study of ELF, the process-oriented view arrives at a principally always available 'franca' quality of language use. This raises the question: if speakers have naturally available what they need to reach shared understanding in linguaculturally diverse contexts of interaction, why would they not engage in the kind of free and liberating meaning negotiation of a 'franca' use of English? The following step of the exploration indicates that the neglected notion of 'availability', coupled with the favourability bias in ELF research, imply answers that focus too narrowly on speaker willingness.

4.2.4. Step 4: Willingness—the final frontier to effective communication?

How do the fundamentally different views of the 'franca' availability relate to the favourability bias in ELF research and the AL interest in speaker voice? This fourth step of exploring what and who makes language 'franca' demonstrates that naïve interpretations of the languaging view can result in an overemphasis on speaker willingness that neglects how communicative conditions enable and constrain what speakers can do in languaging. For these purposes, a comparison of the product- and process oriented perspectives on Guido's (2012) findings is helpful again.

Let us start with the product-oriented perspective once more. As reported in 4.2.1 above, Guido's (2012) study suggests a method to resolve the identified issues of miscommunication: the production of hybridized reformulations of the immigrants' reports by the Italian mediators. This method has its limitations when it comes to speaker voice, however, since the process of reformulation does not involve *situated* meaning negotiation with the immigrant participants themselves. Instead, the hybridized reformulations are produced in post-interaction phases by the immigration mediators. Thereby, the power to produce language that "counts" remains with the institutional representatives. It is thus debatable whether a report produced in language formulated by the officers, and not by or with the immigrants themselves, truly allows immigrants to *voice* their views and shape the encounter accordingly, even though their "ELF variants" are represented in the report. These limitations with caring for speaker voice also relate to the underlying initiation view of the problem of lingual communication, sine this view does not accredit agency for languaging to non-native speakers. Despite the critique just raised, it is to be acknowledged that Guido's (2012) problem-solving strategies clearly address language-related inequality in the investigated immigration domains: given that the written transcripts are passed on to further stakeholders who decide upon asylum, criminal records, work permits, etc., the suggested strategies are important for securing that the correct information is passed on. Furthermore, immigration institutions have a relatively predictable

and limited range of interactional purposes with immigrants. Hence, hybridized ELF reformulations of immigrant reports will help with tailoring effective strategies for solving recurrent communication problems.

Let us now turn to Seidlhofer's (2020b) paper, which takes a process-oriented view of the material provided by Guido (2012). Since the focus of Seidlhofer's (2020b) paper is on the need for ELF research in high-stakes encounters more generally, we do not find concrete problem-solving strategies suggested for the cases in Guido's (2012) study. What we do find, however, is clear indication of the underlying languaging perspective on solving the problem of lingual communication in linguistic diversity: the presented key to shared understanding is the immigration officers' development of the capability for languaging. As Seidlhofer (2020b: 32, original emphasis) writes, "[t]he fact is that the immigration officers often do not have what Widdowson (2003, 2016) calls the *communicative capability* that would suitably qualify them for the work they do". Given that the capability for languaging is understood as a natural human capacity, this lack of capability is to be considered a matter of degree. However, if the natural capability and agency for languaging are the basis of process-oriented explanations of problems in achieving communicative success, critical and widely unanalysed questions arise when it comes to the question of why the interlocutors in Guido's (2012) study can even show evidence of such lack of communicative capability.

As elaborated, in the initiation view the actual success of solving communicative issues eventually boils down to the "natural" barrier of the native speaker. But what are the reasons of failure to negotiate a favourable communicative outcome from a languaging perspective? If languaging involves a natural human capability that is especially called upon and developed by engagement in communicative encounters amongst speakers from various linguacultural backgrounds (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247, see also section 3.2), why do the interlocutors not just seize the opportunity? Widdowson (1984: 193) puts forward, meanings are not freely negotiable in the absolute, "[b]ut although they are constrained, they are not determined. There is always room for manoeuvre." If the exploitation of that room for manoeuvre is a matter of power, Guido's (2012) data raise the question why those in authority (the immigration officers) still did not seize that power for languaging. Under a languaging view of ELF communication, it seems, there are no constraints on languaging imposed from

the 'outside'. So there are also no excuses for "unilateral" (Seidlhofer 2003a: 19) language behaviour, i.e. the "unfriendly" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 135) behaviour that lacks

> concern for one's interlocutor, [shows] a neglect of the need for accommodation, for sensitively gauging the other person's likely familiarity with expressions of a particular kind—in short precisely the kind of awareness and skill that accomplished ELF speakers are so good at employing. (Seidlhofer 2011: 135)

In the literature, "communicative awareness" (Seidlhofer 2015a), or "ELF awareness" (Sifakis 2014), is often described as a critical supporting feature for reaching communicative success in ELF communication. However, *un*-awareness of ELF can explain the missing 'franca' quality of interlocutors' language use only to a limited degree. If we accept that speakers today live in globalized and vuca lifeworlds, then we can assume that adult speakers have, throughout their lives, been involved in a variety of interactional spaces and lingua franca scenarios. Theoretically, this involvement should have encouraged the development of some awareness of linguistic diversity, ELF, and experience in communicating with whatever resources at hand—even if language education has taught them to "stick to the rules". Following a languaging view, it should also have encouraged the development of speakers' natural capability for languaging, as elaborated earlier in chapter 3 (3.2). Each encounter is, so to say, an opportunity to live out the "translanguaging instinct" (Li 2016a: 541). So what are the reasons why interlocutors do not actually make language 'franca'? In the initiation view of the problem of lingual communication, the final frontier to communicative success is "being non-native". In the languaging view, shared language and understanding is supposed to be reached more easily: by the speakers' willingness to engage in the kind of cooperative and convivial 'languaging' described by ELF research. *—But is willingness to engage in this kind of languaging truly the final frontier to communicative success?* Can we simply tell the immigration officer and the asylum seeker in Guido's (2012) described cases, they just need to want to language?

Concluding this exploration of what makes language 'franca', it seems to be the case that the languaging based ELF research can easily create the impression that if speakers only wanted to, they could always engage in the accommodative and cooperative ways of languaging that ELF research has described as keys to successful communication so far. This impression, however, may be cause and consequence of the favourability bias, as a narrow focus on individual capability and agency for languaging, ignores the role that the favourability of communicative conditions plays in languaging. Looking to related fields of languaging research, there are concepts of the linguistic repertoire which can complement ELF research in these regards. Before introducing these, however, I would like to draw attention to the

contemporary societal relevance of re-considering and questioning the “willingness factor” in solving (language-related) problems.

4.3. The “willingness factor” in times of neoliberalization

The previous sections revealed: the favourability bias in ELF research is linked with a theoretical neglect of the notion of availability, which is in turn related with an analytical neglect of the communicative conditions that enable and constrain speakers’ linguistic room for manoeuvre in languaging. Moreover, these neglects imply a relatively narrow focus on speaker willingness when it comes to the questions of what speakers have available and can do to resolve the problem of lingual communication in linguistic diversity. Taking an AL interest in the study of languaging, particularly in ELF research, it is critical to recognize that an over-emphasis on the “willingness factor” in languaging research has a problematic parallel with contemporary processes of neoliberal transformation.

Neoliberalism is defined as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey 2007: 2). The practical reality of neoliberalism is most commonly associated with prominent political representatives from the late 1970s (e.g. Deng Xiaoping: China; Paul Volcker, Ronald Reagan: US; Margaret Thatcher: UK) (Harvey 2007: 1–2). Until today, neoliberal practices have assumed different forms and can be found in socio-economic systems around the world (Fairclough 2002; Bernstein et al. 2015). *Neoliberalization*, i.e. the neoliberal transformation of societies, is typically legitimized as a political programme that aims to counteract what is called the “tragedy of the commons”. This notion describes the irresponsible over-exploitation of common resources by individuals (Harvey 2007: 65). Neoliberalism valorises competition over access to these resources as a constructive force. It is based on the “assumption that ‘a rising tide lifts all boats’” (Harvey 2007: 64), following which the task of (state) institutions consists in securing a free market and trade of resources. The responsibility of the individual lies in exploiting this “freedom” to secure its own destiny.

Critical voices have pointed out that the neoliberal promise of “rising all boats” does not hold (cf. Peck 2001; Harvey 2007; Flubacher & Busch 2022). As Harvey (2007: 68) elaborates, a crucial problem of neoliberalism is that it assumes equal starting conditions, i.e. all individuals would principally have equal access to intellectual and material resources and would just need to activate them. But, “[t]he neoliberal presumption of perfect information and a level playing field for competition appears as either innocently utopian or a deliberate obfuscation of

processes that will lead to the concentration of wealth and, therefore, the restoration of class power" (Harvey 2007: 68). The negative consequences of neoliberalization have also been observed by AL research:

> [N]eoliberal requirements contribute to a deepening social divide: whereas global multilingualism becomes an asset for elites, other social groups are urged to adopt the official language in its standard variety and to abandon their devalorized ways of speaking, thus being pushed into a specific kind of monolingualism. (Flubacher & Busch 2022: 547)

The research underlying these findings (Flubacher & Busch 2022) investigates relationships between language and neoliberal transformation in Austria. The authors highlight that Austria was formerly known for its welfare system, which has seen far reaching neoliberal transformations in the public sector: in many areas, access to social services is now dependent upon individuals' contribution to the marketplace of work; considering language, it is instrumentalized "as a measure of optimization (especially in migration contexts) alongside education (keyword: lifelong education)" (Flubacher & Busch 2022: 547). To illustrate the structural dimension of these measures, in the Austrian immigration context, this means, for instance, that language requirements are linked with residence rights and access to social welfare by the Austrian Integration Law (IntG 2019).

Because neoliberalization affects and instrumentalizes language, e.g. in the form of language education and policies, AL research can yield insights into how neoliberalist ideals shape the public sector, influence the accessibility of resources in situated encounters of languaging, and shape the languaging realities of the more and the less advantaged speaking subjects (cf. Del Percio & Flubacher 2017: 4). For example, studies grant insight into how neoliberal transformations of societies reach far into the private spheres of everyday life—including decisions commonly thought of to be made following the "free will" of individuals (cf. Bernstein et al. 2015; Flubacher & Del Percio 2017; Flubacher & Busch 2022; Piller et al. 2022). These are important findings for AL, as they are relevant to support speaker voice and tackle systemic disadvantage related to language. Alongside the transformations at the public level, neoliberal ideals trickle down to the everyday life wishes and aspirations of individuals: the (knowledge) structures in place, address (speaking) subjects as agents of their own destiny who can (and should) strive towards "their own" ideals by self-optimization in the form of *technologies of the self* (Foucault 1982). Del Percio and Flubacher (2017) find that the neoliberal instrumentalization of language urges the speaking subject to

> constant investment in the acquisition of communicative competence and the monitoring of an individual's own communicative conduct and modes of thinking […] as the only viable ways for an individual to remain competitive in an unstable and precarious labor market (Del Percio & Flubacher 2017: 9).

AL research invested in matters of speaker agency and voice, therefore has to take into account that languaging behaviour, individual aspirations, wishes, and dreams about one's languaging self are not isolated from the social significance of the respective ideals (e.g., for access to welfare systems, the work market, universities, etc.).

Considering the experiential level of languaging in relation to neoliberalism, repercussions seem pre-programmed. Neoliberalism obfuscates limitations and different starting conditions yet valorises the fittest competitors. It also obscures what is *im*-possible to achieve and that trying hard is, after all, no guarantee for success. The neoliberal storyline of gaining success by optimizing the self also does not fit the nature of language. Language is neither a private property that one can accumulate, nor a process one can determine alone, nor a neutral ground of interaction. Language is, as the instrumentalization of language by neoliberal transformations makes evident, intertwined with structural inequities, with access to valued resources, and with power hierarchies amongst speakers of certain languages and ways of using them (Hymes 2003b; Del Percio & Flubacher 2017). It can thus be said that neoliberalism obscures inevitable limitations of language and languaging against which the subject and optimized self will eventually hit in actual experience.

Additionally, neoliberalism obfuscates the systemic ceilings it constructs itself. The work fare regime and ideal of the speaking subject background the systemic mechanics of language-related "success" and determine what counts as "success" at the same time (Flubacher & Busch 2022: 547). Thereby, realities of language unaccredited by the neoliberal institutions diminish in value or become invisible at all. An example of considerable impact is the streamlining of language education towards the idea of communicative competence as it was put forward by the CEFR. As McNamara (2011) highlights,

> [f]rameworks like the CEFR are like the Euro, or like the European Committee for Standardization (CEN). They make exchange across boundaries easier, but reduce local variation, and render unintelligible other accounting systems, or sets of cultural values, or formulations of the goals of language education, which cannot be directly translated into the language of the CEFR. Moreover, if the construct of a curriculum or an assessment cannot be calibrated against the CEFR, it has no currency. (McNamara 2011: 504)

Hence, what counts as language-related "success" institutionally, does not necessarily constitute "success" in everyday life experience of (speaking) subjects. A study on reclaiming voice in the Austrian refugee context through experiences of ambiguity (Radinger 2023) provides an example: one of the participants, Latif, reports that he fulfilled the legally set language requirements and even continued with German language education; despite this institutional kind of "success", however, he expresses experience of failure: "ich habe alle

zertifikate, aber mein freund auf der baustelle. Er spricht *wirklich*. [I've got all the certificates, but my friend who works on the construction site. He *really* speaks.]" (cf. Radinger 2023: 70). The example points to a discrepancy between the participants' formal entitlement for integration and actual experience of relationship with others in the new (linguistic) environment (Radinger 2023; cf. Isin & Nielsen 2008: 11).

Amongst the most concerning points which follow from the studies reviewed above is that neoliberalism constrains the options of claiming voice while responsibilizing speaking subjects for their own destinies at the same time. By determining what counts as communicative competence and linking this measure with access to public resources, the options of discursive patterns and "legitimate" ways of claiming voice are constrained. While neoliberalism is itself deaf to the structural side of the seemingly "private" and individual struggles of subjects, it simultaneously constrains the options of raising voice. Besides the ensuing problematic of social inequity, the broader societal pattern of such ambivalent and aggravated responsibilization of the individual subject have been found to effectuate a continuous experience of exhaustion:

> Depression und Sucht sind wie die Vorder- und Rückseite des souveränen Individuums, des Menschen, der glaubt, der Autor seines eigenen Lebens zu sein, während er doch Subjekt im doppelten Sinne ist: Souverän und Untertan bleibt
>
> [Depression and dependency are like the front and back side of the sovereign individual, the human who believes to be the author of their own life, while they are still subject in the double sense: remaining sovereign and servant][51] (Ehrenberg 2015: 305) .

The critical point is that the "servant" role of the subject is covered up as personal interest and initiative. Ehrenberg (2015: 298) observes that what has formerly been the sphere of action by national, professional, educational, and private institutions increasingly becomes a matter of personal "private" action. At the same time, former patterns of orientation like social conventions are losing significance (Ehrenberg 2015: 298). Thereby, the subject is constructed as a "truly" emancipated one, and "work on society" turns into "work on and by the individual".

I have made this detour to studies on neoliberalization and the related instrumentalization of language, because it makes visible the contemporary societal significance of correcting the favourability bias in ELF research. Trying to better understand the scope of this bias in the field of ELF research, my investigations above have pointed out existing gaps about the notion of availability and a narrow focus on speaker willingness in explanations of language-related problems. Next to AL research on neoliberalism, it becomes

[51] My translation; Following this quote, Ehrenberg makes reference to Arendt (1961).

visible that ignorance of these gaps easily couples with the neoliberal responsibilization of the individual. If confronted with language related problems (even those of a more social systemic kind), speakers may have thoughts like, *"Maybe you just need to change your languaging strategy, … maybe you just need to further develop your languaging capability, … maybe you just haven't tried hard enough yet, … maybe the other just doesn't want to understand me, …have you really done everything to reach your good (languaging) life?!"*. Taking these thoughts seriously, it can, on the one hand, be acknowledged that ELF research has contributed considerably to the acknowledgment of 'non-native' speakers and to rethinking 'language' and communication in the light of social changes linked with globalization. It has done so by conceptualizing ELF as a legitimate kind of English language use independent from an idealized homogeneous native speaker community. On the other hand, in the light of neoliberal transformations which also link with globalization (Harvey 2007: 1–2; cf. Fairclough 2002), it is high time that the field reconsiders the "active", "willing", "cooperative", and "friendly" ELF user who is languaging their way through a globalized world by drawing upon "all linguistic resources available". Looking to biographical research and space-oriented notions of the linguistic repertoire, these offer notions of "availability" that are invaluable to correcting the favourability bias in ELF research.

4.4. Relational notions of the linguistic repertoire

This section introduces two theoretical notions of the linguistic repertoire which complement ELF research regarding the analytical gaps it has around the favourability bias. The first relates to a biographical approach of the study of lived experience of language (4.4.1). It expands the notion of the linguistic repertoire by the concepts of *Spracherleben* (Busch 2017b) and *body image* (Busch 2021a). The second perspective puts focus on how linguistic repertoires of speakers dynamically interact with linguistic repertoires of ideological and material spaces of interaction (4.4.2). The notions of *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji 2014) and the *spatial repertoire* (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014, 2015) will be introduced. Together, the perspectives make visible that the individual linguistic repertoire is in essence relationally constituted and that individual willingness, agency, and languaging cannot be separated neatly from the communicative conditions in which it takes place. Thereby, the notion of 'availability' captures dimensions beyond linguistic resources "in" a speaker's repertoire.

4.4.1. Biography, *Spracherleben*, and the body image

In biographical approaches to multilingualism research, the question of availability is not so much a question of how linguistic resources are put to communicative effect. As Busch (2017b: 342) points out, “[t]he question is rather how linguistic variation can serve to construct belonging or difference, and above all, how such constructions can be experienced by speakers as exclusion or inclusion due to language”. Biographical approaches thus background the question of how *many* linguistic resources are available to speakers “in” their linguistic repertoires and the “shared multilingual resource pool” (Pitzl 2018a; 2018b; cf. Hülmbauer 2013). Thereby, even though speaker-centred, biographical approaches can involve an essentially dynamic understanding of the linguistic repertoire. It is in essence considered in relation to biography and situated space. Thus, the notion of ‘availability’ includes the question how linguistic resources can, following experience of language, assume meanings for speaking subjects which affect the accessibility of those resources in situ.

Busch (2017b) takes established notions of the linguistic repertoire based on Gumperz (1964) and expands it by the concept of *Spracherleben*, which can be translated as ‘lived language experience’. To explain this concept, a short excursus into phenomenology is necessary. The concept of *Spracherleben* is based on a phenomenological reading of ‘language’ as “an intersubjective bodily emotional gesture which relates the experiencing/speaking subject to the other and the world” (Busch 2017a: 52; cf. Merleau-Ponty 2012). This reading draws attention to the interactionally constituted nature of language, which implies a languaging view in that it considers ‘language’ as constituted in the social process of communication. The phenomenological reading furthermore emphasizes the relational dimension of languaging. Speaking subjects are considered as speaking *bodies* who are related by language and use language as a gesture acting upon that relationship. The emphasis on the body is important here: following phenomenology, the bodily existence of the speaking subject is the primary condition that “makes communication possible” (Merleau-Ponty 2012: 213) at all. Therefore, the social process of languaging is existentially significant because it is relevant for how humans are and can be (in relation to others and the world). From this perspective, the social process of languaging is always a high-stakes encounter—it means to act upon one’s basic lingual relatedness with others and the world.

The phenomenological emphasis on the body is central to the understanding of ‘experience’ that underlies the concept of *Spracherleben*. Based on the bodily existence, human experience is considered to be epistemologically perceivable either through the experience-*ing* or the experience-*ed* body, while the body *is* both at the same time. Merleau-Ponty (2012: 105–

106) illustrates the existence of "double sensations" through the image of touching the right hand with one's left hand: the left hand is the touching hand, while it is simultaneously is a touched hand; similarly, the right hand is the touched hand, while it also is a touching hand. Following this image, human consciousness has to assume either of the positions to perceive experience. Merleau-Ponty (2012: 107) adds, the subject understands as it "catches itself from the outside engaged in a cognitive process; it tries to touch itself while being touched and initiates 'a kind of reflection'". Thus, the idea of experience that underlies the concept of *Spracherleben* is that the languaging body, i.e. speaking subject, is either conceiving of itself as related to others by language, or languages (used as a verb). This idea is central to understanding the relationships between *Spracherleben* and the availability of linguistic resources.

With the concept of *Spracherleben*, Busch (2017b) points out that within the familiar grounds of everyday life, the relational and existential significance of language usually passes unnoticed. In certain situations like relocation, however, our phenomenological stakes in languaging become tangible by the experience "that one's linguistic repertoire does not (completely) 'fit'" (Busch 2017b: 342). Changing the centre of one's lifeworld "always [also] means a change in the linguistic environment with whose practices, discourse, and rules one is familiar" (Busch 2017b: 340). In such situations, we may shift from "pure" engagement in languaging to conceiving of ourselves as lingually related to others. With reference to literature from ELF research, relocation can be considered a typical case in which speaking subjects are called upon developing their communicative capability by "recurrent unlearning and relearning" (Widdowson 1984: 211; see also section 3.2). Given the human capability for languaging and the capacity to respond to changing situations by the agentive and responsive communicative intelligence (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 1006; see section 3.2), humans are considered fit to adapt to such change. Our languaging response to such situations, however, is not independent from the communicative conditions confronted—and this is what the concept of *Spracherleben* emphasizes. As Busch (2017b) elaborates,

> [u]nder favorable conditions, this kind of change can be experienced as a challenge, opening up new horizons and new opportunities to reinvent oneself as a (speaking) subject. Under less favorable conditions, however, changing location and language can also be experienced as a hardship or as a source of ongoing emotional stress—sometimes even leading to traumatization or to re-invoking earlier traumatic experience. (Busch 2017b: 340)

This notion of *Spracherleben* foregrounds that our languaging is critically shaped by how we experience the fit of our linguistic repertoire and that this experience is inextricably linked with our biography and the communicative conditions we confront.

This understanding can contribute to the specification of availability of communicative resources in two ways relevant for ELF research. Firstly, it emerges that modes of engagement which challenge the established and familiar ways in which subjects relate to one another through language may potentially prompt a questioning of the speaking subjects' fundamental ways of being (lingual). Should speaking subjects be confronted with simultaneous challenges in other existentially significant relationships with others and the world (e.g. identification, socioeconomic resources, citizenship status), the availability of alternative, established and currently stable relationships, beyond languaging, emerges as a crucial resource for responding to situations that demand a change in our linguistic ways of being. Given that ELF communication is a phenomenon of globalization, of mobile text and mobile people, basic languaging challenges are likely to occur with this phenomenon. Moreover, it has been pointed out that precisely because of this global and socially spread-out status, ELF communication is involved in interactions of a convivial *and* exploitative and oppressive kind (see section 3.4). The perspective of *Spracherleben* thus complements ELF research in understanding communicative challenges. It foregrounds the AL problem from the perspective of the speaking subject who is embedded in the concrete contingencies of an encounter. Considering encounters in which power hierarchies amongst speakers are unequal (e.g. those studied by Guido 2012 and Seidlhofer 2020b in the immigration domains), understanding *Spracherleben* of speakers in vulnerable situations can help to identify interactional patterns that tend to increase vulnerability and speakers' experience of voicelessness. Such understanding could in turn promote the development of communicative strategies and institutional environments that provide for interactionally more secure grounds of languaging.

Secondly, the concept of *Spracherleben* complements the understanding of the dynamics of the linguistic repertoire by biographical time and space. As elaborated in section 4.1, ELF research has mainly built on a static understanding of the linguistic repertoire. Where the literature foregrounds the dynamics of the linguistic repertoire, it still widely neglects the non-linguistic factors of availability. In this regard, Busch's work (2021a) can extend "the ELF notion" of the dynamic linguistic repertoire by the concept of *body image*. The body image is "understood as an imaginary (mostly not conscious) representation of the embodied self in interaction with others and the world" (Busch 2021a: 191–192). This imaginary representation of the self continuously develops over a lifetime, from early childhood onwards, to the updates of everyday experience. While the body image is fluid, it "'sticks' to the subjects allowing them to imagine themselves in terms of biographical continuity and coherence" (Busch 2021a: 196). The body image is not neutral but considered to encapsulate embodied evaluations of the self

in relation to others and the world. As Busch (2021a: 201) elaborates, it is an *evaluative* representation of the body which is informed by past experiences and future projections. Following the understanding of language as a relational gesture, the *Spracherleben* of speaking subjects is both shaping and shaped by the body image. Thereby, the concept of body image adds to ELF research an understanding of the dynamics between biography and situational conditions of communication which impact upon the availability of linguistic resources. The notion of body image furthermore broadens the understanding of what is relevant to speakers' languaging engagement. It highlights that languaging choices do not just respond to others' behaviour in particular situations: embodied experiences accumulate to evaluations of the (lingual) self that "can play an important role with regard to which personal resources can or cannot be activated in the deployment of a spatial repertoire" (Busch 2021a: 201).

Taken together, the concepts of *Spracherleben* and *body image* can contribute to the specification and study of issues of availability of communicative resources in the use of ELF communication. They provide a framework that grasps how linguistic resources assume meanings for speaking subjects that impact upon the availability of those resources—resources which may self-evidently be considered 'available' in the sense of "Multilingual Resource Pools" (Pitzl 2018a; 2018b; cf. Hülmbauer 2013; introduced in section 4.1). Busch (2016), for example, elaborates on the case of Mrs. L., a Ukrainian speaking immigrant from Romania who had been living in Austria without legal status for 13 years. Following her legal situation, Mrs. L. had reduced social contacts to the family nucleus and experienced a situation of social isolation in interactional and linguistic terms. Spanning across the fields of AL and Psychotherapy, the study reveals that Mrs. L. found herself in a place of voicelessness—a place which evoked earlier experiences of linguistic and social isolation related to language. These were linked with the participants' school entry in Romania, where she realized that, coming from a Ukrainian speaking community, "there is a (linguistic) world to which she had to struggle to gain access" (Busch 2016: 7). The study finds that despite the experience of hardship related with language, Mrs. L. found moments and encounters where she could mobilize "unexpected and underestimated linguistic resources" as a means of expression and socializing (Busch 2016: 8). It could be argued that in these moments Mrs. L. could live out her "translanguaging instinct". The example makes evident, however, that languaging does not come easily—even if speakers are willing to language. This is relevant especially in situations which challenge our established lingual relationships with others and the world, and in situations which can reinvoke traumatic experiences with such challenge from the past.

Considerations of that kind have been neglected in ELF research, probably because the focus of investigations has mainly been on languaging in favourable conditions so far.

The study of *Spracherleben* may also reveal insights into why speakers, in specific situations, actively refrain from using ELF the 'franca' way. This potential is demonstrated by an earlier study I conducted on the availability of ELF as a communicative resource amongst locals and refugees in Vienna (Radinger 2016a; 2018). The participants associated very different relational meanings with the use of English and German as a lingua franca. For example, Caroline, a German speaking local who supported refugees in a grassroots movement by offering cultural spare time activities, reported: when using German, she usually does not ask refugees for further clarification in other languages since the fact that they are trying to use the local language German makes her so happy about the fact that they can speak German, that she just lets them talk (cf. Radinger 2018: 72). From an established ELF research point of view, Caroline's rationale is problematic for solving the problem of lingual communication because she does not engage in meaning negotiation. In the specific situation, however, the relational significance that Caroline associates with the use of "any German at all" is the establishment of a positive supportive and affective relationship with the refugees. This seems primary to her engagement with them, even though it may come at the dispense of shared understanding. Another participant, Maria, who was working in the same grassroots movement, reported: to her, the use of German can "be like a loss" if a first relationship with a refugee has already been established through ELF communication (cf. Radinger 2018: 70). These examples are surely limited in their explanatory power of the concrete constraining and enabling factors on availability of communicative resources in the situations described. They still illustrate that it is relevant to consider the relational significance of languaging and the study of subjective meanings that speakers associate with linguistic resources.

In sum, drawing upon a biographical perspective on the linguistic repertoire advances the specification of the notion of 'availability' of communicative resources in ELF research: it adds an understanding of how past, future, and present biographical experiences can turn into enabling and constraining factors of the linguistic repertoire in situ. Furthermore, it extends the narrower view of linguistic resources "in" and across speakers' repertoires that has been dominant in ELF research. Thie biographical lens opens languaging research to matters beyond the "purely" linguistic, as it foregrounds the existential and relational significance of languaging as a gesture to others and the world.

4.4.2. Metrolingualism and the spatial repertoire

A second perspective I consider highly useful for tackling the favourability bias in ELF research is the space-oriented view of the linguistic repertoire. It complements the notion of 'availability' in ELF research by a focus on the patterns of language use that are associated with a particular physical and/or social space. Thereby, space is considered a dimension of the linguistic repertoire and speakers' languaging choices.

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014, 2015) study language use in urbanized, linguaculturally diverse settings, whereby they come to formulate a space-oriented understanding of the linguistic repertoire. Originally, they had proposed the term *metrolingualism* to "refe[r] to creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as *multilingualism* and *multiculturalism*" (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 244, original emphasis). In their work, they criticize the "multi-" terminology for its tendency to re-essentialize traditional linguistic demarcations. For example, it reinvokes a countability of multiple languages and cultures that can be identified by respectively assigned linguistic features (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 243–248). To take note of the year of publication (2010), the proposal of 'metrolingualism' parallels the endeavours of ELF research at the time (e.g. Seidlhofer 2010; 2011b; see also chapter 3). As instantiations of languaging research, both approaches are concerned with reconceptualizing basic sociolinguistic concepts in the light of how language is actually used in the conditions of globalized societies. Additionally, they overlap in their motivation for "describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language" (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 246).

With a growing interest in the relationships between interactional space and language use, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014: 163–164) later reconsider the original focus on speakers' "playful or willful creativity" in their conceptualization and study of metrolingualism. They problematize that such focus backgrounds the relationships between speakers' repertoires and patterns of language use that are associated with space (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 166). A reason for this problem is that a focus on creativity implies a norm against which linguistic features are considered "creative"[52]. Thereby, studies tend to fall back on the forms of language*s* rather than the processes of language use (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 164). It could also be added that a focus on creativity in languaging research reduces the phenomenon to languaging that is considered "creative". As a result of reconsidering their own concept of

[52] The issue of defining and studying 'creativity' is also discussed in ELF research, especially by Pitzl (2011, 2012, 2017, 2018a), who has focused on creativity in ELF communication.

'metrolingualism', Pennycook and Otsuji (2015: 57) pick up on a more general study of language practices in the city: "[w]hile not rejecting the ludic possibilities of language play, [the revised notion of] metrolingualism takes seriously the everyday language practices of people in cities, which may be playful and convivial or divisive and contested". This revision of the notion of metrolingualism is relevant for complementing the study of languaging in ELF research because it allows to consider languaging practices beyond playful and creative languaging behaviour.

The notion of metrolingualism is closely related to the concept of the *spatial repertoire* (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014; 2015). Pennycook and Otsuji (2014: 166) define the spatial repertoire "as the available and sedimented resources that derive from the repeated language practice of the people involved in the sets of activities related to particular places". Analytically, they furthermore differentiate between 'place' and 'space': "[w]hen we talk of spatial repertoires, […] we refer on the one hand to a general notion of the relations between semiotic resources and *social spaces*, on the other to the specific repertoires of *particular places*" (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 166, added emphasis). Applied to the study of languaging, relationships with geographical and material *place* of interaction (e.g. the building, arrangement, furniture, and location of a pizza restaurant), and between languaging and the socially constructed *space* of interaction (e.g. the practices, ideas, that make a building a pizza restaurant) are foregrounded (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 164–166). Thereby, the question of linguistic resources 'available' to speakers becomes a matter also of the patterns of languaging practices available by the social space/place of interaction.

With reference to the concept of body image introduced above (4.4.1), the spatial repertoire appears as a space-oriented analogy. To briefly describe the key points: following Busch (2021a), the body image is defined as an evaluative stance towards the (speaking) self, which is constituted by the experiences we make as we engage in languaging; the body image changes continuously yet sticks with the subject as an imagery for biographical representation of the self (Busch 2021a). The concept of 'spatial repertoire' now describes similar characteristics of the "body" of space: patterns of language use and experience sediment into social space and constitute collective practices and representations of what is legitimate, effective, and appropriate languaging in that space. Like the body image, the spatial repertoire is changing continuously since it is considered to be constructed intersubjectively by the "repeated and regularized language practices of that place" (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 166).

The analogy between the body image and the spatial repertoire grasps how spaces may favour and enable specific languaging practices while constraining others. The critical point is

that the linguistic repertoires of speakers and the spatial repertoire are not independent from each other. Studying the languaging practices of a kitchen in a pizza restaurant, Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) provide a concrete example to illustrate the analytical lens facilitated by the concept of spatial repertoire:

> What is clear […] is that when we look at a kitchen such as this—a spatiotemporal hub criss-crossed by trajectories of people (cooks, floor staff, phone calls), artefacts (knives, sieves, plates) and food (ingredients, cooking, finished items)—we can observe the ways in which activities, linguistic resources and space interact to produce new configurations of language use that are not best understood by looking at language-to-language relations (trans, poly, pluri, multi), functional domains (this language for this purpose) or individual repertoires (personal accounts of linguistic resources) but need to be viewed in relation to multiple tasks and available resources. (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015: 78)

The availability of linguistic resources appears essentially as a question of "the relation between repertoires as a result of life trajectories, and repertoires as the set of resources at people's disposal in particular place" (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 166). In sum, both the space-oriented perspective and the biographical perspective on the linguistic repertoire foreground languaging as a relational phenomenon. This view has been neglected in ELF research, whereby it can be complemented by relational conceptualizations of the notion of availability of linguistic resources and the distribution of agency in languaging.

The space-oriented conceptualization of the linguistic repertoire can complement ELF research by adding a focus on the relationship between speakers' repertoires and spatial repertoires, and by foregrounding a dynamic understanding of both. To provide a concrete example: the notions of metrolingualism and spatial repertoire can promote the understanding of how ELF communication in the kind of immigration encounters studied by Guido (2008, 2012, 2014, 2018) is shaped by the regularized patterns of language use in these spaces. So far, Guido (2012) has identified linguistic patterns as "ELF variants", whereby respective regularized languaging practices appear attached to representatives of particular speech communities, rather than space, individual biographies, and the concrete encounter. The space-oriented perspective can complement these findings by identifying how regularized languaging patterns of space interact with individual speakers' repertoires and the meanings that languaging practices assume in the concrete encounter. Insight into these dynamics can in turn serve the study of AL problems, by helping to unveil how institutionalized languaging practices impede and enable speakers' linguistic room for manoeuvre. Such understanding is needed to identify unexploited communicative resources and how they can be made available through actively reshaping the (translanguaging) space, such as in cases of interrogation in the immigration

domains. For an integration of biographical and space-oriented perspectives, ELF research can build on recent studies which have already combined those (e.g. Mashazi & Oostendorp 2022).

To conclude, integrating the biographical and space-oriented perspectives with process-oriented takes of ELF research is a measure to counteract the favourability bias because these perspectives foreground how languaging is a social, and hence a relational process that unfolds amongst speakers, spaces, and the concrete conditions, purposes, and contingencies of an encounter. Furthermore, based on the introduced biographical and space-oriented perspectives on the linguistic repertoire, issues of availability cannot sufficiently be addressed by looking at (overlaps of) linguistic resources "in" individual speakers' repertoires alone (the kind of focus most dominant in ELF research so far). In consideration of the two expanded notions of the linguistic repertoire, the over-emphasis on speaker willingness in making language 'franca' is challenged: linguistic resources can be inaccessible due to (traumatic) *Spracherleben* that takes effect in a concrete encounter; moreover, the subjective significance of linguistic resources that speakers know and use is at interplay with what is relevant and meaningful in the spaces in which interactions take place.

4.5. Taking stock: what is 'available' against the favourability bias

The explorations of this chapter have revealed theoretical and analytical gaps of ELF research which maintain the favourability bias in addition to empirically unbalanced databases. To close these gaps, I have suggested drawing upon biographical- and space-oriented notions of the linguistic repertoire to close these gaps. Thereby, the argument for more balanced databases and appropriate methodology for the study of ELF communication (Seidlhofer 2020b: 35) has been extended: to correct the favourability bias in ELF research, theoretical and analytical complements are needed which foreground the question of what makes linguistic resources and ways of using them 'available' to speakers in a concrete encounter. Concluding chapter 4, this section takes stock of what is 'available' against the favourability bias in terms of literature so far.

First (4.1), I demonstrated that the notion of 'availability' plays a central role in the study of ELF communication but is, at the same time, underspecified and significant to understanding how the favourability of communicative conditions impacts upon speakers' linguistic room for manoeuvre in languaging. I then (4.2) discussed incongruencies within and across different researchers' takes on the object of 'ELF'. This discussion revealed fundamental differences in researchers' basic understanding of what makes language 'franca', i.e. serve as a free, meaning making resource of languaging. These differences were identified between the product- and

process-oriented takes on ELF research, which roughly correspond to the disparities between initiation and languaging views of the problem of lingual communication. Most significant for AL, my explorations highlighted that the different views imply fundamentally different understandings of whether a franca quality can be enabled by speakers’ *own* engagement in languaging: while initiation views set an unsurpassable bar to such a quality, languaging views imply that it is the capability and agency of speakers themselves which unlocks the meaning making potential of the variability of language and languaging. I pointed out that by this view, ELF research has contributed to the acknowledgement of “non-native” speakers as legitimate users of ELF. But by neglect of the communicative conditions in which languaging takes place (which is a characteristic of the favourability bias), the currently available body of ELF literature can create the impression that speaker-willingness is the only and final frontier to successful languaging. I problematized this explanatory pattern in the light of contemporary neoliberal transformations (4.3): the over-emphasis on speaker willingness has a concerning parallel with neoliberal ideologies that responsibilize individuals over problems of a more structural kind. It is hence high-time to reconsider the “willingness-factor” in ELF research. Turning to the question of how issues of availability can be foregrounded in ELF research, I drew upon biographical- and space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire (4.4). I delineated how they add to the specification of the notion of ‘availability’ by focusing on the interplay between languaging and the patterns and experiences of language use “embodied” by speakers and by social and physical space.

Bridging to chapter 5, there is a critical point in which these notions need to be complemented further—none of the frameworks attends to the question in how far languaging constitutes itself an (un-)available process in term of speaker control. Such a framework is needed to analytically differentiate between fundamental inevitable and situationally specific “(un-)availabilities” in languaging, and to thereby gain a better understanding of the communicative conditions in which languaging is likely to be experienced as a hardship or an opportunity for language play and personal expression. I will develop this framework by assuming a PP perspective on languaging.

5. Languaging as a lived philosophical problem

This chapter offers a theoretical framework of languaging as a lived philosophical problem. To develop this framework, I assume a PP perspective on the phenomenon and the AL study of languaging. In section 5.1, I introduce three kinds of philosophical problems that speakers may experience as they engage in languaging: languaging may bring about experiences of fundamental challenge to ones taken-for-granted outlooks on the world (5.1.1), the awareness of the inevitable human situation of "being lingual" (5.1.2), and lived ethical evaluations of the "good" languaging self (5.1.3). In section 5.2, I turn to philosophical considerations about the AL study of languaging itself: I first introduce the analytical lens of dispositive analysis (5.2.1); then I apply this lens to conceptualize the languaging dispositive and draw attention to the role the AL study of languaging plays in the social construction of the languaging subject (5.2.2); based on this analysis, I discuss implications for a socially engaged AL study of languaging with a focus on ELF research (5.2.3). It is to be noted that the conceptualization of *languaging* as a lived philosophical problem is as such independent from research on ELF communication. In the context of this thesis, however, this theoretical model is developed in response to the theoretical and analytical gaps around the favourability bias in ELF research (chapter 4). Therefore, I also discuss how the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem contributes to closing these gaps.

5.1. The epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical significance of languaging

In this section, I describe three kinds of philosophical challenge—epistemological, existential, and ethical—which languaging can bring about in lived experience. To do so, I assume a PP perspective of languaging and look at it right at the point where the problem of lingual communication is immediately and urgently confronted by the subject. In this regard, the perspective of examination is different from ELF research which, as delineated in chapter 4 (4.1), depends upon the identification of recognizably English features of language and thus enters the "show" of languaging when it has already begun. The investigations integrates a relational view of agency by starting from the point where "emergent situations that impact upon each other and pose increasingly complex problems, […] must be taken up as challenges by the responsive (and communicative) intelligence" (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 969). Referring to definitions of languaging introduced in chapter 3 (3.2.), it can also be said that this exploration seeks to grasp what it means to engage in languaging as an "endless social process of orienting and reorienting ourselves to [the] environment" (Becker 2000: 288, qtd. in Seidlhofer 2011b: 98).

5.1.1. Languaging as a challenge to the taken-for-granted

To conceptualize epistemological challenges of languaging, I continue a thought of Busch (2017b) about the lived experience of language, i.e. *Spracherleben*. As I have already introduced parts of her work in chapter 4 (4.4.1), I briefly review those and add detail as relevant for the purposes here. As outlined, Busch (2017b: 340) focuses on lived experience in situations of relocation. In these, speakers live through a change of linguistic environment and thus also a change of how they (can) relate to others. Speakers who live through situations of relocation in relatively *unfavourable* conditions are likely to experience hardship in relation to language. In rather *favourable* conditions, by contrast, speakers are more likely to experience the change in linguistic environment as an opportunity of transforming the self (Busch 2017b: 340). Based on this understanding, Busch investigates how the interplay of biography and situated conditions can re-invoke experiences of trauma and voicelessness (e.g. Busch 2016). This way, the study of *Spracherleben* is focused on the social and psychological dimensions of languaging.

There is a critical thought in Busch's (2017b) conceptualization of *Spracherleben*, however, which opens to philosophical considerations about the human condition of being lingual and the challenges it implies:

> *[T]he underlying experience that one's own linguistic repertoire no longer 'fits' is*—and this is the central idea behind this article—one that not only occurs in extreme situations but is *shared (though often in a very attenuated form) by all speakers when experiencing dislocation*. (Busch 2017b: 340–341, added emphasis)

Expanding on this thought, I would argue that such languaging-related experiences of dislocation do not dependent on physical and geographical relocation. When it comes to languaging, there is a more general sense in which we can think of 'dislocation'—a kind of breach in the lingual relationships we have come to build with the world and others. The philosopher Cavell (2000: 28) highlights, as we learn to understand and use language, we "do not merely learn the pronunciation of sounds, and their grammatical orders, but the 'forms of life' which make those sounds the words they are, do what they do". Thereby, we essentially grow into a (lingual) reality of relationships between what (language) is, what can be done (with language), and what we as concrete speakers are and can do with language. If our words keep on doing what they usually do, these relationships and that (lingual) reality are confirmed. If we experience that our words do not do what they (should) do, however, we may grow suspicious or insecure about the (lingual) reality we have come to take for granted. As Cavell (2000: 29) puts forward, if others do not want or are not able to follow us in our use of words, "[w]e begin to feel, or ought to, terrified that maybe language (and understanding and

knowledge) rests upon very shaky foundations—a thin net over an abyss." These feelings are certainly more likely in situations of physical relocation. However, they may also occur in our most familiar environments; for example, when our languaging just does not take effect in the ways we have come to take for granted, and when shared understanding cannot be reached despite our best languaging efforts. In such situations we may find our words to be out of place, and thus find ourselves in *dislocation* to others and the world.

The critical point about the human lingual condition is that experiences of languaging-related dislocation reveal a fundamental un-availability of secured linguistic relationships to others and the world. Using terminology from ELF research, it can be said that engagement in the social process of languaging carries the potential of confrontation with the inherent variability *and* the stability of language. Individuals depend upon this inherent *variability* to build language and languaging that resonates with their particular situatedness in the world. At the same time, an inherent *stability* of language/languaging is needed to establish (shared form-meaning) relationships with others and the world. Languaging appears to operate upon a paradoxical reality of variability and stability. Speakers may be aware of this paradox, which does not prevent them from experiences of sincere trouble as they are actively engaged in languaging, however. The confrontation with fundamental challenge to one's established lingual relationships with others and the world, means to shift from a place where "things" belonged to other "things", to a place where such belonging is no longer self-evident. In this latter place, lingual relationships are yet to be established, yet "to belong". Eventually, however, the new relationships are as (in)stable and (in)secure as the former ones.

Given that languaging forms an essential human characteristic, moments of fundamental challenge to the taken-for-granted ways of languaging may induce philosophizing. In the given case, this means that speakers may be called to invest in what Schuchter (2016: 188) refers to as *hermeneutische Arbeit*, i.e. hermeneutic labour. This kind of labour becomes necessary when our templates of understanding show to be limited and emerge as such in the very process of understanding. This experience is epistemologically relevant and considered to reveal a

constitutive *hermeneutische Differenz* (i.e. hermeneutic difference) of human existence (Schuchter 2016: 188). The term describes,

> den Abstand zwischen einer oberflächlicheren und eine[r] tieferen 'Lektüre' des Lebens und der Welt und damit zwischen einem abstrakten Wissen und einem eigentlichen Verstehen.
>
> [the gap between a superficial and a deeper 'reading' of life and the world and thus between an abstract knowledge and actual understanding][53]. (Schuchter 2016: 188, omitted emphasis)

The hermeneutic difference is understood to result from a necessary absence of conscious self-perception when fully involved in action. Thereby, the concept parallels the phenomenological understanding of "double sensations" which, as elaborated earlier (chapter 4, 4.4.1), underlies the concept of *Spracherleben*: the idea of hermeneutic difference centres around an understanding of 'experience' following which the body is *either* engaged in doing something *or* in perceiving of that doing. When we are engaged in languaging, we may do so by taken-for-granted forms and ways without experience of communication problems. If problems occur, however, we may be called to assume a more reflective position and to invest in a kind of languaging engagement that questions what 'languaging' *is*.

So the notion of hermeneutic labour is relevant also for a philosophical conceptualization of 'languaging' itself. If we accept the above-described close relationship between how we language and how we know and speak of the world, a functionalistic reading of 'languaging', i.e. as a process by which speakers appropriate language to fit the communicative purposes of an encounter, seems insufficient. Drawing upon Gadamer (1960/2010), the *making* of language and understanding need to be seen as a part of the very process of *reaching* shared language and understanding. He puts forward,

> daß das hermeneutische Gespräch sich wie das wirkliche Gespräch eine gemeinsame Sprache erarbeiten muß und daß diese Erarbeitung einer gemeinsamen Sprache ebensowenig wie beim Gespräch die Bereitung eines Werkzeuges für die Zwecke der Verständigung ist, sondern mit dem Vollzug des Verstehens und der Verständigung selbst zusammenfällt.
>
> [hermeneutical conversation, like real conversation, finds a common language, and that finding a common language is not, any more than in real conversation, preparing a tool for the purpose of reaching understanding but, rather, coincides with the very act of understanding and reaching agreement.][54] (Gadamer 1960/2010: 391)

Drawing on this perspective, the notion of 'languaging' is expanded by an understanding of its epistemological dimension: 'languaging' is conceptualized as a process that relates not just to the negotiation of linguistic form-meaning use relationships, but also to the ways in which we

[53] My translation.

[54] Transl. following Weinsheimer and Marshall (Gadamer 1975/2004: 389).

understand (others and the world); from this view, languaging is an epistemologically significant attempt at making words do what they (should) do, and 'language' what it 'is'.

Turning to issues of availability in languaging, the capacity and possibility for *letting go of one's taken-for-granted ways of languaging* appears to be an important communicative resource. This resource, however, does not seem to be easily available in situations of social (and epistemological) insecurity, or, speaking more generally, in situations of relatively unfavourable communicative conditions. Drawing implications for ELF research, this means that the consideration of the favourability of communicative conditions is critical to better understand what enables speakers to "dare" engage in the kind of creative and cooperative ways of meaning negotiation that studies have described so far, and what encourages speakers to stick to their habitual ways of languaging. Moreover, to let go of one's taken-for-granted ways of languaging appears not just as a matter of pragmatic appropriation of language but also of the need for, or resistance to submitting to others' epistemologies of language/languaging. For an example, one can think of the case from Guido's (2012) study in which the immigration officer enjoys a power privilege in interpreting the metaphorical language use of the immigrant (chapter 4, 4.2.1). Considering the epistemological significance of languaging, the freedom to have and develop a voice worth hearing is inextricably related with issues of epistemic (in)justice, i.e. the "wrongful treatment and unjust structures in meaning-making and knowledge producing practices" (Kidd et al. 2017: 1).

The critical point about considering the favourability of communicative conditions in the study of languaging then is: any engagement in languaging may bring about a fundamental challenge to our taken-for-granted ways of languaging; in favourable conditions it is likely that this challenge passes unnoticed; in more unfavourable conditions, however, it may appear with great urgency and a lack of basic (epistemological) security in relating to others by languaging. The conceptualization of languaging as a challenge to the taken-for-granted complements ELF research by pinning down an inextricable relationship between how speakers may confront the problem of lingual communication and the situational availability of a basic epistemological security one may rely on in languaging. Regarding AL research, it is to be highlighted that lived philosophical problems become tangible only from a languaging point of view: if 'language' is studied as a linguistic system, the experience of language is out of reach—and with it the potential insights into the experience of what it means to language in relative absence of taken-for-granted ways of relating to and understanding others and the world. Finally, if we consider the epistemological significance of languaging in the light of the vuca conditions of contemporary globalized and superdiverse societies, the experience of irritation of, or

'dislocation' in what one thought to know and self-evidently say about others and the world is most likely an experience many speakers can relate to today—irrespective of their concrete linguacultural backgrounds.

5.1.2. Languaging as a confrontation with the ultimate situation of being lingual

Trying to grasp what it means to language from a subject perspective, a PP perspective on languaging furthermore reveals how it implies the experience of philosophical problems in the sense of Jaspers' (1953/1994) *Grenzsituationen* (ultimate situations)[55]. In chapter 2 (2.2) I have briefly explained this notion of situations already, which are inevitable and characterize human life, like having to die, being subject to chance, etc. In the following, I delineate in how far we find such ultimate situations in relation to languaging.

First, although humans may actively engage in languaging and the kind of cooperative meaning negotiation described in ELF research, the communicative outcome is to a considerable degree un-available, i.e. beyond our control and agency. As Cavell (2000) puts forward,

> [when] we *tell* beginners what words mean, or […] *teach* them what objects are […] [w]e initiate them into the relevant forms of life held in language and gathered around the objects and persons of our world. For that to be possible, we must make ourselves exemplary and take responsibility for that assumption of authority; and *the initiate must be able to follow us, in however rudimentary a way, naturally* (look where our finger points, laugh at what we laugh at, comfort what we comfort, notice what we notice, find alike or remarkable or ordinary what we find alike or remarkable or ordinary, feel pain at what we feel pain at, enjoy the weather or the notion we enjoy, make the sounds we make) *and he must want to follow us* (care about our approval, like a smile better than a frown, a croon better than a croak, a pat better than a slap). 'Teaching' here would mean something like 'showing them what we say and do', and 'accepting what they say and do as what we say and do', etc.; *and this will be more than we know, or can say*. (Cavell 2000: 28, added emphasis)

As Cavell (2000: 28) speaks of "initiat[ing] others into the relevant forms of life held in language", the quote is reminiscent of course of the initiation view of the problem of lingual communication. What I seek to point out with this reference, however, is irrespective of whether we assume an initiation or a languaging view of the problem of lingual communication: Cavell (2000) draws attention to our fundamental dependency on the languaging capabilities and willingness of the other—factors which influence the outcome and "success" of our languaging but are to a considerable degree out of our control as interlocutors. There are even limitations to how far we can influence our own languaging capabilities and our willingness to follow the other. To increase our chances for communicative success, we may work on our languaging

[55] Transl. following Ralph Manheim (Jaspers 1964: 20).

selves and thereby, phenomenologically speaking, act upon our lingual relatedness with the world and others. We may, for example, learn languages and develop our capability for languaging by (assuming an attitude for) taking opportunities of living out our "translanguaging instinct", as elaborated in chapter 3 (3.2). We may do so especially in anticipation of, or following the experience of, a linguistic repertoire that does not quite fit. Eventually, however, we cannot entirely determine what we pick up, what is learned, and what remains "unlearned". Despite our efforts, in the very attempt of solving the problem of lingual communication, we may learn to understand that our control over the capability for languaging is limited as is the control over communicative success.

Considering this fundamental un-availability of languaging, Rosa's (2019) conditions for the experience of *resonance* in relating to the world and others add an important aspect. This is because this kind of un-availability is considered a pre-condition for dialogue and experience of resonance. Rosa (2019: 295) takes a relational view of human actions and considers them answers to the world by which we constitute our relationships with it, as well as the quality of these relationships. Following this understanding, the possibility of resonance lies in the situated process and the fulfilment of the condition that the poles of the relationship "speak" their own voice, even if this voice may be irritating. So the condition for resonance is that (the behaviour of) the poles cannot be arbitrarily manipulated and controlled. When resonance is experienced, a metaphorical string vibrates between these two poles (Rosa 2019: 24). Unlike playing the strings of a guitar, however, in this image humans occupy the position of a pole and cannot control whether the string vibrates. The attempt at creating resonance is thus inevitably also constituted by the fact that it may fail (Rosa 2019: 295). It is this principal un-availability which makes our gestures of relating to the world and others *existentially* significant. Since languaging is such a gesture, Rosa's described fundamental kinds of un-availability and existential significance of resonance can be considered to apply here. When we engage in languaging, we may grow aware of an ultimate *lingual situation* of humans which entails the limitations of controlling capability and willingness for languaging as much as the limited control over communicative success.

Second, to communicate we must *perform* (our) language, which reveals our authority and responsibility as languaging subjects. Referring once more to the above cited passage from Cavell (2000: 28), I would like to point out that it is not just in teaching language that we make ourselves examples of 'how we do language'. Rather, whenever we attempt to communicate via language, we inevitably *are* examples of lingual beings trying to resolve the problem of lingual communication. In languaging we are authorities shaping the forms of life held in

language. With this authority comes *responsibility*, as encapsulated in Butler's (1997/2021) idea of the performative in relation to speech:

> [T]he responsibility of the speaker does not consist of remaking language ex nihilo, but rather of negotiating the legacies of usage that constrain and enable that speakers' speech. To understand this sense of responsibility, one afflicted with impurity from the start, requires that we understand the speaker as formed in the language that he or she also uses. (Butler 1997/2021: 28)

The "impurity" referred to by Butler here, points to the simultaneous *patient* status of the authoritative and responsible speaking subject. One aspect of the ultimate situation of being lingual is that, speaking from today's state of humanity, language historically precedes and exceeds the present individual human life. This means that any process of language acquisition also constitutes an initiation into established legacies of usage that constrain and enable our own speech. Derrida (1998) problematizes this by pointing out an inherent colonialism of culture:

> All culture is originarily colonial. In order to recall that, let us not simply rely on etymology. Every culture institutes itself through the unilateral imposition of some 'politics' of language. Mastery begins, as we know through the power of naming, of imposing and legitimating appellations. (Derrida 1998: 39)

Considering that we assume authority as examples of how to do language, any languaging necessarily involves at least an invitation to the other to also language our way. On some occasions, it will mean imposing our languaging ways on others.

Third, in our authority as examples of language users, we are ultimately vulnerable by depending on the recognition of that authority through the other. This recognition is, as pointed above with Cavell (2000), dependent on the other's capability and willingness to read us as lingual beings who pursue a communicative intention rather than merely produce sounds. To engage in (cooperative) languaging, the other must be *able* to follow us naturally in whatever rudimentary way—and the other must *want* to follow us. This kind of following does not necessarily entail that they must accept our views or be kind to us, but that they accept the communicative appeal we issue at them by virtue of assuming a shared lingual situatedness and capability for languaging. Thereby arises an *ethical demand* (Løgstrup 1959/1997) that is linked with the communicative use of language. To explain this demand, the phenomenological view of language as a bodily gesture by which we relate to others and the world, which I elaborated in chapter 4 (4.4.1), becomes relevant again.

From a phenomenological view, our dependency on the others' acceptance of our lingual communicative appeal shows as a gesture of the (bodily) social existence that acts upon its lingual relations with others and the world and invites them to do the same. The speaking subject is vulnerable in that it puts itself, or its voice, out to be heard, i.e. accepted and

interpreted by the other. At the same time, the listening subject who takes an interest in understanding the other is dependent upon whether and how the speaking subject voices itself (at all). Thus, languaging opens to matters of an existential *and* ethical kind—"[o]ut of the basic fact that we always have something of the Other's life in our hand, the *ethical demand* directly arises: to take care of that of the Other what he has laid into our hand" (Lindseth 2014a: 9, with reference to Løgstrup 1959/1997: 16). So, on a very basic level, languaging is a matter of (existential) trust, recognition, dependency, and cooperation. It may be relevant to mention that the felicity of insulting someone depends upon those basic matters as much as complimenting someone. As Lindseth (2014a: 14) sees it, meeting the ethical demand is a matter of attitude humans take towards each other: "[f]rom the standpoint of relational ethics, it is of crucial importance to have the willingness to open up to the meaning of what the Other expresses, even if—especially if—the meaning is not clear to us."

Turning to how this understanding may serve the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research, Lindseth's (2014a) description of the ethical demand and the demanded attitude towards the other is reminiscent of Seidlhofer's (2011b) description of the ELF aware and skilled ELF users: they are considered to have a "concern for [their] interlocutor" and are "sensitively gauging the other person's likely familiarity with expressions of a particular kind" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 35). I pointed out in chapter 4 (4.2.4) that this kind of behaviour is often uncritically generalized to speak of a typical characteristic of ELF use. In the light of the ethical demand, this overgeneralization points to an ethical implication of the favourability bias. If ELF communication is construed as a "morally good" kind of languaging—a morality that is easily achievable if participants just wanted to, ELF research ignores an important aspect of the ultimate situation of being lingual. This aspect is that, besides the authority and responsibility of the speaking subject, languaging implies a fundamental un-availability in that it depends upon a basic capability and willingness for languaging which we cannot entirely control. This insight does not automatically excuse "bad" languaging behaviour, nor systemic repression of speakers' voices. Rather, the conceptualization of languaging as a confrontation with the ultimate situation of being lingual sets a conceptual bar to a naïve construal of individual responsibility and control over languaging. This is just the kind of bar that was found to be missing for possible explanatory patterns from a languaging point of view, as demonstrated by the analysis of what makes language 'franca' in the case of Guido's study on ELF in the immigration domains (chapter 4, 4.2–4.3). Making a transition to languaging as a (lived) *ethical* problem from a subject perspective, it emerges that basic views of what speakers have available and can consequently do for solving the problem of lingual communication are not just relevant

for research. Rather, they appear to be relevant for our everyday judgments upon whether our languaging was "good" (enough).

5.1.3. Languaging as a practice by which we ethically evaluate ourselves and others as "good" humans

In chapter 4 (4.4.1), the concept of 'body image' was introduced as an evaluative stance towards the (speaking) self. It sticks with the subject but is continuously shaped as speakers engage in languaging and embody the evaluations they make based on their experience (Busch 2021a). From a PP point of view, these evaluations have an *ethical* dimension that points beyond the individual subject and the concrete experience made. This is the case when languaging assumes meaning as a *social practice* and becomes a point of reference for evaluations of whether we are "good" humans as such. To explicate this ethical dimension, the notions of 'ethics' and 'practice' need to be elaborated first.

Outside philosophical discourse, 'ethics' is typically referred to in the sense of *moral*. Evaluations of a moral kind are based on a set of moral principles, i.e. a catalogue of standards following which behaviour can be qualified as morally "good" or "bad". Such understanding can be observed in practice when, for example, ethics commissions are consulted to decide whether submitted research projects fulfil moral standards. Moral evaluations typically follow a top-down approach. Moral standards are relatively fixed yet may also be the object of negotiation and discussion, such as in disciplinary discussions on research ethics in AL (e.g. Costa 2016). A second and less commonly referred to sense of 'ethics' is referred to by *lived ethics* and captures the art of living a good life, *ars vitae bonae.* It is concerned with the ethical quality of life and with being human as such. Thereby the meanings of "good" and "bad" are nearer to the meanings of "felicity" and "infelicity" and extend beyond the evaluation of concrete actions—when we evaluate ourselves in terms of lived ethics, we put ourselves and our lives under scrutiny of what is more generally a "good" human and life (cf. MacIntyre 1987; Ricœur 1992; Schuchter 2016). Focused on life, or rather on living, lived ethics is primarily about the process, or "art", of living, rather than about (moral) standards. Therefore, questions and challenges of a lived-ethical kind are considered to emerge from the bottom-up, i.e. by being involved in life itself. For example, we may ask ourselves questions like: "Am I living a good life? Do I experience felicity in the roles I assume? Am I a good colleague/teacher/mother/friend?". Following Ricœur (1992: 172), lived-ethical questions emerge because humans are driven by an inherent *ethical intention*, "aiming at 'good life' with and for others, in just institutions." Finally, lived ethics is concerned with a broader idea of the

good human and life. Nonetheless, moral standards clay a role in lived-ethical evaluations, because the former link with the concrete aims, we set and the actions we take, both of which constitute our "art" of living. Making a transition to the theorization of languaging as a practice by which we evaluate ourselves and others as good humans, the bottom-up perspective of ethics as *lived ethics* is most relevant because it allows to foreground a subject perspective on languaging.

In the most basic definitions of 'languaging' in AL, the term refers to a social *process* of meaning making by linguistic means (chapter 1, 1.2). In fact, however, many studies in ELF research (and beyond) are concerned rather with the linguistic *practices* by which speakers engage in the process of languaging. So 'languaging' is described as a practice, rather than a process. To define *practice*, Ricœur (1992: 153–154) differentiates between 'practices' and 'basic actions'. *Practices* are thought of as second-order units and conglomerates of subordinate basic actions. Prototypical examples of practices are those linked with professions and sports (e.g. the practice of tailoring, of medicine, of research). To elaborate on the relationship between practices and *basic actions*, Ricœur (1992: 154) adds the example of farming, which "includes subordinate actions, such as plowing, planting, harvesting and so in descending order, until one reaches basic actions such as pulling or pushing." These subordinate, basic actions are thought of as being held together by nested relations which lead up to a "global action"—i.e. the super-ordinate meaning which makes, e.g. farming, *a practice* (Ricœur 1992: 154). When we apply this definition to languaging, it can be defined as the practice by which humans communicate with each other by linguistic means, and that is comprised of basic actions such as uttering sounds, forming words, identifying sounds as language, interpreting signs, and so on.

The second part of the definition of 'a practice' opens to matters of lived ethics. A practice is considered to be socially constituted by "constitutive rules" (Ricœur 1992: 154) and "internal goods" (Ricœur 1992: 176; cf. MacIntyre 1987) that make the meaning of that practice. These rules and goods are construed by social interaction: as people, for example, do farming, do AL, etc., the individual (basic) actions are unified into the greater global action that is meaningful as a social practice. As to the social, interactional constitution of a practice, its meaning, constitutive rules, and ideas of excellence are not something for the individual to determine but "originate much further back than the solitary practitioner" (Ricœur 1992: 176) who currently carries out a practice. Turning to lived ethics, it is only by the status of a practice that individual actions become significant for lived-ethical evaluation: the socially constituted meaning framework of the practice puts single actions into respective reference and enables

"appraisals of an evaluative (and subsequently normative) nature [which] are attached to precepts of doing (something) well" (Ricœur 1992: 176). To illustrate this, one can think of a person who in their daily life writes on boards, researches information, and passes it on to others, evaluates these persons, and takes notes about these persons; when this person is referred to as a teacher, these actions unify into the practice of teaching and we may wonder about *how* the teacher conducts the individual actions and whether their interpretation of these actions adds up to a point we would say they are a "good" teacher. So, it is the socially constituted meaning of a practice that provides the possibility of reading actions as pointing to, or away, from the respectively socially constituted ideas of excellence, the internal goods which make that practice.

Turning to the subject perspective, the meaning of a practice is socially constituted but the significance it assumes for lived-ethical evaluation in an individual life is considered to depend on how strongly a person identifies their self with that practice. In cases where a practice is strongly related with the image and projections of our "good" self, i.e. the human we aspire to be and the life we seek to live, that practice assumes lived-ethical significance for the individual subject (MacIntyre 1987; Ricœur 1992; Schuchter 2016). For the purposes of illustration, Schuchter (2016: 278) provides an example for the practice of "piano playing" and a piano player who makes a mistake in front of an audience: piano player A is a professional piano player who strongly links the practice of piano playing with their concept of self, self-value, and life plan—they are likely to experience shame because of the mistake they made, to be indignant at themselves, and/or censure themselves upon making mistakes at a concert (even though these mistakes may have escaped notice by the audience); by contrast, piano player B is a person who does not strongly link the practice of piano playing to their concept of self; for them the very same mistake is likely to be irrelevant for how they conceive of themselves as a person as such. While the example is simplified, it illustrates that the personal engagement with a practice and the conduct of that practice have a lived-ethical dimension. Moreover, it provides an image for understanding how we are more likely to experience evaluative feelings of self-regard (e.g. shame, admonition, pride, fulfilment) when we closely relate a specific practice with our concept of self and life (cf. Schuchter 2016: 278). With regard to the practice of languaging, the concepts of *body image* and *Spracherleben* (chapter 4, 4.4.1) grasp these evaluative feelings and their relevance for the availability of communicative resources in languaging in their psychological dimensions. The PP perspective in turn explicates the lived-ethical dimension and points to a heightened level of social significance of (negotiating the inherent goods of) the practice of languaging in times of globalization and superdiversity.

Based on the introduced understanding of 'lived ethics' and 'practice', I argue that besides the more general definition of languaging as a social process, languaging can be defined as a social *practice* and assumes such status also in the societies we live in today. While languaging is (as defined above) an existentially constituted relational process of human life, it is socially significant also as a practice in which speaking subjects engage more or less felicitously and can strive to be "good" at. Most obviously, when it comes to languaging in "a" language, there are clear rules and ideas of excellence that govern it. However, such rules and ideas of excellence may also be considered irrespective of "a" particular language and to govern "doing language" as such. In this sense, languaging is a practice by which humans communicate with and relate to each other by linguistic means. In either case, the ideas of "good" languaging precede the current individual and are socially constituted. Critical for the AL relevance of thinking of 'languaging' as a *practice*, contemporary social conditions of globalization and superdiversity are likely to have increased the social status of languaging as a practice and thus also respective negotiation of excellence. If solving the everyday problem of lingual communication turns into an everyday challenge, discourse will be intensified about how these difficulties may be solved, i.e. about what kind of languaging is effective and "good".

The central question I have not answered yet is in how far the speaking subject who is engaged in the *process* of languaging, may experience philosophical problems of a lived-ethical kind that relate to the *practice* of languaging. To provide such an answer, Merleau-Ponty's (2012: 105–107) phenomenological image of the left hand touching the right hand is helpful once more: the human existence is one of "double sensations", i.e. we are simultaneously experiencing and experienced bodies. This image is helpful because lived ethics, as elaborated above, is about evaluations we make based on practices we carry out and hold dearly in relation to our self as human beings. From a subject perspective we may experience a moral and lived-ethical judgment of our actions from outside, and these judgments may enter our ideas of self by embodiment; in this case the sensation of the experiencing subject is foregrounded. Moreover, when engaged in a practice such as languaging, we may confront moments that interrupt the status quo, i.e. the ideas of excellence by which we conduct that practice. Such moments urge us to inhabit the position of the experienced subject and reconsider ourselves in relation to that practice or the significance and social meaning of that practice itself. Considering the emergence of lived-ethical problems in relation to the practice of languaging, languaging seems to be a particularly complex case. Unlike the practice of teaching, for example, languaging is more obviously implied in the different roles and ideas of self we inhabit in our lives (e.g. languaging of a parent to a child).

The following examples illustrate how the practice of languaging can involve experiences of lived-ethical problems. For the first example, I draw upon a case from the empirical investigations of this research (chapter 8, 8.2.2). In his life Latif makes the experience that languaging is effective and felicitous in terms of relating to others as fellow human beings, if he follows and allows a flexible use of linguistic resources. In the situation of immigrating to Austria, he makes the experience that this kind of "good" languaging is still valid and significant in everyday life. However, as an immigrant in Austria he also makes the experience that he has to fulfil standards of (German) language use to claim residence rights and be a "good" immigrant. Latif may not necessarily choose to identify with the role of the immigrant. But because of the significance for the life he may lead (in Austria), different ideas of 'good languaging' are "true" and at conflict—a conflict which challenges orientation in the kind of languaging he should follow to lead a "good" life. In chapter 8, I will elaborate further on how this conflict implies experiences of ambiguity in relation to languaging. As a second example, the autobiographical experience I shared in the introductory notes on researcher positionality (chapter 01, 1.3) can also be seen as an example of ethically significant conflicting conceptions of 'good languaging'. In contrast to Latif's case, however, the conflict relates to the lived-ethical evaluation of myself as a language teacher rather than as a languaging subject as such. In short, faced with the discrepancy between the supposedly empowering ideas of 'good languaging' from ELF research and the reality of languaging that my students confronted on a daily basis, I felt an ethical unease about the question of whether I would be a "good" teacher if I told them to "just language". Taken together, the examples illustrate the lived-ethical dimension of the practice of languaging and how evaluations of the self and others related to it can imply experiences of considerable ethical conflict.

The experience of the lived-ethical significance of a practice is significant from a PP perspective, as it may induce philosophizing about the internal goods and ideas of excellence which we follow in the practices we identify with as selves. In everyday life, moments which can induce such philosophizing often pass by as we are required to respond to practical necessities. Spaces of enquiry opened by PP can thus be a space to follow up on the lived-ethical challenges we experience. Developed into a systematic approach, experiences of ethical conflict may even function as the starting point of enquiries that lead to "improvement" in lived-ethical terms. "Improvement" here means that a kind of insight is gained which concerns the relationship of the self and a practice, rather than the acquisition of skills and techniques that make, e.g. a teacher, more competent.

Such a systematic approach is provided by *reflective practice research* (Lindseth 2017; Weiss 2021b; Weiss & Helskog 2022). Following Weiss (2021b), it basically proceeds by three steps:

1) Making experiences.
2) Reflecting on these experiences.
3) Trying to gain (self-)insight into one's practices and experiences. (Weiss 2021b: 250)

This path of enquiry is applied, for example, in teacher education and considered an important complement to more established competence-oriented teacher training which tends to target pre-defined skills and teaching techniques (Helskog & Weiss 2021). Reflective practice research is instead intended to target teachers' *phronesis*, i.e. "the ability to do the right thing in a given situation—i.e. the concrete teaching situation—with regards to human flourishing, that is, the good life overall" (Weiss 2021b: 248, omitted emphasis). The critical difference lies in the second and third steps of the path of examination: they are approached by the heading question of "What is at stake in this experience?" regarding how one *is* (e.g. a teacher) and how one is *doing* (e.g. teaching) (cf. Weiss 2021b: 253), rather than by the question of whether one is correctly applying the right skills and techniques. In the case of a practice like teaching, this means that the enquiry challenges a subject to probe into personal and professional attitudes and values by which it performs 'teaching' (Weiss 2021b: 251)—attitudes and values which are, based on the socially constituted character of practices, inextricably linked with the internal goods and ideas of excellence of e.g. 'being a teacher'/'teaching'.

The framework of reflective practice research is relevant to the conceptualization of languaging as a lived philosophical problem, since it acknowledges the lived-ethical dimension of practices like languaging. Additionally, it suggests that the exploration of experiences of lived-ethical conflicts that are related to languaging and may take up resource in the languaging process can be understood better by enquiries which assume a subject perspective. From a PP perspective, it can be said that reflective practice research seeks "improvement" in the sense of the philosophical sense of being accountable to oneself. In this regard, reflective practice research could also be understood as an enquiry into the conditions under which *resonance* (with reference to Rosa 2019; 5.1.2) can be established between the poles of the self, a practice, and "good" life. Extended to the case of 'languaging', this indicates that speakers' engagement in the process of languaging may come as an experience of resonance in terms of the practice of languaging or not. The favourability of communicative conditions is likely to impact upon

speakers' room for manoeuvre in exploring what "improves" their languaging selves in lived-ethical terms.

In this subsection, I have suggested to think of 'languaging' as a social practice by which we evaluate ourselves and others in lived-ethical terms. Turning to implications for correcting the favourability bias in ELF research, this understanding of 'languaging' can help to identify how communicative conditions both enable and constrain speakers in coping with the ethical challenges of languaging. My elaborations have delineated how languaging can bring about lived-ethical conflicts that are existentially significant for speakers and put them in a position of insecurity about the kind of languaging subjects they are and aspire to be. This understanding indirectly adds to the specification of the 'availability' of communicative resources and explicates the lived-ethical dimension of *Spracherleben* and the body image: like in the subsections on the epistemological (5.1.1) and existential (5.1.2) significance of languaging, 'having some basic ground of existential and social security as a speaking subject' emerges as an important *communicative* (rather than a merely *linguistic*) resource. Furthermore, acknowledgement of the lived-ethical dimension of languaging sheds new light on the practical implications of a favourability bias in ELF research: the bias implies a construal of excellence of 'languaging' that is constituted in a relative ease in communication, liberty, great room for manoeuvre, conviviality, creativeness, and cooperation (chapter 3, 3.4). Such features of languaging, however, can hardly be controlled by an individual alone, as highlighted by the expanded notions of 'availability' in chapter 4 (4.4). Ignorance of the favourability bias may thus evoke predominantly negative evaluations of the self and others in terms of languaging. Positioned as the third of the three kinds of philosophical problems by which I conceptualized 'languaging' as a lived philosophical problem in this section, the issue of lived-ethical evaluations is a transition to the lived-ethical significance of AL knowledge generation about 'languaging'.

5.2. The lived-ethical significance of AL knowledge about 'languaging'

If languaging is recognized as social practice of lived-ethical significance, socially constructed ideas of languaging can play an important role in our evaluations of self and others as "good" (lingual) beings. The AL study of languaging is in essence an enquiry which generates ideas and knowledge about languaging—it is thus part of the social discursive network that constructs the practice of 'languaging'. In other words, it offers knowledge for identification and evaluation by the languaging subject. Therefore, in pursuit of analytical and research procedural

ways for correction the favourability bias in ELF research, a framework of analysis seems necessary which captures the lived-ethical significance of AL enquiry itself.

In this section, I draw upon the analytical lens of *dispositive analysis* (Bührmann & Schneider 2007; 2008) to conceptualize the relationship between the AL study of languaging and the construction and lived-ethical evaluation of the languaging subject. I first outline the general analytical lens of dispositive analysis (5.2.1). For reasons of scope[56], this outline is focused on what is relevant (a) for developing a grip onto how discourses of different social power and specialization together sustain and (re)construct a shared reality; and (b) for investigating the relationships between AL knowledge (generation) and the process of *subjectification* (i.e. how speaking subjects position themselves to and are positioned by social reality; Bührmann 2004; Bosančić & Keller 2019). Then I sketch *the languaging dispositive* (5.1.2) and, subsequently, draw implications for tackling the favourability bias in ELF research and for the AL study of languaging more generally (5.1.3).

5.2.1. Dispositive analysis

Dispositive analysis builds on Foucault's (1984a, 1984b, 1994, 2018) studies on the *dispositive of sexuality* and is considered both a research perspective and an approach (Bührmann & Schneider 2008). It aims to study how knowledge about the world is socially and intersubjectively constructed, and how this knowledge relates to power over constructing the social reality we live in. The (speaking) subject assumes a constituting and constituted role in this reality. Thus, dispositive analysis is concerned also with (power over) the process of subjectification and investigates how the subject is constituted by and positions itself to the socially constructed knowledge/reality (cf. Bührmann 2004; Bosančić & Keller 2019). The notion of 'social practice', which I elaborated in 5.1.3 above, plays a role in dispositive analysis, since a practice can play a significant role in "making" us the kinds of subjects we are, and may be, in the socially shared reality. Contemporary studies of dispositive analysis investigate, for example, the dispositives of gender (Bührmann 1998a; 1998b), female individuality (Bührmann 2004), dying well (Schneider & Hayek 2005; Lang 2018; Wegleitner et al. 2018), inclusion (Peter & Waldschmidt 2017), and food charity (Möller 2019).

To better understand the procedure of enquiry of dispositive analysis and its object, a basic introduction to Foucault's thinking is needed[57]. Explaining the intention behind studying

[56] For reasons of scope, a comprehensive overview of dispositive analysis cannot be provided. Thus elaborations on dispositive analysis focus on those aspects relevant for the purposes of this thesis. For broader accounts see, for example, Foucault (1978); Link (1986, 2007); Bührmann (1998b); Jäger and Maier (2001); Keller (2008); Bührmann and Schneider (2007, 2008).

[57] Remaining within the scope of this thesis, the introduction into basic terminology and concepts in Foucault's work is tailored to the purposes of describing dispositive analysis. The review I provide is thus simplified and does not elaborate on different

the *dispositive of sexuality*, Foucault (1988, qtd. in Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 29) elaborates that he developed the notion of 'dispositive' by following an interest in when and how 'sexuality' became an object of knowledge and relevant for subjectification. The interest was to trace back when and how sex became something people did not just do, but "something" which became a matter of a discursive social reality and which could be (scientifically, medically, religiously, etc.) investigated, improved, treated, and manipulated. Following this interest, investigations into 'a dispositive' also seek to understand the role of power in the social emergence of a (supposedly) given reality. In Foucault's works 'reality' refers to the human grasp of 'what is' and this grasp is understood to be *discursive*, i.e. constituted amongst subjects by discursive practices. Consequently, what humans know about the world is socially constructed. 'Discourse' includes all practices which (re)produce knowledge about and constitute the objects of that world. These practices are thus considered to produce a socially secured truth (i.e. an order of knowledge) about reality. Therefore, following Foucault's understanding of 'reality', knowledge is inextricably related with power and regulation over what is accepted and sayable about the world, i.e. over what is 'real'. Finally, given the social constitution of reality, discourse is considered to involve the (re)construction *and* the transformation of knowledge/reality (Bührmann & Schneider 2007: n.p.).

A basic understanding of Foucault's theory of the interplay between discourse and reality is critical to follow the notion of 'dispositive' that underlies dispositive analysis. A dispositive is considered a kind of structure at interplay; a network of discursive practices which enables and orchestrates the (re)production of discourses, practices, and thus of social reality. In a transcribed and translated conversation about his work, Foucault (1980) provides the image of a "heterogeneous ensemble" to think of the dispositive as an apparatus of elements interacting and (re)producing reality as it is (known):

> What I [Foucault]'m trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. (Foucault 1980: 194)

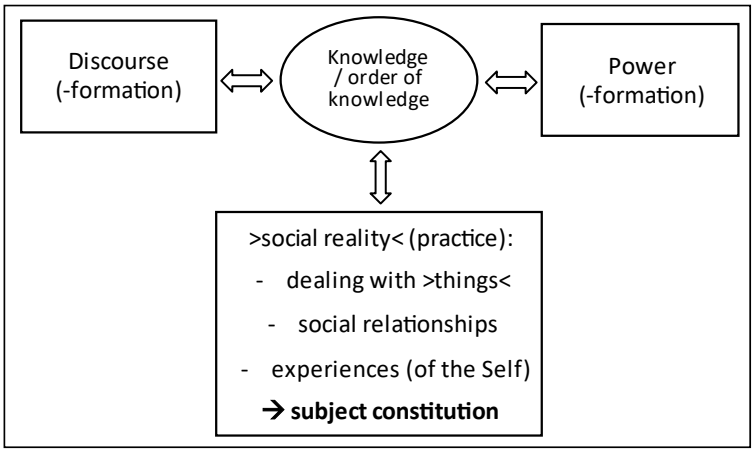
interpretations of Foucault's work. Such simplification is demanded also because Foucault's thinking is characterized by "mäandernde Suchbewegungen [meandering movements of searching]" (Gnosa 2018: 87; cf. Dölemeyer & Rodatz 2010), whereby terminological boundaries often remain fuzzy. Bührmann (2004: 27) describes this fuzziness as a variety of breaches and discontinuity in Foucault's thinking, which in turn inspired various interpretations of his work.

Dispositive analysis builds on this understanding of the dispositive. Keller (2008), for example, suggests to think of the dispositive as the *infrastructure* of discourses:

> Die sozialen Akteure, die einen Diskurs artikulieren, schaffen eine entsprechende Infrastruktur der Diskursproduktion und Problembearbeitung, die mit dem Begriff des *Dispositivs* bezeichnet werden kann. […] Ein Dispositiv ist der institutionelle Unterbau, das Gesamt der materiellen, handlungspraktischen, personellen, kognitiven und normativen *Infrastruktur* der Produktion eines Diskurses und der *Umsetzung* seiner angebotenen "Problemlösung" in einem spezifischen Praxisfeld.
>
> [The social actors who articulate a discourse, create a respective infrastructure of discourse production and problem-solving which can be referred to as *dispositive*. […] A dispositive is the institutional foundation, the total of the material, actionable, personal, cognitive, and normative *infrastructure* of the production of a discourse and the *implementation* of its offered 'problem solutions' in a specific field of practice].[58] (Keller 2008: 101, original emphasis)

The metaphor of 'infrastructure' has been criticized, however, since the notion would not account for how dispositives come into social reality by the same discursive practices for which they provide (cf. Bührmann & Schneider 2007: n.p.). So, the image of 'infrastructure' alone does not encapsulate the first lines of Keller's (2008: 101) quote above, which actually recognizes that the production of discourses goes hand in hand with the production of dispositives. By putting emphasis on the dispositive as an infrastructure for the "implementation" of the problem solutions discourses offer, Keller's (2008: 101) definition captures a second important characteristic of Foucault's notion of 'dispositive': dispositives are considered to emerge from and respond to social change. I will elaborate on this characteristic further below, when I explain the analytical lens and research dimensions of dispositive analysis.

Figure 3: Analytical lens of dispositive analysis, translated from Bührmann & Schneider (2008: 32).[59]



[58] My translation.

[59] The original figure from Bührmann and Schneider (2008) is provided in Appendix A.

Turning to the *analytical lens* first, Figure 3 illustrates that in dispositive analysis the interest lies in better understanding the relationships between 'discourse', 'knowledge', 'power', and the constitution of social reality, including 'practice' and the 'subject'. The figure is an English translation from the German original in Bührmann and Schneider's (2008: 32) introduction to dispositive analysis, which follows Foucault's understanding of the 'dispositive' and the notions of 'discourse', 'knowledge', and 'reality' I have outlined above. As regards the notion of 'power', it is critical to understand that dispositive analysis looks at, for example, 'sexuality' *not* as a pre-existing empirical 'truth', but as a socially and discursively (re)produced 'truth'. Therefore, the question of power and its techniques, what enables them, what constitutes and legitimizes them, is of central interest to dispositive analysis (cf. Ewald 1978: 16)

Let us now turn to the *research dimensions* of dispositive analysis. Following Bührmann and Schneider (2007, 2008), there are four research dimensions of dispositive analysis:

a) The dimension of social change.
b) The dimension of the relationships between elements of the dispositive and subjectification.
c) The dimension of (un)intended (side) effects.
d) The dimension of the relationships between discursive elements of the dispositive and symbolic and material objectifications. (Bührmann & Schneider 2007; 2008)

Explaining these dimensions is relevant to this thesis, as I will later (5.2.2) conceptualize the 'languaging dispositive' and think of the AL study of languaging as part of this dispositive which reacts to social changes that affect how humans relate to each other in lingual communication. Since amongst the listed research dimensions a, b, and c are the most relevant ones for understanding the implications of the favourability bias in ELF research, those to do with subjectification and the social reality of 'languaging', I elaborate on these in more detail. For reasons of scope, I spare detailed elaborations on research dimension 'd'[60]. To explain the three research dimensions, I make use of Figure 4, which is based on an illustration by Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 94)[61]. It is mirrored by Figure 5 which visualizes what I refer to as *the languaging dispositive*.

[60] To give an example for dispositive analyses foregrounding research dimension 'd', studies on the *gender dispositive* may investigate the relationships between discourses on sex and gender and how these are inter-related with law, clothing, spatial arrangements, etc. (see Bührmann and Schneider 2008: 131-132; and Bührmann 1998).

[61] The original version is provided in Appendix B.

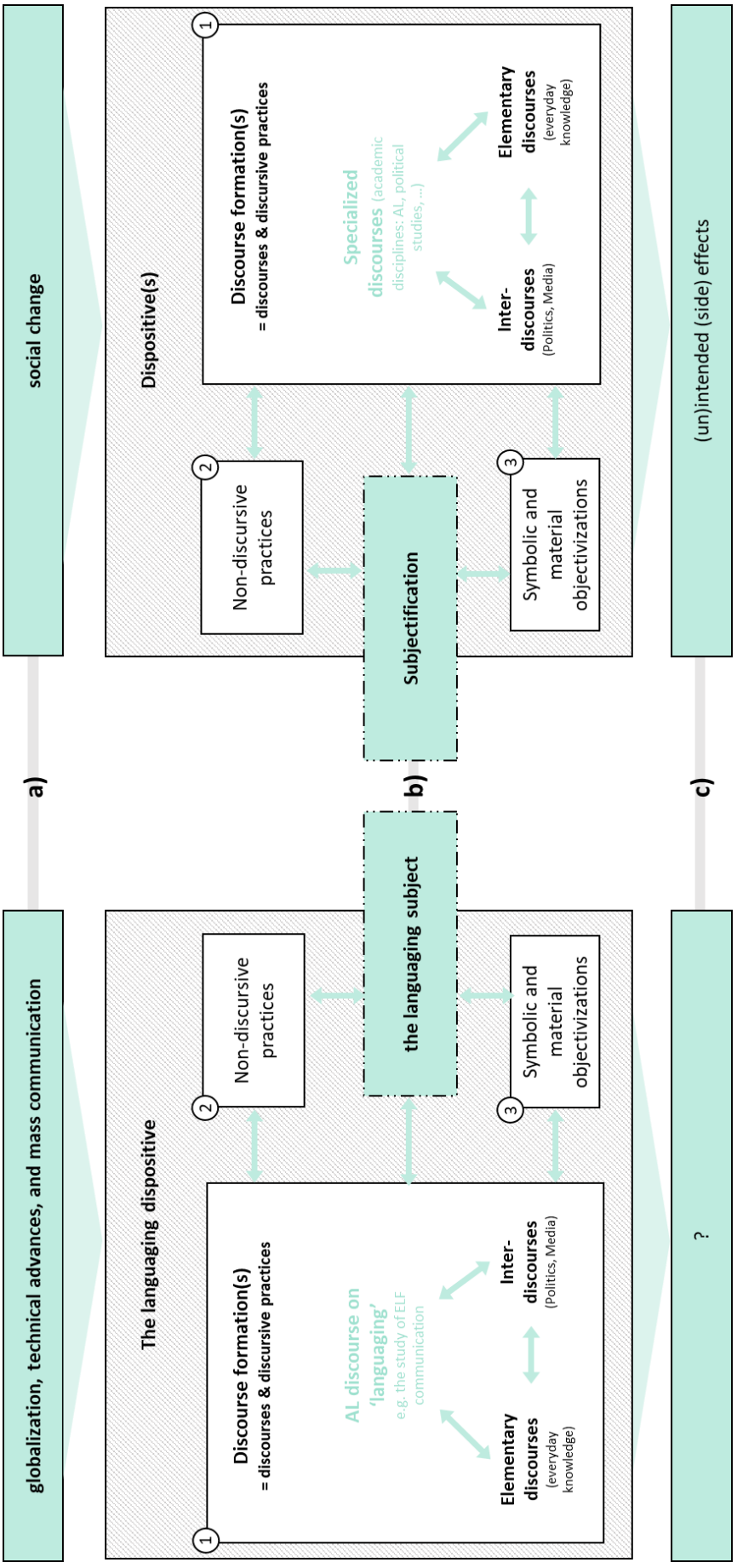


Figure 4: Dimensions of dispositive analysis, adapted from Bührmann & Schneider (2008: 94).

Figure 5: The languaging dispositive as a reaction to the problem of lingual communication in a vuca world, focus on Applied Linguistic (AL) discourse formations, and constitution of the languaging subject.

a) The dimension of social change (Figure 4, a): Focusing on how knowledge and reality are constructed, dispositive analysis examines the historically contingent and structural (i.e. beyond the individual) interplay of discourse elements that (re)produces a socially secured "truth". It is also, a study of how that truth comes about in the first place, as "truth" is considered to fulfil a responsive function in society when social changes impact upon the stability of established reality (Keller et al. 2005: 8; Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 118). Therefore, dispositive analysis foregrounds both the reproductive as well as the transformative forces of discourse. Dispositive analyses that focus on the dimension of social change, investigate the genealogy of objects of knowledge in response to that change (cf. Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 118–119). Such studies typically include broad reviews of the historical and political context of a dispositive and pursue in-depth analyses of concrete discursive practices related with it. Bührmann (2004), for example, explores the *Geschlechterdispositiv* (dispositive of the sexes) in the context of Germany around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. The analysis aims to better understand what it means 'to be a women' at that time and in how far women's practices contribute to transformative changes of the dispositive of the sexes in response to ongoing social changes (Bührmann 2004: 21).

b) The dimension of the relationships between elements of the dispositive and subjectification (Figure 4, b): If focused on this dimension, dispositive analysis examines how elements of the dispositive (Figure 4, boxes ①,②,③) interrelate and function together as a whole. Combined with a focus on the dimension of social change, it examines how the elements of a dispositive "(re)act" together in response to that change. Social actors, i.e. subjects, are considered part of the discursive construction of dispositives as well as subject to the knowledge produced. Hence, dispositive analyses of dimension 'b' typically probe into how subjects are positioned and position themselves to this knowledge. The investigation of processes of subjectification thus plays a major role (Figure 4, 'Subjectification', green box with dashed bordure). In Figure 4, the relationships between elements of the dispositive and subjectification are represented by green double arrows.

Considering the elements of the dispositive, Bührmann and Schneider (2007, 2008) differentiate three categories: 'discourse formations' (Figure 4, box ①), 'non-discursive practices' (Figure 4, box ②), and 'symbolic and material objectivizations' (Figure 4, box ③). This differentiation is as an analytical heuristic (Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 47–51) and has

been a matter of continuous debate on which I do not further elaborate here[62]. What is relevant is that the elements that make a dispositive are more than 'discourse' in the sense of "what people talk about and how". With reference to Laclau and Mouffe (1987: 166), Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 44–45) provide an example for non-lingual practices which (together with other elements) make the reality of 'football': kicking around some round thing with one's foot is a physical fact that does not by itself make that thing a 'football'; it becomes one, however, if it builds a system with other things and practices, which together make up the discourse and practice of football[63]. The lens of dispositive analysis, hence, includes non-lingual practices and the production, use, and arrangement of material objects.

The differentiation between discursive and non-discursive elements of a dispositive is analytically significant. It allows an empirical analysis of practices and objects which support the dispositive but do not (yet) show in the form of regulated and institutionalized ways of talking about things and hence not in textually processed discourse (Keller 2011: 73). For example, in a dispositive analysis of food charity in the UK, Möller (2019) identifies the following elements amongst others: discourses of neighbourhood, feeding the needy, and community; symbolic practices of volunteering and donating; and material objects like shopping lists with instructions about what to buy for charity. The study finds that these shopping lists are given to customers by volunteers when entering the supermarket and are part of a spatial arrangement in the supermarket. This spatial arrangement strategically presents certain products as "suitable" for donating. The lens of dispositive analysis here makes visible that material practices like spatial arrangements and the positioning of the volunteers form an ensemble of discursive and non-discursive elements that construct the reality of 'food charity' and guide the shopping behaviour of the subject (Möller 2019). The study example also illustrates that the identification of elements is part of dispositive analysis, however, the main research interest lies in the relationships between them: it is geared towards understanding how a variety of discursive practices build a network that functions together and (re)organizes knowledge about a socially shared and constituted reality.

The element of 'discourse formations' (Figure 4, box ①) requires some more elaboration because it is the element by which I will later locate 'the AL study of languaging' as part of the languaging dispositive. It is furthermore the element where relationships between academic knowledge and everyday life knowledge can be identified. The element of discourse

[62] See Bührmann & Schneider (2008), Keller (2008), and Jäger (2011) for discussions of the elements of a dispositive.

[63] Note that this understanding of 'practice' is compatible with the conceptualization of (languaging as) a social practice I introduced in section 5.1 (5.1.3).

formations comprises three kinds of discourses and discursive practices which mutually influence each other: ‘specialized discourses’, ‘inter-discourses’, and ‘elementary discourses’. Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 64–67; cf. Link 2007) make this differentiation according to degrees of specialization of knowledge (re)production and its distribution across social domains. It serves the analysis of how power and knowledge combine regarding effects of social (in)equity (cf. Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 64).

The first of the three types of discourse formations are ‘specialized discourses’. They are the most concentrated type as regards knowledge and power, and the least distributed as regards social domains. Prototypical representatives of specialized discourses are found in academia. Here, discourses “specialize” on specific phenomena and follow regulated practices of (re)producing knowledge about these phenomena. Specialized discourses are at interplay with the second type of discourse formation, i.e. ‘inter-discourses’. These are considered discourse formations which selectively aggregate knowledge from different specialized discourses and operate by collective terms (Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 66). The prototypical representatives of inter-discourses are politics and media: they show a considerable degree of structure and elaboration in lingual and symbolic (re)production of knowledge but do not follow disciplinary rules like in academia. Dispositive analyses of inter-discourses grant insight into power differentials amongst specialized discourses and preferred values of knowledge selection and aggregation (Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 66). Inter-discourses are seen to assume a mediating role between specialized discourses and the third type of discourse formation ‘elementary discourses’. This discourse formation is considered to unfold in everyday life contexts and (re)produce common knowledge. In dispositive analysis, the discourse formations of specialized discourses and inter-discourses are understood to be in constant exchange with everyday life discourses as they offer (or impose) subject positions for identification (Bührmann & Schneider 2008: 64–67). Therefore, elementary discourses are also highlighted as “entscheidende gesellschaftliche Institution zur strukturellen Verkopplung von Subjekt, Wissen und Macht [decisive societal institution for the structural coupling of subject, knowledge, and power]”[64] (Waldschmidt et al. 2007: para. 31).

This brings us to how dispositive analysis offers a framework for identifying relationships between specialized discourses, such as academia, and the subject. Through the lens of dispositive analysis, there is a constitutive relationship between specialized discourses and the subject. Specialized discourses are, like any discourse, socially produced by subjects.

[64] My translation.

At the same time, the subject is constituted by discourse in that discourse itself offers and imposes subject positions relevant for subjectification (Figure 4, green box with dashed bordure). These discursive offers are also known as *interpellation* (Althusser 1970). Furthermore, specialized discourses, inter-discourses, and elementary discourses are considered to be intertwined. The process of subjectification is therefore related to all three types of discourse formations. If focused on the elementary discourse level, dispositive analysis can yield insight into what counts as "common knowledge", what is (re)produced as such, and how subjects position themselves to that (re-production of) knowledge. Investigating experiences of the "entrepreneurial self", for example, Bührmann's analyses (2005) give a better understanding of the conditions in which subjects experience themselves as rather passive and imposed to positions offered by (orders of) knowledge, or if they have integrated those into their ideas of self and experience themselves as actively striving for being and acting accordingly.

c) The dimension of (un)intended (side) effects (Figure 4, bottom, c): The final dimension of dispositive relevant for conceptualizing in how far AL knowledge about languaging is lived-ethically significant, is the dimension of (un)intended (side) effects. It is closely related with the dimension of social change (Figure 4, a) and the original notion of the dispositive. If the dispositive is conceived of as an ensemble of different elements which (re)produces orders of knowledge and secures a socially shared "truth", changes in this ensemble and interplay of elements will effectuate changes of those orders and their "truth". This understanding relates with the underlying and already outlined reproductive and transformative forces of discourse (Bührmann & Schneider 2007: n.p.; cf. Konersmann 2021). Research dimension 'c' is interested in the effects of the discursive practices of a dispositive:

> Wie und weshalb entstehen diese Praxen und welche intendierten, vor allem aber auch nicht-intendierten Nebenfolgen haben sie sowohl für die damit verbundenen gesellschaftlichen Wissensordnungen wie—in letzter Konsequenz—auch für die alltäglichen Austauschprozesse der Menschen?
>
> [How and why do these practices emerge and what are the intended, but above all unintended side-effects, both for the associated social orders of knowledge and –in final consequence– for the everyday life processes of interaction amongst people?][65] (Bührmann & Schneider 2007: n.p.)

In the context of this thesis, this question of research dimension 'c' makes a transition to conceptualizing to what I refer to as *the languaging dispositive*. The question of intended and unintended effects is significant to better understanding the real-world implications of an

[65] My translation.

uncorrected favourability bias in fields of languaging research, like the study of ELF communication. As discussed in chapter 4 (4.3), in the light of contemporary social changes of neoliberalism, the idealistic understanding of the effectiveness, intelligibility, and conviviality of ELF communication appears naïve and can unintendedly contribute to a potentially harmful ideal of the languaging subject.

5.2.2. The languaging dispositive

Drawing upon dispositive analysis, this section will demonstrate that the AL study of languaging can be considered part of a dispositive which has emerged in response to social changes that brought the problem of lingual communication to the fore. I refer to this dispositive, which was illustrated by Figure 5 above, as *the languaging dispositive*. It provides a theoretical model that serves to acknowledge the social embeddedness of AL research on languaging and can support researchers in reflecting upon intended and potentially unintended effects of their descriptions of languaging (in ELF research).

As outlined in the introductory sections on languaging terminology and perspectives (1.2), and on the historical development of AL (2.1), the paradigmatic turn from examining 'language' as a linguistic system to investigating it as a social process is still relatively recent. As indicated, scholars have explicitly linked and legitimized their investment in languaging research by reference to social changes brought about by globalization, technical advance, and mass communication around the turn of the millennium (e.g. Blommaert et al. 2005; May 2014). To give an example from ELF research, Seidlhofer (2011b) puts forward:

> The phenomenon of English as the first truly global language, and globalization with its consequences for how we now live and communicate, is bound to lead to such a shake-up of our traditional ideas of what constitutes 'a language' and 'legitimate speakers' that the terms themselves will simply become obsolete. (Seidlhofer 2011b: 6)

Where an AL stance is assumed, the study of languaging is furthermore legitimized by the real-world need of speakers to respond to the changed and changing conditions of communicative interaction in a globalized world. Referring to my review of ELF research as an instantiation of languaging research (chapter 3, 3.2), this form of legitimization is evident also in translanguaging research and studies that call for an ELF informed, ELF aware, or translanguaging stance in language education. Thus, it can be said that the emergence of the AL study of languaging, and thereby the generation of knowledge about 'languaging', forms a response to social changes that draw attention to the problem of lingual communication (Figure 5, dimension of social change 'a', green box at the top).

Conceptualizing the languaging dispositive, AL research on languaging is an academic discourse and can thus be considered a 'specialized discourse' which interacts with other elements of the dispositive and constructs a reality of language, or rather of 'languaging' (Figure 5, box ①); for example, the AL study of languaging is actively transforming the reality of (how we think about) what language is. This shows in the scholarly discourse on "the multilingual turn" (May 2014), the proliferation of languaging terminology (Jacquemet 2016: 336; cf. Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017: 23; Canagarajah 2019: 7), and the emergence of the respective research strands within AL. Through the lens of dispositive analysis, these conceptual and terminological changes are indicators of the genealogy of 'languaging' as an object of knowledge (and of AL study).

Supporting the theorization of the languaging dispositive, discursive reactions to the changed conditions for communication can also be found at the levels of inter-discourse and elementary discourse formations, i.e. with the two types of discourse formations with which specialized discourses interact (Figure 5, box ①). At the level of inter-discourses, we find that politics selectively aggregates knowledge from both initiation and languaging perspectives on the problem of lingual communication. The critical point is that irrespective of which view is appropriated for which purposes, the fact that it is socially and politically relevant to do so at all indicates a reaction to an increasingly recognized and discursively negotiated problem of lingual communication. A prominent example of such selective knowledge aggregation is the emergence and implementation of a policy paper which is meant to standardize language education across Europe—the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, CEFR (Council of Europe 2001). As stated in the policy document,

> [t]he [CEFR] provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. […]. The [CEFR] is intended to overcome the barriers to communication among professionals working in the field of modern languages arising from the different educational systems in Europe. (Council of Europe 2001: 1)

The passage explicitly states that there are barriers in communication which can and need to be overcome by changing education and educational systems across Europe. In consideration of the findings of AL research on multilingualism and languaging, the CEFR has been revised several times (Council of Europe 2001; 2018, 2020). One revision included, for example, the use of 'interlocutor' instead of the traditional term 'native speaker', "because this term has become controversial since the CEFR was first published" (Council of Europe 2020: 24). Illustrating the selective and somewhat superficial appropriation of specialized discourse at the level of inter-discourse, Knechtelsdorfer (2023b: 67–80) finds that the 2020 revision of

terminology did not translate into a change of concepts following a languaging view. Analysing the descriptor bands of 'plurilingual competencies' in the CEFR, she points out that these, "at the moment only account for the crossing of boundaries of named languages. The more complex processes of languaging that can be observed in ELF communication are not covered by these descriptors" (Knechtelsdorfer 2023b: 79–80). This may be explained in part by the logic of knowledge selection which policy papers like the CEFR follow: as pointed out critically by McNamara (2011: 502): "the formulation of such frameworks, including the way in which they lend themselves to a reduction to simple numbers—A1, A2, etc.—are designed to meet the needs of those responsible for the accountability of educational systems". While it is not within the scope of this thesis to conduct a fully-fledged analysis of the dispositive of languaging, the given examples illustrate (interrelated) responses to social changes around language and language use at the levels of specialized and inter-discourse formations of the languaging dispositive.

McNamara's (2011) investigations furthermore serve to illustrate how the policy paper of the CEFR (as part of an inter-discourse) is at interplay with the non-discursive elements of the languaging dispositive. Constructing a kind of institutional architecture of administering access to socioeconomic resources and belonging, "[t]he levels of the CEFR are enshrined in law, in policies incorporating the use of language tests in granting immigrants rights to entry, residency and ultimately citizenship" (McNamara 2011: 504). Taking the Austrian immigration context as an example, the so-called *Integration Agreement* (IntG 2019: §7) in the national law of Austria sets German at CEFR level A2 as a requirement for residence up to three years. Beyond five years of residence, CEFR level B1 is required for entitlement to stay in Austria. To administer these language tests, a national organization has been installed (the Österreichische Integrationsfonds, ÖIF). Together, the ÖIF and the CEFR together function as an architecture of institutions and education and immigration practice that (re)produces an unambiguous reality of 'communicative competence', which stands in stark contrast to the ambiguities experienced in a world of linguistic variability (cf. Radinger 2023). The empirical investigations of this thesis will grant more detailed insight into such experiences, and thus into the elementary discourse levels of the languaging dispositive (see chapter 8, 8.2)

Having turned to the question of the subject's experience, a critical question emerges in the context of this thesis: if AL research is part of the languaging dispositive, *what kind of 'languaging' knowledge/reality does it offer the constitution of the practice of 'languaging' and 'the languaging subject'?* I discuss the question of subjectification within research dimension 'c' (Figure 5, green box with dashed bordure), i.e. the intended and unintended effects of the

languaging dispositive. In chapter 3 (3.3), I reviewed how ELF scholars seek to feedback into practice by promoting an "ELF-informed pedagogy" (Seidlhofer 2015a; Vettorel 2016; Knechtelsdorfer 2023a), the "ELF awareness" of teachers (Lopriore & Vettorel 2015; Sifakis et al. 2018), a the claim to "MY English" by students (Kohn 2018), and the "intercultural citizenship and ELF agenda" on a societal dimension (Costa 2022: 122). Amongst the scholars' arguments for such promotion are positive implications for communicative effectiveness, liberating effects for speakers, the support of linguistic rights, speaker voice, and learner authority. In the light of the unaddressed issue of the favourability bias in ELF research, however, these intended effects revealed to be based on a biased reality of 'languaging' and a problematic ideal of the 'languaging subject' (chapter 4).

So what are the unintended effects? Without correction of the favourability bias, ELF research constructs an ideal of 'the languaging subject' as a capable, cooperative, willing, and agentive languaging communicator who effectively navigates the communicative challenges of a globalized world. These features are construed as the inherent goods and ideas of excellence that make the practice of 'languaging' (section 5.1, 5.1.3). The biographical and space-oriented concepts of the linguistic repertoire (chapter 4, 4.4), however, showed that our languaging crucially depends on what linguistic resources and ways of using them mean in a given context. Furthermore, the conceptualization of languaging as a philosophical problem (section 5.1) revealed that control over effective lingual communication is to a considerable degree un-available. ELF research has neglected these 'un-availabilities' and the relational dependency of the languaging subject. Thereby, it has so far provided the image of an ideal, willing and potent languaging subject which perfectly fits with ongoing neoliberal transformations that responsibilize individuals over solving 'private' problems when these are in fact 'political' ones , as elaborated in chapter 4 (4.3). Ironically, the large number of attitude studies in ELF research, re-enforces the "fitness" of the languaging subject for the neoliberal programme, because these attitudes are typically treated as changeable. Speaking with Ehrenberg's (2015) description of the exhausted self (chapter 4, 4.3), being able to handle the problem of lingual communication in globalized and vuca conditions is constructed as a matter of the individual psyche. It must be concluded, if the favourability bias is ignored and remains unaddressed, a majority of literature from ELF research provides knowledge about 'languaging' and the 'languaging subject' that lends itself to inter-discourses/politics which could *maintain* rather than tackle AL problems of a structural kind.

5.2.3. Implications for the AL study of languaging

Concluding the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive, this theoretical model is significant for correcting the favourability bias in ELF research as it analytically pins down the social embeddedness of academic discourse and its relevance for processes of subjectification: because AL generates knowledge about languaging, it takes part in the construction of a social reality of the practice of 'languaging' and its inherent goods and ideas of excellence; AL knowledge about 'languaging' is thus relevant for how speakers may evaluate themselves and others based on 'languaging'. Additionally, the languaging dispositive reminds us that intended effects of a socially engaged AL research may not necessarily translate into these effects, at least not in the intended ways. The theoretical model of the languaging dispositive may thus serve as a conceptual and analytical tool for critically reflecting on the already always socially embedded nature of AL research itself. In the case of the favourability bias in ELF research, it draws attention to the need for including more critical and subject-oriented approaches to the study of languaging.

Given that the favourability bias is not unique to ELF research (chapter 3, 3.4), the conceptualization of languaging as a dispositive has critical implications for the AL study of languaging more generally. As pointed out in the chapter on AL (2.1), many researchers in the field are seeking to assume a more socially engaged position from which they "can participate in the construction of a globalized world in which respect for diversity as a basis for social cohesion requires individual and collective commitment" (AILA 2024). Viewed from the lens of dispositive analysis, AL thereby seeks to move closer to the realm of inter-discourses where knowledge (about languaging) is selectively aggregated. This selection will necessarily follow a different, more political logic than those of the academic AL interest—and this logic needs to be continuously and critically assessed regarding the original AL intentions. Furthermore, the original AL intention needs to be continuously and critically assessed itself. As pointed out with Widdowson (1998: 137) above (chapter 2, 2.1), we tend to easily agree with commitment to "what are deemed to be good causes (Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité etc.)", but these causes are neither easily identified in their concrete forms, nor may we agree upon how they are best served. In addition, if (biased) knowledge about languaging from ELF research easily couples with ongoing social transformations (such as neoliberalization), AL theory will also assume new, potentially (un)intended meanings and (side)effects when transferred to other discourse formations.

In addition, especially if AL research on languaging assumes a more socially engaged position, it needs to critically assess the subject positions it offers for identification. The

knowledge it produces about languaging is relevant for the constitution of the social practice of 'languaging' and thereby of "good" languaging. Researchers need to acknowledge that from the subject perspective, the languaging view of solving the problem of lingual communication may not necessarily translate into experiences of opportunity for creative and cooperative language play—even though it may be a "better" description of lingual communication in conditions of superdiversity when compared to traditional views. Drawing upon both AL and PP perspectives, I have highlighted that conditions of communication, spatial repertoires, as well as the biographical situation of speakers are critical dimensions which constitute (the meaning and significance of) the available linguistic and communicative room for manoeuvre. To better understand how AL knowledge may assume meaning for the (languaging) subject in such situations, AL researchers who engage more actively with inter-discursive and elementary discourse formations need to be aware of the basic assumptions by which they enter these discourses—their views of the problem of lingual communication and of what speakers can (and potentially should) do to solve it. Additionally, they need to actively engage with what 'languaging' means for speaking subjects in their everyday-life contexts. Following the theoretical investigations of this thesis so far, a combination of subject-centred studies of lived language experience and languaging as a lived philosophical problem seems to be most promising for these purposes.

5.3. Summary

In this chapter I have developed a theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem, conceptualized the languaging dispositive, and explored how these models can contribute to tackling the favourability bias in ELF research and inform the AL study of languaging more generally. In section 5.1, I first (5.1.1) examined how engagement in the social process of languaging can imply experiences that fundamentally shake speakers' taken-for-granted was of looking at the world. This kind of experience was framed as the experience of epistemological challenge in languaging. Second (5.1.2), I drew attention to languaging as a phenomenon that reveals the lingual situation of humans, i.e. our existence as social beings who are related by and relate to each other by languaging. This situation was referred to as an "ultimate situation" (Jaspers 1964: 20) which cannot be changed. Relevant for the experience of lived philosophical problems, speakers may grow aware of this ultimate situation if their established ways of relating to others by languaging are put into question. Third (5.1.3), I delineated how languaging is not just a social process but is socially constituted also as a *practice*. This means that there are inherent goods and ideas of excellence that make the practice

of 'languaging' something at which one can be good or not (cf. Ricœur 1992: 176). Thereby, languaging may serve as an indicator for the judgments we make of whether we are felicitous and "good" human (languaging) beings as such.

Across these sections, I explored what the understanding of languaging as a lived philosophical problem adds to developing the notion of 'availability' in the study of languaging (i.e. the notion which showed to be so relevant for tackling the favourability bias in ELF research; chapter 4). The insights gained may be summarized around two major points. First, *when speakers cannot rely on a basic "safety" in terms of epistemological, existential, ethical ground, daring to speak and daring to language may appear as an impossible affordance from the subject perspective, or, at least, poses considerable challenge and hardship to the languaging self.* This understanding expands Busch (2017b) notion of *Spracherleben* (chapter 4, 4.4.1) following which speakers in unfavourable conditions are more likely to experience relocation as hardship and dislocation. If languaging may principally bring about the kind of philosophical problems described above, the experience of 'dislocation' may, independently from situations of relocation, result from fundamental challenges to the languaging self at the epistemological, existential, and ethical levels of being lingual. Again, however, it is more likely that such challenges are experienced in situations of relocation, and that they are experienced as hardships rather than opportunities for reinventing the self in unfavourable conditions.

Second, the PP lens revealed that *while speakers can and have to assume agency and responsibility as language users, much about languaging evades entire control*. For example, I outlined that human languaging is critically dependent on whether interlocutors *can* and *want* to basically follow each other in lingual terms. We may take influence on those aspects of languaging, but we may not control them entirely. Even if conditions are favourable, we may still fail to reach the kind of communicative outcome we intend. Furthermore, individuals are not alone in determining what is ("good") languaging, how one does languaging, and what one may do through it in this world—whether one's languaging is accepted and "valid" in these socially shared terms is socially negotiated. Overall, in consideration of the un-availabilities of languaging, there is still acknowledgement for individual speakers' agency in handling the problem of lingual communication; the critical point is that the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem sets an analytical counterbalance against a naïve and isolated understanding of the agency and responsibility of the languaging subject.

In section 5.2, I conceptualized the languaging dispositive. I first (5.2.1) introduced the lens of dispositive analysis. Then (5.2.2) I drew upon this lens to theoretically pin down the

relationship between AL knowledge generation of the phenomenon of languaging and the social construction of 'languaging' as a practice and of the 'languaging subject'. I pointed out that the paradigmatic turn in AL towards the study of languaging rather than of linguistic systems, can be read as part of a greater network of reactions towards the social changes of globalization. These changes draw attention to the problem of lingual communication as it is experienced in everyday life, to which AL responds by the study of languaging. As an element of the languaging dispositive, the specialized discourses of academia interrelate with other discourse formations in politics and the media, which I illustrated by example of the CEFR and the selective aggregation of knowledge provided by research on multilingualism and languaging. Furthermore, I highlighted the lived-ethical significance of AL knowledge generation about 'languaging' by delineating its relationship with processes of subjectification. Considering the favourability bias in ELF research, I problematized the relatively naïve construct it offers of 'languaging' as a convivial, cooperative, and agentive practice of correspondingly characterized 'languaging subjects'. Eventually (5.2.3), I discussed the need for continuous and critical reflection on (un)intended effects and the need for subject perspectives and consideration of the more unfavourable and un-available sides of languaging as important implications for a socially engaged AL study of languaging.

In sum, the theoretical models developed in this chapter can serve the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research. The understanding of languaging as a lived philosophical problem provides a framework for acknowledging the epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical challenges languaging may bring about for speakers—challenges which pointed to so far unconsidered aspects of what speakers need to be able to rely on as 'available' and 'un-available' communicative resources in handling the problem of lingual communication. The theoretical lens of the languaging dispositive provides a tool for critically reflecting on the social embeddedness of AL research and its significance for constructing the practice of 'languaging'. Turning to the following chapter, the critical question which follows from my theoretical investigations is, *(how) can the developed PP perspectives on languaging, the biographical and space-oriented understandings of the linguistic repertoire, and the process-oriented study of ELF communication operate together in research practice?* Chapter 6 provides a preliminary answer by integrating the different perspectives into one multi-perspective lens of the study of languaging.

6. A multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging

This chapter integrates the introduced AL perspectives on languaging (chapters 3 and 4) and the developed PP perspective on (the study of) languaging (chapter 5) into one analytical lens. This step can be considered part of operationalizing a combined approach of AL and PP enquiries. The chapter thus forms a bridge between the theoretical and the empirical investigations of this thesis. In section 6.1, I briefly review the main epistemological underpinnings and terminology of each perspective to explicate their analytical strengths regarding the study of languaging. The perspectives covered are, the process-oriented study of languaging of ELF research (6.1.1); the biographical perspective of *Spracherleben* and body image (6.1.2); the space-oriented conceptualization of the linguistic repertoire (6.1.3); the PP perspective on languaging as a lived philosophical problem (6.1.4), and the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive and the role AL has in constructing the 'languaging subject' (6.1.5). In section 6.2, I integrate these five perspectives into one multi-perspective framework lens on languaging. To foster an understanding of how the framework may be put to research practice, I also discuss possible research directions and sketch example studies. Finally, in section 6.3 I summarize the insights gained from the theoretical investigations of this thesis (Part II) and formulate the desideratum which bridges to the empirical part (Part III).

Before diving into these sections, two important notes need to be made about the scope and understanding I have of the multi-perspective framework that I propose in this chapter. First, considering the scope and main objectives of this research, this framework is not (claiming to be) comprehensive. Instead, its composition represents a response to the theoretical gaps identified in the context of the favourability bias in ELF research and thus an attempt to close these gaps. The previous chapters have defined this framework of relevance. With reference to Widdowson's (1998: 138) take on interdisciplinarity in AL research outlined in chapter 2 (2.1), it can also be said that the multi-perspective lens is a result of what is considered relevant for understanding and potentially solving the AL issue at stake. Second, I think of this multi-perspective framework as a conceptual tool that enables a complementary dialogue amongst the AL and PP perspectives covered. This dialogic notion is important to consider, as there are limitations to a full integration of the introduced and developed perspectives. Each perspective by itself foregrounds different aspects of languaging which are derived from different epistemological points of view, which do not necessarily or easily integrate with each other. Therefore, I think of the framework in the sense of Helskog and Weiss' (2022: 22–23)

notion of *kaleidoscopic epistemology*[66]. Like a kaleidoscope, the suggested multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging enables to turn the lens through which the phenomenon of languaging is studied (and constituted). This in turn facilitates a broader understanding of the phenomenon and issues in question, as well as a deeper and more critical understanding of the relationships between research frameworks and the knowledge produced (cf. Helskog & Weiss 2022: 23).

6.1. The five perspectives and their analytical strengths

Table 5 below provides an overview of the perspectives that I will integrate into one framework of the study of languaging in the subsequent question. In a condensed form, Table 5 provides for each perspective information on the basic notion of 'languaging', important references, key concepts and terminology, and analytical strength regarding the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research. In this section, I elaborate on this information in the order of perspectives listed:

1) The process-oriented study of ELF communication
2) The biographical conceptualization of *Spracherleben* and body image
3) Metrolingualism and the spatial repertoire
4) Languaging as a lived philosophical problem
5) The languaging dispositive

Note that the overview of the five perspectives provided by Table 5 builds a pair with the illustration of the analytical lens of the multi-perspective framework that I provide by Figure 6 in the subsequent section 6.2 (the circled numbers in the row of 'analytical strength' in Table 5 directly link with Figure 6, where the same numbers indicate the corresponding analytical focus).

[66] Helskog & Weiss (2022) use the metaphor of the 'kaleidoscope' to explain their approach to reflective practice research. A kaleidoscope is an optical instrument, often used as a toy by children. It consists of a tube into which one looks and inside finds different patterns upon rotation of the tube. These patterns are created by mirrors reflecting small, often colourful bits of glass which are loosely held at the end of the tube, and which move as the tube is rotated. So by looking through the same "lens", one gets to see different patterns of the same phenomenon. In reflective practice research, this image is used to describe the *kaleidoscopic epistemology* that is enabled by the multi-perspective enquiries it entails. It is used to illustrate how this approach enables a dialogue amongst concrete experience and different epistemological perspectives and patterns of understanding, and how this leads to a richer understanding of complex issues (cf. Helskog & Weiss 2022).

Table 5: Overview of the five AL and PP perspectives on 'languaging'.

	Process-oriented strand of ELF research	**Biography, *Spracherleben,* & body image**	**Metrolingualism & spatial repertoire**	**Languaging as a lived philosophical problem**	**The languaging dispositive**
Foregrounds *languaging* as …	a process whereby speakers act upon language drawing upon all linguistic resources available	a process and gesture whereby the speaking subject/body relates to others and the world	a process shaped by the patterns of language use in specific spaces/places of human interaction	a process and practice bringing about experience of its basic epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical significance	an object of knowledge (re/de/construction) and practice relevant for subjectification
Important references	Seidlhofer 2011b; 2020b; Cogo 2016; Pitzl 2018b; Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019	Busch 2016; 2017b, 2021a	Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji 2014; 2015	this thesis; Gadamer 1960/2010; Ricœur 1992; Cavell 2000	this thesis; Foucault 1978; Bührmann & Schneider 2008
Relevant key concepts	*ELF communication, variability of language, capability for languaging*	*Spracherleben (lived language experience), body image*	*the spatial repertoire*	*hermeneutic labour, ultimate situations, lived ethics*	*(the languaging) dispositive, specialized discourse formations; subjectification*
Analytical strengths (regarding correction of the favourability bias in ELF research)	detailed form-meaning analysis which identifies essential pragmatic strategies deployed by speakers in communicative language use in relative absence of shared linguacultural ground ①	foregrounding issues of availability of linguistic resources by a subject-centred focus on the interplay of biography, situational conditions of communication, and the meanings linguistic resources assume for speaking subjects ②	foregrounding issues of availability of linguistic resources by focus on the interplay of regularized patterns of language use in specific spaces of human interaction and speakers' concrete language use ③	recognition of fundamental challenges and un-availabilities languaging implies in any encounter and acknowledgement of reliance on epistemological, existential, and ethical ground as a basic communicative resource ④	promoting (self-)critical awareness of AL research of languaging regarding its real-world embeddedness and the subject positions it offers ⑤

6.1.1. (1) The process-oriented study of ELF communication

The first perspective on languaging introduced was the process-oriented study of ELF communication. I pointed out that the field of ELF research includes more product-oriented strands which tend to retain a traditional initiation view of the problem of lingual

communication (see chapters 3 and 4, 3.1, 4.2). As these strands imply a focus on language as a linguistic system, only the process-oriented strand of ELF research are considered for the multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging. The process-oriented study of ELF communication clearly positions 'ELF' as a (trans)languaging phenomenon (Seidlhofer 2011b; Cogo 2016). It foregrounds 'languaging' as a process by which speakers act upon language for communicative effect, draw upon all linguistic resources available, and may transgress established norms and conventions of using them. Turning to key terminology, the corresponding human action of '(trans)languaging' is conceptualized as the exercise of human agency in and *capability for languaging*—the capability which enables humans to exploit the *inherent variability of language* for meaning making in communication (Widdowson 2003; 2016; Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017; 2022; Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019).

Most important for integrating the process-oriented perspective on ELF research into a more general framework of languaging research is that it accounts for ELF communication as a process of languaging. As pointed out by Widdowson and Seidlhofer (2019: 247), the phenomenon of ELF communication functions as a lens onto the essential pragmatic strategies which humans deploy in languaging in relative absence of shared linguacultural ground. This is also the analytical strength of the process-oriented perspective on languaging in ELF research—it grants insight into the languaging strategies by which speakers act upon linguistic forms and functions to make meaning in interaction. Pitzl's (2018a, 2018b) micro-diachronic study of ELF in TIGs, which I outlined in chapter 4 (4.1), is an example of the detail which ELF research achieves in this regard. Regarding the specification of the notion of availability, her work furthermore provides a framework for understanding how linguistic resources "in" linguistic repertoires of individual speakers are and become shared and hence available to others by communicative interaction (cf. Pitzl 2018a, 2018b).

However, most studies on ELF communication focuses primarily on linguistic resources "in" speakers' repertoires and assume availability of these resources if speakers "know" a language. Thereby, dimensions of the linguistic repertoire are neglected which are most relevant for understanding how the favourability of communicative conditions impacts upon speakers' communicative room for manoeuvre. Therefore, the notions of the linguistic repertoire expanded by the dimensions of biography and space are important complements to the process-oriented study of ELF communication.

6.1.2. (2) Biography—*Spracherleben*—body image

The second perspective is inspired by phenomenology and allows to foreground 'languaging' as a bodily gesture through which speaking subjects relate to each other and the world (Busch 2017a: 52; cf. Merleau-Ponty 2012). As elaborated in chapter 4 (4.4, 4.4.1), this perspective expands the notion of linguistic repertoire by the concepts of *Spracherleben* ('lived language experience') (Busch 2017b) and 'body image' (Busch 2021a). Both grasp issues of availability of linguistic resources by drawing attention to dynamics of the linguistic repertoire that relate to the interplay of biography and the communicative conditions of an interaction.

The concept of *Spracherleben* provides an understanding of how speakers' linguistic repertoires, habitual patterns of language use, and the subjective significance and meanings ascribed to linguistic resources emerge in relation to the linguistic environments speakers inhabit. Taking cases of relocation as an example, Busch (2017b) highlights that such situations imply changes of the linguistic environment and experiences of a linguistic repertoire that does not quite fit. By the concept of *Spracherleben,* she puts forward that the experience of an "unfit" linguistic repertoire challenges our biographically embodied ways of relating with others and the world, i.e. the gesture by which we have come to be lingual in relation to others. Moreover, she makes an important point about the conditions in which such experience is made: the favourability of conditions is critical for whether speaking subjects experience an "unfit" linguistic repertoire as an opportunity to reinvent themselves, or as a source of ongoing hardship and dislocation (Busch 2017b).

The concept of *body image* (Busch 2021a) in turn adds an understanding of how linguistic resources and ways of using them can assume meanings that make resources inaccessible for languaging in concrete encounters. Speaking subjects are considered to form an evaluative image of their (lingual) selves from the experiences they make in relation to language/languaging—the 'body image'. This image is dynamic yet continuous as it allows subjects to form an idea of a biographically coherent 'self'. Most relevant for studying issues of availability, the body image is at interplay with the communicative conditions in situ, therefore, biographically significant meanings of linguistic resources and ways of using them can (re)assume old and new meanings in situ which enable or constrain the linguistic repertoire (Busch 2021a: 201). For example, experiences of language-related challenge in situ may re-invoke (traumatic) experiences of the past, which impacts upon ones' linguistic room for manoeuvre in the process of languaging (Busch 2016). Busch (2016) provides evidence that in such situations speakers can also regain voice by unexpected (linguistic) ways. The critical theoretical complement to ELF research is that the concept of body image in languaging

research acknowledges the interplay of biographical experiences and (the favourability of) situational conditions as a critical dimension of the linguistic repertoire.

In sum, the analytical strength of the biographical perspective on languaging is it that it enables a study of how *Spracherleben* and linguistic repertoires are shaped at the intersections of individual biographies, situational conditions, and linguistic environments. Additionally, it draws attention to the relevance of subject-centred perspectives and insights into lived experience to better understand issues of availability and the conditions under which speakers are more and less likely to have the capacity for mobilizing linguistic resources for languaging. This analytical strength is shared by the third perspective, which draws attention to the relevance of physical and social space.

6.1.3. (3) Metrolingualism and the spatial repertoire

The third perspective expands the notion of linguistic repertoire by a focus on space and was introduced in chapter 4 (4.4.2). It foregrounds 'languaging' as a process shaped by patterns of interaction and language use associated with spaces of interaction. Studying 'metrolingualism', Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) originally sought to examine the "willful" and "creative" language play of people in cities and its specific spaces of interaction. Because this framing neglected much of the actual languaging that was going on, however, the authors adopted a more general focus on everyday language practices (cf. Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 163–164; 2015). Additionally, they sought to describe how these practices are related with the space of an interaction, considering both *social space* and *material place* (e.g. a pizza restaurant). For these purposes, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) conceptualized the linguistic repertoire based on space and define the 'spatial repertoire' as the sedimented patterns of available resources in a specific space/place of human interaction. Resources are considered to become available by the repeated language practices which sediment with the sets of activities related to the respective spaces of interaction (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014: 166).

The analytical strength of the space-oriented notion of the linguistic repertoire is its grasp on the spatially situated social dynamic of the availability of linguistic resources. This is significant for the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research as the focus on space demands for descriptions of situational conditions that shape the favourability of the communicative conditions of an encounter. If combined with the biographical notion of the linguistic repertoire, the perspective provides a framework for investigating how availability of linguistic resources is shaped by the interplay between the concrete languaging encounter, the spatial repertoire, and the linguistic repertoire of speaking subjects. In addition, the notion of

metrolingualism can encourage researchers of ELF communication to reconsider the focus on strategic, wilful, and creative language use, and approach the description of ELF communication more generally as an instantiation of languaging. The theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem adds to this more general understanding of languaging.

6.1.4. (4) Languaging as a lived philosophical problem

In chapter 5 (5.1), I developed a fourth perspective—the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem. This perspective draws attention to a fundamental epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical significance of languaging, and to the corresponding challenges it can bring about in lived experience. While these philosophical problems cannot be separated neatly, the analytical heuristic gives an idea of a philosophical kind of resources speakers need for languaging.

Turning to epistemological challenges first, I expanded on Busch's (2017b) notion of *Spracherleben* and highlighted that languaging can principally imply challenges to our basic outlooks on language, how it relates us with others and the world, and how we come to act upon these relationships in a taken-for-granted manner. As these outlooks and relationships are epistemologically significant, we may experience a kind of conceptual and social dislocation, which can be referred to as 'hermeneutic difference' (cf. Schuchter 2016: 188). This experience of epistemic dislocation implies a practical need for reconsidering what language 'is' and what we may do with and by it. So as speaking subjects engage in languaging, they may be demanded to invest in a kind of work that transforms their basic understanding of 'languaging'. This work can also be referred to as 'hermeneutic labour' (cf. Schuchter 2016: 188).

If taking a phenomenological view of languaging, the epistemological challenge for hermeneutic labour appears to go hand in hand with the experience of the existential significance of languaging. This is because language is considered a bodily gesture to the world and others, and thus significant for how we are and can be (lingual) human beings in this world. With reference to Cavell (2000), I pointed out there is something inevitable and inherently unavailable that results from this human lingual situation: first, being lingual is an ultimate situation and we are always already born into a social reality that is lingually organized; second, as a social and relational process, languaging implies dependency *and* responsibility. Considering communicative resources, we may find ourselves in concrete encounters that put our ways of 'being lingual' on more and less stable grounds. So the degrees of existential

"security" in relation to languaging and other practices and ways of being, appear relevant for the linguistic room for manoeuvre we may (dare to) exploit in a given situation.

The third kind of philosophical problem of languaging reveals an ethical dimension of the body image (Busch 2021a). Thinking of 'languaging' as a socially constituted practice, speakers may evaluate themselves and others in relation to the internal goods and ideas of excellence that make this practice. Depending on how strongly we identify ourselves with this practice, or how strongly our environments address us as languaging subjects, the practice of languaging may assume meaning for the evaluation of whether we are "good" human beings as such, and whether we are felicitous in relating to others and the world. This understanding emphasizes the relevance of body image (Busch 2021a) as an evaluative stance towards the self, which is built by lived experience and may impact upon the linguistic resources we may access and have available for languaging.

In sum, the analytical strength of the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem is that it recognizes languaging as part of the human condition and a kind of engagement which inevitably involves high stakes and un-availability of control over its felicity. Moreover, it opens the view to communicative resources that are highly relevant for languaging yet invisible if looked at through the linguistic lens alone. Thereby, the model sets a conceptual counterweight against an overly positive and unproblematic construal of 'languaging' and can thus serve to correct the favourability bias in ELF research. Additionally, together with the expanded notions of the linguistic repertoire by dimensions of biography and space (perspectives 2 and 3), the notion of languaging as a lived philosophical problem allows to foreground the question of how communicative conditions in situ impact upon the basic resources speakers need for languaging, especially in situations where the languaging experience is linguistically, epistemologically, existentially, and lived ethically far from easy. As a theoretical model that foregrounds lived experience, the perspective on languaging as a lived philosophical problem, like the biographical perspective, encourages a subject-centred study of languaging.

6.1.5. (5) The languaging dispositive

Finally, the perspective of the languaging dispositive frames 'languaging' as an object of (AL) knowledge generation and of construction of social reality, which carries implications for subjectification (chapter 5, 5.2). Drawing upon dispositive analysis (Bührmann & Schneider 2007; 2008), I conceptualized the languaging dispositive. It is a heterogeneous ensemble of discursive and non-discursive elements which generate knowledge about and constitute the

reality of ‘languaging’; a network which is closely related to an increased social attention to the question of how to communicate in linguistic diversity brought about by the social changes of globalization. The concept of the languaging dispositive is relevant to the AL study of languaging, as it allows to pin down the social embeddedness of AL research and its role in construing the practice of ‘languaging’ and the ‘languaging subject’. Like other elements in the languaging dispositive, AL offers knowledge about ‘languaging’ with which speaking subjects can identify and following which they may evaluate and position themselves as (speaking) subjects.

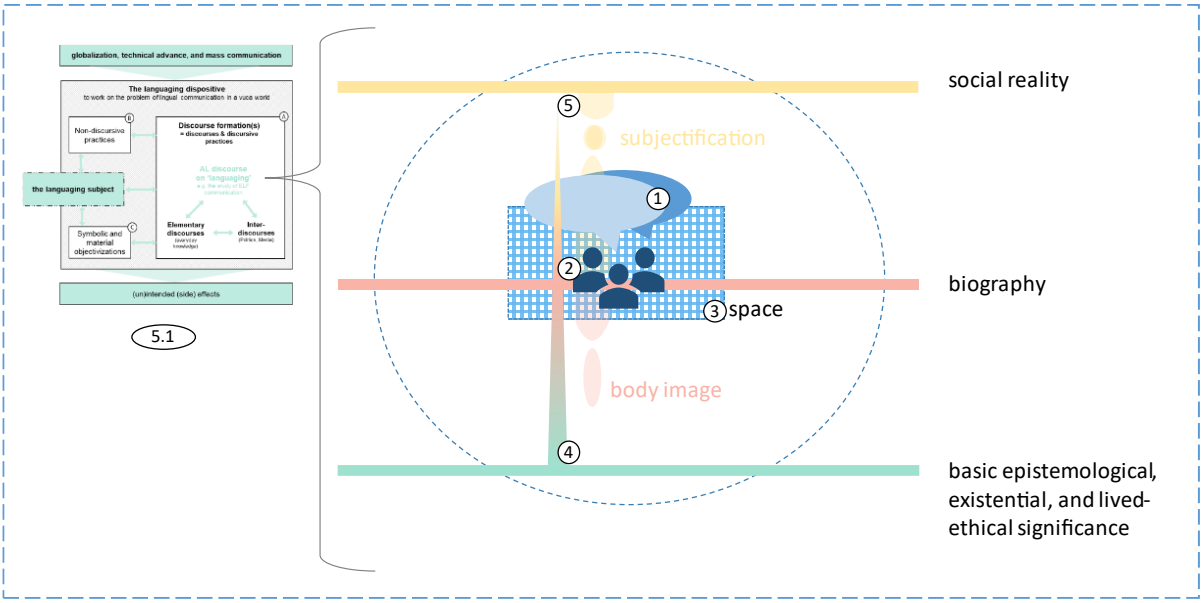
Considering analytical strength, the perspective of the languaging dispositive can support (self-) critical reflection in AL research. It provides a framework for discussing how past and present discourses about the phenomenon relate and conflict, or couple with each other regarding the idea(l)s of ‘languaging’ and subject positions they provide. Concerning the over-emphasis of ELF research on speaker willingness, agency, and capability for languaging, I have problematized the tendency to couple with neoliberal transformations that responsibilize individuals over (language-related) problems of a more structural kind. This finding emphasizes the need for considerate and self-critical social engagement of AL research. In case of ELF research, this means to take seriously the fact that despite positive intentions and the theorized positive effects of ELF awareness and languaging for speaker voice, researchers cannot determine the actual meanings these understandings assume in concrete real-world contexts and with speakers themselves. In a broader sense, this is the kind of self-critical awareness that Widdowson (1998: 137) describes as a necessary characteristic of AL research which seeks to mediate between theory and practice/experience. The perspective of the languaging dispositive thus combines with the other four perspectives on a meta-level and encourages a self-reflective stance in languaging research.

6.2. The multi-perspective lens

In this section, I integrate the five theoretical perspectives on languaging into one multi-perspective lens. Additionally, I consider scenarios of implementation and discuss chances and limitations of applying it in empirical research. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the development of this lens is situated in the context of correcting the favourability bias in ELF research and intended to enable a “kaleidoscopic epistemology” (Helskog & Weiss 2022) of languaging. To visually support my elaborations, I will refer to Figure 6 below. It provides a schematic representation of the multi-perspective lens on languaging upon integration of the process-oriented perspective from ELF research (1), the biography-oriented (2) and space-

oriented (3) views of the linguistic repertoire, and the conceptualizations of languaging as a lived philosophical problem (4) and the languaging dispositive (5; 5.1). The corresponding circled numbers in Figure 6 indicate respective research foci and link with the overview of perspectives provided by Table 5 above (6.1).

Figure 6: Multi-perspective lens on (the study of) languaging.



At the centre of the multi-perspective lens, Figure 6 shows three human figures who interact with each other via use of language. Their engagement in the process of languaging is represented by the blue speech bubbles. Based on the process-oriented perspective of ELF research (1), this process is empirically observable by analysis of the actually produced language of the interlocutors. It takes this empirical material as the linguistic traces of the process of communication that reveal the essential pragmatic strategies by which speakers achieve communicative effect. As outlined in section 6.1 (6.1.1), the analytical strength of the process-oriented perspective of ELF research is the detailed account it can provide of how speakers draw and act upon linguistic resources (available) to meet the communicative requirements of the encounter. Imagining a scenario of application in researching ELF communication in the immigration domains, process-oriented studies of languaging would engage in a close analysis of the linguistic resources that participants use and how they do so. It would focus on their pragmatic strategies of meaning making and how participants enact processes of convergence and divergence through language. On the surface, such studies could look very similar to Guido's (2012) more product-focused study on "ELF authentication and accommodation strategies". The critical difference would be that, based on a languaging view,

such pragmatic strategies are considered essential and necessary to any communication and to show speakers' capability for languaging. In the product-oriented study, by contrast, strategies of "ELF authentication and accommodation" are studied as empirical evidence of problems in communication that ensue from speakers' different "native" languages and the "ELF variants" (Guido 2012) they speak.

Looking at the very same process of languaging, the space-oriented perspective (3) can now foreground the question of how participants' languaging is also a product of the concrete social and material space of interaction (Figure 6, blue checked square in the centre). Thereby the rather narrow linguistic focus of the first perspective is extended by recognition of the embeddedness of languaging in social and material space. It becomes visible in how far participants' languaging also constitutes a response to the enabling and constraining effects of the spatial repertoire. In Figure 6, the checked blue square illustrates this social embeddedness of languaging: the interlocutors are situated in concrete spaces of interaction which "embody" patterns of languaging. Acknowledging that participants' languaging is not fully determined by the spatial repertoire, the blue speech bubbles which represent the process of languaging are purposefully placed within and outside the square representing the concrete space of interaction in Figure 6.

For the example scenario of research on ELF communication in the immigration domains, studies which foreground the analytical focus on space may investigate how participants' languaging is structured by the interactional and material space of the respective immigration encounter. With regard to correcting the favourability bias in ELF research, such research would foster a research practice which acknowledges how features of ELF communication and speakers' linguistic room for manoeuvre are shaped by situated communicative conditions. If such insights are available from related fields of languaging research, ELF researchers could furthermore investigate and compare the languaging observed as 'ELF communication' in the social space of, for example, the official immigration encounter with observations of languaging in other spaces of interaction. Thereby, space-focused analyses of languaging could pin down what kind of space-related factors constrain and enable speakers' linguistic room for manoeuvre. Putting focus on how speakers may claim agency and voice in languaging, and potentially transform the social patterns of languaging associated with particular spaces of interaction, analyses could include a focus on how participants are not just subject to but also transgress patterns of the respective spatial repertoire. Such research can complement studies of creativity in ELF communication since the reference for "creative"

language use would be the languaging patterns associated with situated space, rather than with codified norms of standard language.

Regarding the plethora of terms and seemingly heterogeneous phenomena of languaging (chapter 3, 3.2), the integration of the research perspectives of the process-oriented study of ELF communication (1) and of spatial repertoires (3) enables to build discursive bridges amongst so far relatively isolated strands of languaging research. With reference to ELF research, the integrated perspective of the spatial repertoire (3) requires researchers under the umbrella of "ELF research" to define, describe, and make transparent the characteristics of the communicative spaces of interaction they investigate. Such description would not only contribute to the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research but also allow of a more comparable study of languaging across the field of AL. An example where such comparability is possible already is the study of TIGs (Pitzl 2018b) described in chapter 4 (4.1) of this thesis: the transience of the group constellation is considered a characteristic of the social space and a communicative condition that is relevant for the speakers' languaging. This allows other strands of languaging research to compare their findings from studies on similarly transient group constellations. Of course, it depends on the research interest which conditions of space are foregrounded in languaging research. What is important to correct the favourability bias in ELF research is that conditions of space are considered and defined at all. In a second step, efforts to study the relationship between the communicative favourability of these conditions and languaging need to be increased. Beyond the study of ELF communication, such consideration of the communicative conditions of space would make visible where fields of languaging research have reached saturation in studying particular interactive spaces and what kinds of spaces have been neglected so far.

Turning to the biographical perspective (2), it brings a subject-centred view into the multi-perspective lens (Figure 6, '2'). It allows to look at speakers' languaging as a process of communication that is embedded in space *and* a matter of body image, i.e. the evaluated experiences and future aspirations which participants bring to an encounter. In the multi-perspective lens it thus adds a biographical dimension of time and space, complementing the process- and space-oriented views of languaging. This dimension is represented in Figure 6 by the pink bar labelled 'biography', which extends beyond the blue checked square that represents the concrete social space/the spatial repertoire (3) in which the process of languaging (1) takes place. Attending to limitations related to all three perspectives mentioned so far, as well as to an application of the multi-perspective lens more generally, relationships between process-oriented studies of languaging and the subject perspective need to be drawn with caution and

causal interpretations should be avoided. It is impossible to directly "measure" the factors that impact upon languaging/*Spracherleben*. Furthermore, experience cannot be researched without interpretation by the person who shares it. This sharing is necessarily retrospective if the research does not intend to intervene with the concrete process of languaging in question. Additionally, as languaging is a bodily and socially situated process, languaging that is free of biographical and situated influences is a hypothetical construct and an inappropriate reference for comparison. Despite these limitations, if combined considerately, the process- (1), space- (3), and biographical-perspectives on languaging (2) together form a multi-perspective lens that enables a study of languaging as a biographically significant process of meaning making that is embedded in concrete social spaces of interaction.

In concrete research, the integration of the biographical perspective carries great potential for correcting the favourability bias in ELF research. First, it contributes to a better understanding of what it means to language from a subject perspective—a view so far neglected in the process-oriented study of ELF communication. Second, biographical approaches provide a pragmatic methodical alternative regarding the challenge of accessing encounters of languaging in less favourable conditions of communication. The empirical material of biographical research on *Spracherleben* is necessarily provided by speaking subjects themselves, and in settings of data generation where they recall experiences and share thoughts on languaging (e.g. by narratives of *Spracherleben*, language portraits, language diaries)[67]. The retrospective nature of data generation makes biographical research less dependent on immediate access to fields of enquiry which are difficult to access. Third, the study of *Spracherleben* grants insight into participants' body image and the subjective meanings linguistic resources assume for personal evaluation of the self. Such insights are critical to better understand how linguistic resources may be principally available but actually not accessible to speakers in situ. Fourth, insights into subjective meanings and experience of languaging can foster an understanding of individuality in the study of languaging without neglecting the role of structural norms. To give an example, in Guido's (2012) case of the asylum seeker and the Italian immigration officer, a subject-centred study of the *Spracherleben* of the person in the officer's role could help to better understand personal and professional meanings of linguistic resources—meanings which may in fact conflict and respectively play out in the officers' languaging engagement. So, while the biographical subject is acknowledged in its individuality, the combination of the process-, space-, and biography perspectives evades a narrow focus on

[67] Postponing methodological detail to the empirical investigations, I provide more information on these methods in chapter 7 (7.2.3).

languaging as a matter of the independent individual subject (a focus I discussed as problematic about the favourability bias in ELF research in chapter 4, 4.3).

Within the multi-perspective lens, the PP perspective on languaging as lived philosophical problem (4) overlaps with and expands the biographical perspective (2). The views share the analytical focus on languaging as an existentially significant practice by which humans relate to others and the world, and by which they evaluate themselves and others as human beings. A difference is that the PP perspective focuses on the basic epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical significance and meanings of languaging *per se*, rather than on specific linguistic resources and ways of using them. Thereby, the PP perspective complements the biographical perspective in issues of availability of communicative resources: where research on *Spracherleben* foregrounds issues of availability as a psychological matter and language ideologies (e.g. trauma related with specific linguistic resources and their meanings in specific social environments), the PP perspective sheds light on the involved inevitable philosophical challenges of languaging and how they become urgent in response to the situated encounter. Regarding communicative resources, the possibility of falling back onto some relatively safe ground (with regard to epistemological, existential, and ethical convictions) emerged as a relevant communicative resource in situations that put our ways of languaging into question (see chapter 5, 5.1). Thereby, a new dimension is added to the study of languaging which draws attention to what is epistemologically, existentially, and (lived) ethically at stake for speakers, how these stakes relate to the social reality of globalized and superdiverse societies, and in how far this reality impacts upon the availability of communicative resources in situ.

Considering the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research, the acknowledgement of inevitable philosophical challenges and un-availability of languaging serves as a conceptual counterbalance against the tendency to think of ELF communication (and languaging more generally) as an overly easy experience. Additionally, in the discussed cases of ELF communication in the immigration domains (Guido 2012; chapter 4, 4.2), an analysis of what is at stake for the participants in basic epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical ways can help to better understand the AL problem from the participants' point of view. For example, the immigration officer who fails to accommodate to the asylum seeker's languaging behaviour may identify with socially constituted idea(l)s of 'languaging' that are associated with 'being a good immigration officer'. These idea(l)s of excellence will imply how to (not) use language and how far to accommodate to the languaging behaviour of the other in the immigration officers' role. 'Being a good immigration officer' may additionally be closely

related with the officer's idea of (professional) self, whereby conforming to these ideals of languaging would be significant to the participant. From the subject perspective, the officer may in fact perform "good" languaging and consider themself as fulfilling their responsibilities as an interlocutor in the given situation. In turn they may assess a lack of effort on the other interlocutor's side. Understanding what is ("good") languaging from the bottom-up is therefore critical to a socially engaged AL study of languaging, if it seeks to refrain from imposing its own idea(l)s of excellence on speakers. Additionally, combined with the biographical perspective, the study of languaging as a lived philosophical problem allows to gain a better understanding of situations in which speaking subjects are thrown onto their fundamental views of language, and feel on shaky grounds as speaking subjects and rather subject *to* realities of languaging which just do not fit their own.

The fifth perspective integrated in the multi-perspective lens on languaging is the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive (5). It adds to the analytical lens in two ways: first, it integrates the perspective of the languaging dispositive at the same level with the other four (see Figure 6, '5', 'social reality'); second, it integrates as a meta-perspective onto the study of 'languaging' itself. In Figure 6, this meta-perspective is illustrated in the left upper corner ('5.1') by a miniature version of the visualization of the languaging dispositive (originally provided in chapter 5, 5.2.1). At both levels, the perspective of the languaging dispositive foregrounds 'languaging' as an object of knowledge and reality which is socially constituted. Thereby, the perspective accentuates the interrelated nature of the languaging dimensions that the space- (3) and biography-oriented (2) perspectives, and the perspective on languaging as a philosophical problem (4) take into focus. In Figure 6 above, these inter-relations are represented by the slender triangle spanning between the three bars that represent the basic epistemological, existential, (lived) ethical significance of languaging (green bar), biography (pink bar), and social reality (yellow bar).

Considering the correction of the favourability bias in ELF research, the added focus on the interrelated dimensions of languaging space, biography, Philosophy, and social reality enables a more holistic and socially embedded view of how individuals engage in languaging and which communicative resources they (can) rely on for doing so:

- The biographical study of *Spracherleben* captures the relationships of speakers' engagement in concrete languaging and the body image (i.e. the evaluative stance of the speaking subject towards itself, built from evaluated experiences of relating to the others and the world).

- The study of the spatial repertoire grasps how patterns of languaging associated with social and material space shape the conditions of what kind of languaging subject speakers may (claim) be, or have to (claim) to be in relation to those patterns.
- The PP oriented study of languaging as a lived philosophical problem facilitates an understanding of the basic characteristics that make the human languaging condition, and how it takes shape in the form of concrete languaging realities, and languaging subjects embedded in social space.
- The study of the languaging dispositive interrelates the former perspectives by enquiring what the insights into *Spracherleben*, the spatial repertoire, and the concrete shape of the philosophical challenges reveal about the discursive reality of 'languaging', the subject positions it offers, and how the concrete individual positions itself/is positioned in relation to these.

Thereby, 'languaging' is captured not just as an activity of individuals engaged in wilful, agentive, and creative meaning making but as a process of relating to others shaped by the biographical, spatial, and social conditions in which the subject finds itself engaged in languaging.

On the meta-perspective level of the study of languaging, the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive encourages a self-critical AL research practice. It analytically captures that the AL study of languaging is part of the social generation of knowledge about the practice of 'languaging' and thus relevant for subjectification. Additionally, by the example of the favourability bias in ELF research, the languaging dispositive serves as a useful tool to better understand potentially intended and unintended implications of this bias in relation to contemporary lifeworlds. As delineated in chapter 5 (5.2), the biased understanding of 'ELF' as a particularly cooperative and free kind of languaging implies a languaging subject who can activate and develop its capability and agency for solving the problem of lingual communication at any time—if it is only willing to do so. Thereby, the offered construct of 'languaging' neglects the relational constitution of languaging and easily couples with contemporary neoliberal transformations of societies which responsibilize individuals over having and solving (language-related) problems that need to be tackled at the social systemic levels. Involving the biographical perspective, it becomes evident that an overly optimistic view of the capable, agentive, and willing languaging subject can re-enforce speakers' experience of hardship that result from the kind of language-related problems AL set out to understand and potentially resolve. In sum, integrated into the kaleidoscopic epistemology of (the study of)

languaging, the perspective of the languaging dispositive functions as a critical reminder of the already always socially embedded nature of AL research.

In conclusion, the sketched out multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging enables a kaleidoscopic epistemology which considers the dimensions of biography and space as shaping factors of the linguistic repertoire and thus of the process and practice of languaging in situ. The framework brings this understanding into a dialogue with languaging as an experience that implies epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical challenges that can take up communicative resources, and it integrates a self-reflective stance of AL as an inevitably socially embedded discourse that is part of constituting the practice of 'languaging' and the 'languaging subject'. As pointed out, this multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging is designed to close theoretical and analytical gaps which need to be closed to correct the favourability bias in ELF research.

6.3. Bridge to empirical investigations

In this chapter I have suggested a multi-perspective lens on languaging as a means to tackle the favourability bias in ELF research. The framework builds a synthesis of the insights gained by the theoretical investigations of this thesis. Furthermore, the multi-perspective framework constitutes the theoretical foundation of the empirical investigations I make in the following Part III of this thesis. The present chapter can thus be considered part of the empirical operationalization process of the study I conduct. To explicate the bridging function between theoretical and empirical parts of this thesis, a brief recap of the line of investigations seems appropriate at this point.

Addressing the so far neglected issue of the favourability bias in ELF research, the previous chapters explored the nature and implications of this bias from an AL and PP point of view. The investigations revealed that, in addition to more diversified databases and more appropriate methods (as suggested by Seidlhofer, 2020b: 35), there is a need for analytical and theoretical complements to close gaps that tend to maintain the favourability bias at the empirical, research procedural, and conceptual levels of enquiry. Based on my investigations, this need can be met by thorough reconsideration of what speakers (can) have 'available' and control regarding the process, practice, and outcome of languaging. In chapter 4 (4.4), I drew upon biographical- and space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire and delineated how they complement the central yet so far underspecified notion of 'availability' of linguistic resources in ELF research. In chapter 5, I developed a theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem, which extends the former notions of 'availability' by an

understanding of the epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical significance of languaging and inevitable un-availabilities related with its experience. Additionally, I conceptualized the languaging dispositive and suggested to use it as a theoretical model for considering the social embeddedness of AL enquiry on languaging and its role in constructing the practice of 'languaging' and the 'languaging subject'.

Giving serious thought to the AL concern with the relationship between knowledge about language and decision making in the real world, my investigations furthermore underlined the need for addressing the favourability bias in ELF research. In both, chapters 4 and 5 (sections 4.3 and 5.2.3 in particular), I problematized implications of the favourability bias and considered those in the light of contemporary neoliberal transformations of societies. I highlighted that the 'languaging' idea ELF literature puts forward at the moment widely overemphasizes individual agency and responsibility. Thereby, this idea of 'languaging' easily couples with the neoliberal trends of responsibilizing individuals over their own destinies and backgrounding issues of inequity and the socio-political structures that constitute it. Therefore, it is high time to address the favourability bias in ELF research and invest in research approaches that make it more amenable to the language experience of less privileged speakers and languaging in less favourable conditions of communication.

The multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging I have suggested in this chapter can be considered such an investment. The exploration for ways of correcting the favourability bias in ELF research resulted in the multi-perspective lens on (the study of) languaging presented in this chapter. This lens integrates the process-oriented study of languaging from ELF research with biographical- and space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire, the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem, and the meta-perspective of the languaging dispositive. Integrating the perspectives, I elaborated on the analytical foci and strengths of each of these perspectives and illustrated how they complement each other in the study of languaging. Additionally, I discussed concrete possibilities for implementation in studies of ELF research and considered some limitations in concrete research practice. One of these limitations is that the five perspectives together form a kaleidoscopic epistemology, which implies that basic views do not fully integrate with each other. In empirical research this means that is not possible to methodologically attend to all perspectives equally and at the same time. Different kinds of data and analyses need to be combined, rather than integrated in empirical research building on the multi-perspective framework. This limitation at the same time supports the argument for increasing collaboration amongst the so far rather isolated strands of different studies of languaging (i.e. the study of

ELF communication, translanguaging, transidiomatic language practices, etc.) to advance the AL study of languaging as such. As the kaleidoscopic epistemology of the multi-perspective lens frames the process, practice, and study of languaging in general (rather than specific languaging phenomena), it can serve to build discursive bridges amongst these strands of research.

Turning to the bridging function of this chapter within this thesis, the development of the multi-perspective framework of languaging involved matters of operationalization in empirical research. The theoretically identified potential and methodological considerations have remained theoretical, hence hypothetical, so far, however. Therefore, a desideratum emerges from the theoretical investigations (Part II) of this thesis: to conduct an explorative empirical study which builds on the multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging. This desideratum is addressed by the following empirical chapters of this thesis.

Part III
Empirical investigations

7. Explorations of a combined approach of AL and PP

This chapter introduces Part III, hence the empirical investigations of this thesis. It outlines the research rationale, design, and process of a study that implements the multi-perspective lens on languaging developed in Part II of this thesis. This study addresses the emerged desideratum of operationalizing the multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging in an empirical research project. Conducted within the scope of this thesis, the study aims at insights into languaging experience that can serve to correct the favourability bias in ELF research. So, besides methodological development, the research focuses on the more challenging sides of the languaging experience, i.e. experiences of un-availability of linguistic resources and more and less favourable conditions of communicative interaction. For these purposes, the study overall takes a qualitative approach and foregrounds the biographical and PP perspectives on languaging. Embedded in the Austrian context, the study additionally collaborates with NGOs in the immigration context and involves participants with and without migration experience in more and less privileged situations of languaging.

The chapter is structured as follows. In section 7.1, I explain the rationale and aims of the study within the broader scope of this thesis. In section 7.2, I raise methodological considerations necessary to integrate AL and PP kinds of enquiry, and to operationalize the multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging by the research design: building on biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben*, I integrate the PP lens of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and expand established methodology by appropriating philosophizing in groups for the purposes of this research (PP group enquiries). In section 7.3, I discuss limitations of attending to AL and PP principles equally and explicate the implications this had for designing the study: I explain why activities of third mission and reflection on the research process and positionality of the researcher were an integral part of this research project. Section 7.4 reports on the data generation process and thereby marks the transition point of how the study was designed to how it was conducted: I give an overview of the eventual project design and describe the methods (online survey, follow-up interviews, and PP group enquiries) and contexts of data generation. Regarding the latter, I provide information on participant recruitment and partner organizations. In section 7.5, I report on the approach and process of data analysis. The section elaborates on how different types of qualitative content analysis were combined to meet the research interests of studying the phenomenon of languaging and of developing a combined AL&PP approach to it.

7.1. Study aims and questions

Set within the bigger scope of this research, the empirical study follows the same overarching research objectives as the theoretical investigations:

A) To correct the favourability bias in ELF research.

B) To explore the potential of a combined approach of AL&PP for a socially engaged study of languaging.

Research objective 'B' results from the theoretical investigations of this thesis (Part II). Based on these, I formulated the desideratum for empirical investigations that operationalize and implement the multi-perspective lens on languaging in a concrete study. To my knowledge, there is no research which has approached the study of languaging by a combination of AL and PP enquiries before. The study is thus exploratory and probes into *one* possible form of implementing the multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging. In the context of this thesis, this form is designed to close the empirical and conceptual gaps around the favourability bias in ELF research that were identified by the theoretical investigations of this thesis. As elaborated (Part II), one of these gaps concerns the notion and consideration of issues of 'availability' of communicative resources; the other the neglect of subject-centred perspectives on the process of languaging itself. The methodological research objective 'B' is thus pursued under the consideration of research objective 'A', which targets insights into the phenomenon of languaging that can counterbalance the favourability bias in ELF research. Taken together, the study aims at insights that

- contribute to a better understanding of the more challenging experiences of languaging and of the conditions of communicative interaction in which these experiences are made; and,
- allow to evaluate the potential of a combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in languaging research, particularly with regard to addressing the issue of favourability bias in ELF research.

Following both phenomenon- and methodology-focused interests, some basic decisions underly the rationale and research design of this study. First, the study foregrounds the biographical and PP perspectives of the multi-perspective lens of languaging. This means, the study it is operationalized as an investigation of *Spracherleben*, language-related matters of body image, experiences of philosophical problems, and discursive constructions of 'languaging' and the 'languaging subject'. This decision builds on the analytical strengths of the biographical and PP perspectives with regard to addressing issues of availability and enabling a subject-centred study of languaging. As elaborated in chapter 6 (6.1), the

biographical perspective sheds light on *Spracherleben* and foregrounds issues of availability of linguistic resources by the concept of body image. The PP perspectives on languaging, i.e. the theoretical models of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and the languaging dispositive, add a framework that examines in how far experiences of issues of 'availability' relate to inherent un-availabilities of languaging, and what role these play in relation to the situated communicative conditions and socially and subjectively significant meanings of 'languaging'. It can also be said that the biographical perspective focuses on the experiential and psychological side (e.g. emotions, feelings) of self-evaluations that may enable and constrain speakers' linguistic room for manoeuvre, while the PP perspectives foreground the experiential philosophical side, i.e. how these evaluations form part of speakers' basic outlook of languaging and the world in relation to a socially constituted reality of 'languaging'. By these analytical strengths, the biographical and the PP perspectives were considered most appropriate for gaining a better understanding of what it means to solve the problem of lingual communication in situations where language/languaging is not easily available. Bringing together the biographical and PP perspectives, the study investigates

- whether and how participants experience philosophical problems related with languaging;
- how these experiences relate with matters of body image;
- how they relate with the in situ socially and subjectively significant meanings of the practice of 'languaging';
- and, how participants implicitly and explicitly explain the (in)felicity of languaging and the availability of communicative resources.

A further refined set of research questions is provided later in section 7.2 (7.2.2), where methodological considerations go into more detail on the analytical foci of the biographical and PP perspectives.

Considering the multi-perspective framework, it is to be noted that the other perspectives (the process-oriented view of languaging from ELF research, and the perspective of metrolingualism and the spatial repertoire) are still present and actively considered in the research approach. However, they do not determine the object(ive) of enquiry like the foregrounded biographical and PP perspectives. The latter attend to the former by a focus on the experience of languaging that is made during its very process. Additionally, the biographical and PP perspectives cover aspects of the spatial repertoire: they consider how subjective meanings of linguistic resources and their significance for the languaging process are constituted at the intersections of individual biographies, social discursive and material space,

and the concrete languaging of the encounter. Moreover, the individual subject is considered in relation to social and physical space, rather than in isolation (chapter 6, 6.2). Thereby, the kaleidoscopic epistemology of the multi-perspective framework is reflected in the research approach to languaging, even though the biographical and PP perspectives are privileged in the design and objective of the study.

Second, the study takes a broad approach to generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* yet reaches the possibility of an analytical focus on ELF encounters and persons in less privileged situations by the context of research. This means (a) that participants were not asked to report on ELF encounters specifically but to share an account of language/languaging experience. Additionally, (b) the sample of participants was not exclusively focused on persons in relocation, and (c) these were not asked to share an unpleasant experience in rather unfavourable situations either, but an account of *Spracherleben* more generally. The decision for a broad approach to data generation in direct interaction with the participants is based on the underlying PP framework: the basic assumption is that any languaging can principally bring about experiences of a philosophical kind (chapter 5, 5.1). To explore this hypothesis empirically, the study invited participants to report on experiences of languaging of their choice (for detail on the prompts used, see section 7.4). The choice of the research context, in turn, served to ensure that the generated data would still include material on issues of availability and languaging experience in more and less favourable conditions of communication. Collaborating with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context (see 7.4.3), parts of data generation were organized with them, which allowed to recruit participants who find themselves in new linguistic environments. To establish these collaborations, I could draw on formerly established rapport and experience from an earlier study on the availability of ELF in encounters between locals and newly arriving refugees in Vienna (Radinger 2016a, 2018). Turning to the Austrian immigration context increased the chances of gaining insight into *Spracherleben* in situations of relocation in which experiences of dislocation and un-availability of communicative resources tend to be prominent (chapter 5, 5.1). Additionally, because of the global status of ELF as a communicative resource, the presence of ELF was likely as well. Involving such data was relevant to targeted research objective ‘A’ and expand the body of ELF literature on languaging in high-stakes encounters in the immigration domains (e.g. Guido 2012; Seidlhofer 2020b). At the same time, by the broad approach of generating accounts of *Spracherleben*, those participants with refuge and immigration experiences were not reduced to these roles and could decide what kind of language/languaging experience they share with the project. Participants were also recruited outside the Austrian immigration context, which

eventually aimed at a mixed sample of persons with and without migration experience, in more and less privileged situations. Distributing invitations to participation through the personal and professional networks of the researcher, it was clear that participants would have some biographical relationship with Austria.

Third, addressing research objective 'B', the study involves theoretical and methodological triangulation to evaluate the approach and draw implications on chances and limitations of AL enquiry and social engagement. According to Flick (2011: 11), 'triangulation' in qualitative research means to enquire (or from a constructivist perspective: to constitute) the research object from at least two different points of view. This definition applies to this study in two ways. The study relies on a multi-perspective theoretical framework of the study of languaging, which accounts for triangulation at the level of theoretical and analytical background. Moreover, the study uses triangulation at the level of data generation methods. As will be elaborated in section 7.4, data are generated by an online survey, follow-up interviews, and an adapted version of philosophizing in groups to generate accounts of *Spracherleben*. Regarding research objective 'B', the methodological triangulation fulfils two purposes: to methodologically integrate AL and PP enquiries, and to allow an evaluation of the integrated and developed PP methodology for the purposes of languaging research. Finally, in this study triangulation also serves as a means of transparency and critical reflection on how the insights it yields have come into being in how far they carry the limitations and characters of the methods, settings, and frameworks of the study. Thereby, the perspective of the languaging dispositive is effectuated at the level of the research process itself to draw implications for a socially engaged study of languaging by AL and PP enquiries.

7.2. Methodological development

In chapter 6, I have already delineated the relationships between the biographical and the PP perspectives on languaging, and how they complement each other regarding their analytical strengths and research foci. To operationalize a combination of these perspectives in empirical research, further, methodological development is needed. In this section, I elaborate methodological considerations by which the study takes a combined approach of AL and PP enquiries to data generation and analysis. I first explore the question of what kind of data are suitable for the study of experienced philosophical problems related with languaging (7.2.1). Then, I develop a set of refined research questions which integrate the biographical and the PP lenses on languaging from different epistemological points of view (7.2.2). Finally, I explain why the study draws upon established methods from biographical approaches which privilege

the narrative mode of generating accounts of *Spracherleben*. Additionally, I expand these methods by philosophical group enquiries adapted for the purposes of this research (7.2.3). Building primarily on Busch's (2017a) work on the biographical approach to researching lived language experience, the concepts of *Spracherleben* (2017b) and body image (2021a), which I introduced in chapter 4 (4.4.1), are important. Here, I add elaboration on this approach where relevant.

7.2.1. Accounts of *Spracherleben*: windows onto lived philosophical problems

The review of biographical research approaches that Busch (2017a) provides serves as the starting point of these methodological considerations. As she points out, biographical approaches generally play a significant role when researching lived experience: because experience cannot be studied by third-person observation, the research depends upon persons who share accounts of experience from a first-person view (Busch 2017a: 52). Such accounts are typically generated and analysed within qualitative research paradigms. Nonetheless, they can differ significantly. Busch (2017a: 49) highlights that there are phenomenological, interactional, and poststructuralist strands of biographical research, all of which have very different views of 'biography', 'experience', and the 'subject'. Providing more detail on these later in this section, it is significant at this point that the approach of Busch (2017a) combines phenomenological and poststructuralist perspectives to generate accounts of *Spracherleben* which serve as a "window onto the body image" (Busch 2021a: 201). Because thereby, Busch's work (2009, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2021a) has to offer methodological considerations and ground to be expanded by the PP perspectives of this study.

First, Busch explains that she combines phenomenological and poststructuralist approaches to gain "an understanding of how ideology—or discourse—when translated into bodily and emotionally lived experience of language, impacts on the linguistic repertoire" (Busch 2017a: 52). The approach foregrounds issues of availability of linguistic resources from a subject perspective, which fits the interests of the present investigations. Additionally, the phenomenological and poststructuralist views together capture the relationships between body image, discourse (or 'knowledge' and 'reality'), and processes of subjectification. These are the same kind of relationships that come into focus by the combination of biographical and PP perspectives on languaging, i.e. if 'languaging' is examined as a socially constituted practice by which humans may evaluate themselves and others in lived-ethical terms, and a practice relevant for subjectification in contemporary times of globalization and linguistic diversity (chapter 6, 6.2).

Second, by combining different epistemological lenses, Busch's take on biographical research of *Spracherleben* has been rather fruitful when it comes to better understanding the complexities of heteroglossic life worlds from a subject perspective. One reason for its influential role in biographical research is that it offers many points of contact with other disciplines (cf. Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022). Significant for the present research project, Busch (2016, 2017b, 2021a, 2022) herself investigates the relationship between trauma and the linguistic repertoire through generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* by narrative and pictorial methods. The accounts reveal the relational and dynamic nature of speaker agency: they give insight into how communicative conditions and biographical factors can constrain speakers' linguistic repertoires in situ, but also how speakers sometimes develop unexpected linguistic resources to strengthen resilience (Busch 2016: 5). Aiming to involve a relational understanding of agency, this study can build on the methodology of the established and more psychologically oriented investigations of *Spracherleben*, changing the focus to lived philosophical problems that become urgent in languaging.

Additionally, Busch's (2022) observation of several years of research on *Spracherleben* strongly suggest that its methods of data generation do not only provide a window onto the body image (Busch 2021a: 201), but also onto lived philosophical problems of languaging. She observes that

> narrated lived experience of language often crystallises around moments of irritation, of feelings of being out of place, of discrepancies between self-perception and perception mirrored by others. Such personal accounts typically refer to situations of liminality, of crossing from one stage of life to another, from one social space to another, from one language regime to another, i.e. to moments when habitualised and 'normalised' practices no longer seem appropriate and accepted, when language is not easily available and cannot simply be taken for granted, when language use becomes a matter of heightened sensitivity and a source for feelings of vulnerability. It is particularly in such critical moments that it is possible to develop awareness of the ideological constructedness of language use and language regimes that are otherwise considered as 'natural' and self-evident. (Busch 2022: 297–298)

This observation about the liminality and irritation in biographical narratives of *Spracherleben* is reminiscent of philosophical problems in the PP sense: everyday-life confrontations which challenge one's basic outlooks on the world, urge awareness of the ultimate situation of being lingual, and question one's self understanding as a "good" languaging subject (chapter 5, 5.1). It thus seems reasonable to assume that methods of *Spracherleben* research yield appropriate data for analysis from the developed PP perspectives. At the same time, a methodological question arises that is important for the development of a combined approach of AL and PP enquiries: what is the relationship between first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* and philosophical problems? Drawing on Busch's (2017a) discussion of the different

epistemological orientations in biographical research, it seems to be the case that participants are likely to share accounts of *Spracherleben* which have already been associated consciously with language before—and that such associations are likely to be made when languaging does not come easily, as in the experience of lived philosophical problems. At this point, the earlier postponed elaboration on the different strands of biographical research is relevant to discuss the relationships between biographical data and lived philosophical problems.

As elaborated in chapter 4 (4.4.1), from a *phenomenological* perspective the body is the primary condition for communication and the two kinds of experience by which the (speaking) subject perceives of itself. The subject either perceives of itself immediately as the experience-*ing* (speaking) body; or as the experience-*ed* (speaking) body, which involves a minimal reflective stance (Merleau-Ponty 2012: 105–107). Regarding the generation of first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*, this double nature of the experienced/experiencing body has an important implication: production and communication of such accounts depend upon the second kind of experience and thus upon participants' capability for actively "catching" themselves from the outside by assuming the basic reflective position of experience. Methods of *Spracherleben* prompt participants into this reflective stance on their biographical selves. In this regard, it may take a path of enquiry that is very similar to when humans are challenged to assume a reflective position on their selves and their practice by confrontation with lived philosophical problems in everyday-life experience. From a subject perspective then, experiences of lived philosophical problems, irritation, and liminal situations of languaging stick out as biographically significant. This is because, the switch from the experiencing to the experienced subject necessarily accompanies the interpretation of experience and evaluations of the self. If speakers are asked to recall an account of *Spracherleben* that is meaningful to them, it is thus likely that they recall moments of liminality that have once urged them to assume the reflective position of the experienced self before, and which implied interpretations of their selves and life in relation to language/languaging.

In the attempt of understanding the philosophical richness of first-person accounts of *Spracherleben,* the *interactional* view complements the phenomenological explanation above. Briefly outlined, biographical approaches that follow an interactional epistemology consider the (speaking) 'subject' and 'language' as continuously (co-)constructed and (re-)negotiated by the interacting parties (Busch 2017a: 49–50). Regarding data generation and analysis, this translates into a focus on the interaction between researcher and researched. The process of data generation is part of the relevant data (cf. Platzgummer 2021). The underlying theoretical assumption is that any meaning making process depends upon the referential frameworks

relevant for speakers in interaction (including interactions recalled and communicated as an account of *Spracherleben* as well as the researcher-participant interaction). Building on this view, languaging does not only involve the negotiation of linguistic forms and meanings but also the negotiation of potentially more and less overlapping referential frameworks which are typically not explicit. Languaging may thus also involve being (philosophically) challenged by discrepancies between these basic frameworks of understanding. Especially if speakers actively invest in resolving these challenges by adapting their referential frameworks, or invest in resisting to do so, experiences are likely to be part of reflections on the biographical self—and hence to be recalled as biographically significant accounts of *Spracherleben*.

As a side note, the interactional interpretation of the relationship between first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* and philosophical problems sheds new light on the process-oriented research of ELF communication. Firstly, by focus on the processes of form-meaning negotiation in ELF communication, it shows evidence of an interactional epistemology (which is in fact rarely made explicit in the literature). Secondly, as elaborated in chapter 3 (3.2), due to the relative absence of shared linguistic and cultural frameworks in ELF encounters, speakers are considered to be challenged to greater individual initiative and investment in the situated meaning making processes of languaging (cf. Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247). I have already highlighted that this understanding closely resembles a relational conceptualization of agency, following which "[a]ctors develop their deliberative capacities as they confront emergent situations that impact upon each other and pose increasingly complex problems, which must be taken up as challenges by the responsive (and communicative) intelligence" (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 969). If ELF communication and languaging more generally involves such challenges, these may involve experiences of irritation and lived philosophical problems as elaborated above.

Coming back to the relationship between first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* and lived philosophical problems, the *poststructuralist* view adds to the reasoning of the phenomenological and interactional explanations. On the basic assumption that reality is socially constituted/constructed, the poststructuralist view underlines that experiences and interpretations are not made in a vacuum of social knowledge and meaning. Any encounter, including the research setting, is considered to shape and to be shaped by dominant power relations, discourses, and practices of knowledge. Accordingly, first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* are regarded as offering insight into the ways in which (speaking) subjects know and think about language (practices); and into the ways they (co-)construct meaning and position themselves in relation to dominant ideologies (cf. Busch 2017a: 52). Again, it seems

reasonable to assume that participants of biographical research recall memories and share narratives of situations in which taken-for-granted knowledge and positionings have been challenged before. To repeat the relevant part of Busch's (2022: 297–298) observation with first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*, "[i]t is particularly in such critical moments that it is possible to develop awareness of the ideological constructedness of language use and language regimes that are otherwise considered as 'natural' and self-evident". If combined with the phenomenological view, such critical moments of awareness of the ideological constructedness of social knowledge may go hand in hand with reconsiderations of one's own outlook on 'language' and re-evaluation of the languaging self. Also from a poststructuralist view thus, the relationships between biographical data and the experience of lived philosophical problems can be explained by a tendency of participants to recall and share narratives and memories that crystallize around situations that have challenged their epistemological, existential, and ethical grounds of languaging.

Based on these considerations, the data generated by biographical approaches to *Spracherleben* research are appropriate data for examination by biographical and PP perspectives on languaging. The present study therefore builds on biographical approaches to develop a methodology of data generation and analysis that implements the multi-perspective lens developed in this thesis. Additionally, the study foregrounds the biographical and PP perspectives of the multi-perspective lens and thus builds notably on Busch's (2017a) approach. This is most appropriate because the approach already combines phenomenological and poststructuralist epistemologies to gain a better understanding of issues of availability related to body image and ideologies of language. The two epistemologies are implicit in the PP perspectives which foreground bodily experience of lived philosophical problems and the social constitution of 'languaging' as a practice. In summary, the study builds on biographical methods to gain insight into *Spracherleben*, body image, and lived philosophical problems.

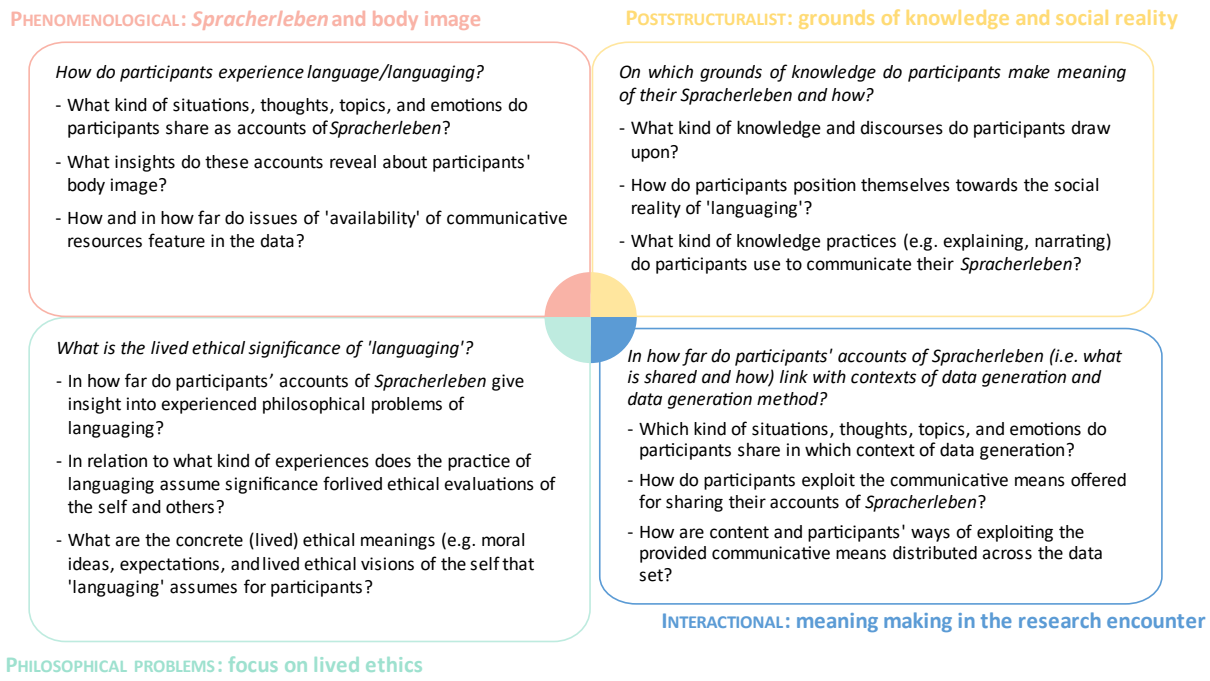
Moreover, expanding on Busch's (2017a) work, the study also involves elements of an interactional approach. This is to implement the self-critical dimension of the languaging dispositive. As elaborated in chapter 5 (5.2), AL research generates knowledge about the practice of 'languaging' and is part of the social discourse that constitutes the reality of 'languaging' and the 'languaging subject'. I emphasized the need to make transparent and consider how knowledge of 'languaging' comes into being. This transparency and critical consideration of the data are implemented by interactional elements in the research approach, in addition to the measures of triangulation (7.1). This means that generated first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* are considered products of the interaction amongst researcher and

researched, which is besides their referential frameworks of 'knowledge' shaped by the methods and research setting. It is thus part of this study to collect relevant information on the data generation process in a research journal, and to consider relationships between prompts of elicitation, methods, settings, and participants' responses to the invitation of sharing an account of *Spracherleben*. These considerations are also reflected in the refined integration of the analytical foci and research questions, which are presented subsequently.

7.2.2. Integration of analytical foci and research questions

Having identified appropriate data and approaches to build on, this section integrates the analytical foci of the biographical and PP perspectives in the form of refined research questions. These are illustrated by Figure 7 below. Sorting the research questions into four sets, Figure 7 provides an analytical heuristic of research foci: three correspond roughly to the three different epistemologies in biographical research (i.e. phenomenological, poststructuralist, interactional); the fourth represents the focus on lived philosophical problems. Note that this sorting does not imply a clear-cut separation of the underlying perspectives. As elaborated before (7.2.1), the examination of *Spracherleben*, body image, and lived-ethical evaluations implies a phenomenological and poststructuralist understanding of 'the subject'. Furthermore, the study does not conduct a dispositive analysis as such, whereby the PP perspective of the languaging dispositive is not explicitly represented in the question sets. Nonetheless, it plays a role in the study, as the relationships are analysed between *Spracherleben*, body image, the knowledge and reality of 'languaging', and lived philosophical problems. In the following, I elaborate on the question set and how it integrates the four perspectives.

Figure 7: Research questions, sorted by analytical foci and perspectives.



Starting with the top left corner in Figure 7 (pink), the *phenomenological* question set is headed by the question, "How do participants experience language?". The questions of this set focus on the kind of situations that participants share as accounts of *Spracherleben*, the experiences they report on, and insights about body image and issues of 'availability' of communicative resources. The latter link the phenomenological questions with the poststructuralist ones, by acknowledgement of the relational, social constitution of the body image and the 'availability' of communicative resources in situ. The *poststructuralist* question set is represented in the top right corner of Figure 7 (yellow). The questions focus on which grounds of knowledge participants draw upon to formulate and communicate their accounts of *Spracherleben*, and to position themselves towards the social reality in which they are embedded. In comparison to the other question sets, the poststructuralist one is most obviously related with the languaging dispositive. Regarding the elements of the languaging dispositive, participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* can be considered to be located at the elementary discourse level. Sharing subjective experiences of languaging, participants involve their everyday knowledge of it (which is, however, also related to and circulating between specialized and inter-discourse elements of the dispositive; chapter 5, 5.2).

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the present study does not work with theoretical frameworks of already defined language ideologies (e.g. standard language ideology,

native-speakerism, mother tongue ideology)[68]. Many recent biographical studies which take a poststructuralist view examine the role of such language ideologies in speakers' *Spracherleben* and the positions they assume towards these (e.g. Platzgummer 2021: 18–23; Spitzmüller 2022; Czada 2024; Kim 2024). It is the aim of this study, however, to capture the discourse (or dispositive) of 'languaging' more generally. Thus, a focus on pre-defined 'knowledge' that research defines as 'ideology' would be too narrow and inappropriate here. It will be evident from the data, that some material would lend itself to analysis of dominant language ideologies. As further examination in that direction exceeds the scope of this study, I will indicate bridges to such investigations in the findings chapter 8 (8.1, 8.6).

Turning to the bottom left corner of Figure 7 (green), the illustration shows the question set formulated through the PP perspective of *languaging as a lived philosophical problem*. Probing into unknown territory, the set includes the question in how far such problems can be identified in the data at all. Additionally, integrating this PP perspective with the analytical foci of the phenomenological and poststructuralist perspectives, these questions now foreground the lived-ethical significance of 'languaging' as a practice. This means that amongst the three philosophical problems formulated in chapter 5 (5.1), the study examines the lived-ethical dimension of languaging in more detail. This decision is made, on the one hand, for reasons of feasibility: it would have been too much to examine the data with equal attention to all three kinds of philosophical problems, while simultaneously considering the other four question sets. On the other hand, the decision is based on the research aim of foregrounding issues of availability. As elaborated in chapter 6 (6.1), the underlying frameworks of the concepts of *Spracherleben*, body image, and lived ethics have their analytical strengths in examining the interplay of biography, situated space, and socially established and accepted 'languaging' and its impact on speakers' communicative room for manoeuvre. Given that lived-ethical evaluations concern the human existence and are made within epistemological outlooks on what 'language'/'languaging' is, the other kinds of philosophical problems play a role in the study but are not in focus.

The *interactional* set of research questions is represented at the bottom right corner of Figure 7 (blue). The quarter is slightly set apart from the others to illustrate that they are

[68] The *standard language ideology* refers to a thinking that devalues linguistic variation of language(s) in favour of an abstracted and idealized language that was constituted by processes of standardization and codification. It relates to ideas of linguistic purism and practices of prescription (Milroy 2001; Cogo 2012c; Seidlhofer 2018). *Native-speakerism* refers to an ideology which showed particularly in relation with language education. It is characterized by the belief that native-speakers are the standard against which learners of a language should be measured and that the ideal language teacher is a native-speaker of the target language (Akoha et al. 1991; Canagarajah 1999; Holliday 2006; Cook 2007). The *mother tongue ideology* insists that people would have one mother tongue only and manifests, for example, in school-entry forms asking students for their mother tongue (Bonfiglio 2010; Dal Negro 2011; Melo-Pfeifer 2019).

formulated from a meta-perspective on the study itself. Reflecting the methodological considerations on working with first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* (7.2.1), the question set enquires into how data generation methods, research setting, and context are related to the kind of content participants share as an account of *Spracherleben*, and how they make use of and shape the research encounter to communicate their accounts. In the pursuit of these questions, the study exploits the triangulation of data generation methods to draw implications on how lived philosophical problems are best approached by academic enquiry. For these purposes basic quantitative means are deployed in the analysis to compare the methods regarding what kind of topics and situations are shared as *Spracherleben* and how (see section 7.5). Before turning to the concrete methods and processes of data generation and analysis, however, I explicate the rationale for using biographical methods which foreground the narrative mode and expand on them by PP group enquiries adapted for the purpose of participatory research. As a final comment on the interactional question set, the study foregrounds this epistemology to assume a meta-level of reflection on the enquiry and attend to the PP perspective of the languaging dispositive. The interactional epistemology is present also with the other four question sets: each relies on the basic assumption that the social and subjectively experienced meaning of the practice of languaging is constituted by interaction amongst speakers and their responses to the social realities in which they are embedded.

7.2.3. Expansion of biographical methods by philosophical group enquiries

In section 7.1, I explained that this study involves triangulation at the theoretical and methodological levels of enquiry. It serves as a means to grasp the different dimensions of the languaging experience by the different theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches. In addition, at the level of the methodological approach, triangulation is a means to enable taking a meta perspective on the study: by examining relationships between how data are generated and what they reveal about the experience of languaging, the study addresses research objective ‘B’, which is to explore the developed approach of AL & PP enquiry in the study of languaging and to evaluate it regarding its potential for a socially engaged study of languaging. Continuing from these considerations, this subsection puts the principle of triangulation into concrete form by developing a “three-legged” design of data generation methods. This research deploys three methods of data generation:

1) An online survey collecting accounts of *Spracherleben* from a wider audience;
2) Semi-structured interviews with participants from the online survey, prompted by the account of *Spracherleben* they had shared and exploring these in more detail;

3) PP group enquiries in which participants generate accounts of *Spracherleben*, share these, and together engage in an enquiry of the basic themes and meanings of 'languaging' that show in their experiences.

Developing this design, in the following, I build on biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* and expand the methodology to integrate AL and PP enquiries. Focusing on the methodological development here, a description of the concrete procedures of the data generation process is provided later in section 7.4.

Once more the methodological development of this study builds on Busch's (2017a) biographical approach to the study of *Spracherleben.* To do so appeared most appropriate, given the strong indication of a philosophical richness of data generated by such research, as elaborated above (7.2.1). Studies which build on this approach typically assume a subject-centred perspective and deploy methods which elicit accounts of *Spracherleben* by textual narratives and/or visual means (cf. Purkarthofer & Flubacher 2022). A frequently used method is the language portrait. It is a multimodal method which elicits a visual representation of participants' linguistic repertoire by means of an empty human body silhouette (cf. Krumm & Jenkins 2001; Busch 2018). Busch (2021a: 200) emphasizes the significance of this method for studies of matters of body image, since the language portrait already frames linguistic resources and their subjective meanings as embodied phenomena. The language portrait is often combined with narrative forms of data generation like interviews. In these interviews, the respective participant's language portrait serves as a prompt and reference point for eliciting further insights and their *Spracherleben* (e.g. Busch 2006; 2012, 2016, 2018; Kusters & Meulder 2019; Platzgummer 2021). Combining the pictorial and narrative modes, researchers seek to gain a more holistic "image" of the *Spracherleben*, and often also seek to avoid using language portraits as a means to represent "countable" languages of the participant. Instead, researchers aim for an examination of participants' *Spracherleben*, their positioning towards linguistic resources, and relevant discourses (cf. Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 16)

For the purposes of this study, methods which foreground the narrative mode are considered most appropriate. The study aims at insights into the experience of languaging as such. It is thus less relevant to use a language portrait and elicit information on participants' evaluative stances on specific linguistic resources. Additionally, the narrative mode suits the aim of gaining insight into participants' attempts at making sense of experiences of irritation, liminality, and philosophical problems. As Busch (2022: 296) points out, biographical narratives are necessarily shared from an interpretative stance on one's own *Spracherleben*. As they do so, participants tend to narrate their experiences with reference to the ideal of a coherent

'biography', 'self', and 'life'. Lived-ethical evaluations are made from the same kind of interpretative stance, as they concern the felicity of one's life and being human as such (chapter 5, 5.1.3). Therefore, the narrative mode is most appropriate for generating accounts of *Spracherleben* that give insight into lived-ethical evaluations as well as into participants' attempts at making sense of lived philosophical problems related to languaging. At the same time, this study does not aim at describing "'full' life stories in the sense of biographical case construction" (Busch 2022: 298). Instead, the study operationalizes the PP perspective on languaging (chapter 5, 5.1) by examining what the accounts of *Spracherleben* reveal about languaging in the kind of moments of irritation that open to lived philosophical problems. This also means that participants are *not* asked about biographical life trajectories in relation to language. They are asked to share experiences, thoughts, and considerations related to language which are in some way meaningful to them, for example, because the experiences have stuck with their minds, keep coming up, or are in some form important from their point of view[69]. This understanding and basic procedure of generating narrative accounts of *Spracherleben* underlies all three methods used in this study.

Relying on established methods, it was reasonable for the purposes of this study to set up an online survey that guides participants through writing an account of *Spracherleben*, as it would reach a broader audience. Follow-up interviews with some of these participants would in turn allow to dive deeper into these accounts and in dialogic, exploratory interaction with participants. To deploy a method that integrates AL and PP enquiries already at the level of data generation, however, further methodological development was necessary. As elaborated in chapter 2, AL and PP enquiries overlap in many respects, but they are still different kinds of enquiry which may not combine or integrate in all respects. In the case of this study, the methodological considerations focus on expanding biographical methods of *Spracherleben* research by a participatory method of philosophizing in groups. Philosophizing in groups takes heterogeneous forms in the context of PP, and they are no established method of enquiry for academic purposes. Therefore, the following questions need to be answered:

- What happens in philosophical group dialogues in the context of PP?
- Why draw upon philosophizing in groups for the purposes of this study?
- Regarding the heterogeneity of PP, to which strands does this research orient when developing a form of PP group enquiry that integrates with AL enquiry?

[69] See section 7.4 for the concrete prompts used to guide participants through the data generation process.

Speaking of philosophizing in groups in the context of PP, I refer to what is often broadly summarized under the label of 'Socratic Dialogue Methods' (Weiss 2015b: 215). Typically, they involve the sharing of personal experiences and can start with the sharing of such narratives. The critical *philosophical* movement then is that the concrete and subjective experiences are taken to inspire a collective enquiry into the general, essential, and existential in these experiences. Thereby, the philosophical group "conversation" moves from personal experiences to more abstract themes and insights, which are formulated by the group itself and in the course of the process (Weiss 2015b: 215). In this form of philosophizing in groups, it is participants' personal engagement and investment in the collective practice of questioning and enquiry which determines the themes of investigation and what is significant to the group. Therefore, Socratic dialogues of that kind are also considered to be a democratic enterprise (Birnbacher 2010: 221). The person moderating the PP group enquiry assumes the role of a facilitator of the process, rather than of a person giving input or steering the conversation. Philosophy didactic and PP literature formulates a variety of rules and steps by which Socratic dialogues can/should be facilitated (e.g. Nelson 1976; Heckmann 1993; Hansen 2009; Birnbacher 2010; Krainer & Heintel 2015). For the purposes of this research, a basic three-step procedure is most relevant, which moves from (1) individually thinking of and generating an account of experience, (2) sharing this account with others amongst the group, to (3) engaging in a collective enquiry of philosophical questions, topics, and experiences that arise from the shared experiences[70].

There are several reasons that make the just described experience-based form of philosophizing in groups from PP very useful for the purposes of this research. First, since the PP group involves the sharing of personal experiences and narratives as a starting point of the enquiry, it integrates well with the biographical methods of generating accounts of *Spracherleben*. In addition, the philosophical enquiry that is realized by the described forms of philosophizing in groups has a democratic dimension which methodologically enables a participatory form of academic enquiry[71]. Participants are not just asked to share accounts of *Spracherleben* but are also actively involved in formulating and enquiring into patterns of meaning across the experiences shared by the group. Hence, the data generation process involves phases of analysis with participants too. If embedded in the public spaces in which participants are engaged in their everyday lives, the participatory element of research can also

[70] See 7.4.3 for how this three-phase structure was implemented in the data generation process.

[71] For introductory literature on participatory research approaches see, for example, Unger (2014) and Miko-Schefzig & Reiter (2018).

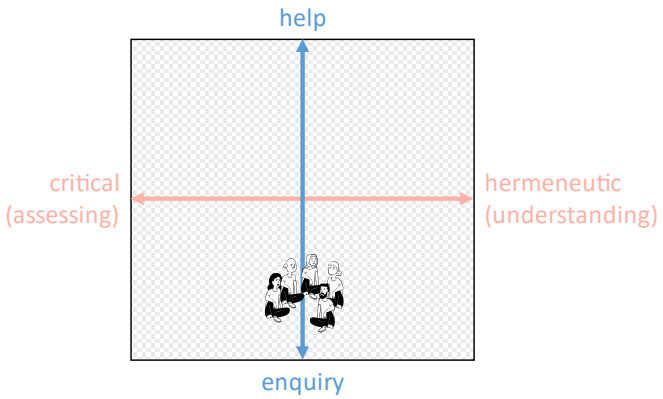
be realized in the direction of the researcher participating in their "everyday" life environments. This was relevant to the present study as its aim was also to explore the potential and limitations of integrating AL and PP enquiries in the study of languaging and to discuss issues of social embedding and engagement of AL research.

The dimension of social embedding was indeed an important argument for appropriating PP groups for the purposes of this research. As elaborated in chapter 2 (2.2), PP is dedicated to practice Philosophy as a publicly accessible form of enquiry and dialogue. One way philosophical practitioners take to create this publicly accessibility is to open physical places that are called "PP" and in which they provide the "services" of PP. The more intimate form of PP consultancy in a one-on-one setting tends to take place within the walls of these PP dedicated places. PP groups are, by contrast, often situated within public spaces in which other "things" happen as well, like cafés, parks, cinemas, etc. Following Wegleitner and Schuchter (2018: 94), processes of collective enquiry and learning from experience have a political significance if placed in public spaces. This is because they physically and interactionally bridge the "private" and the "public" by putting individual experience into the perspectives of the more general human condition, and the social and political conditions in which (individual) human experience takes shape (cf. Wegleitner & Schuchter 2018: 94). It was the aim of this study to better understand how the process, practice, and experience of languaging are shaped by the social and communicative conditions in which it takes place. Therefore, the bridging function of socially embedded and collective enquiry appeared fruitful for the purposes of this study. Additionally, the socially embedded and engaged realization of PP group enquires allowed to genuinely attend to the PP principle of philosophizing outside university walls, and to avoid creating a "laboratory" of the physical place of the PP. It implied collaboration with public institutions and NGOs interested in the research. Collaborations with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context also served the purpose of recruiting participants with migration experience as intended by the underlying rationale of this study (see 7.1).

The third question which needs to be answered is to what strands of PP enquiry the implementation of PP groups is oriented in this study. To answer this question, I draw upon Romizi's (2018, 2023, 2025, in print) theoretical model of what is *philosophical* about philosophical consultancy and what makes it good. While the model refers to philosophical consultancy primarily, the philosophical qualities it defines and considers in relation to different approaches are useful for describing the characteristics of philosophizing in PP groups as well. For the purposes here, Romizi's model (2018, 2023, 2025, in print) also provides a useful visualization for locating the PP groups of this study within the different orientations of

PP: Figure 8 shows an adapted version of the illustration provided by Romizi (2018)[72]. The square illustrates the boundaries of the philosophical nature of a philosophical dialogue. Within these boundaries, the PP groups of this study are positioned as enquiries that involve both *critical* and *hermeneutic* approaches to philosophizing (horizontal axis), and which are *enquiry* rather than *help* oriented (vertical axis). What this implies for the concrete processes of PP enquiry, is explained below.

Figure 8: Approach and orientation of PP groups in this study (based on Romizi 2018).



On the horizontal axis in Figure 8, the PP groups of this study are located between the critical and the hermeneutic approaches, because they are equally relevant. Turning to the role of *hermeneutics* first, building on the theoretical framework of this study, enquiries into the philosophical nature of lived experience of languaging involves hermeneutic labour (chapter 5, 5.1.1). It consists in an investment in understanding oneself and the world, which depends upon a reflective distance towards one's own experience and on an interpretative stance that takes experience as a potential source of deeper insight into the human condition of being lingual. This hermeneutic attitude is relevant to the enquiry also at the level of social interaction, as participants are encouraged to listen to others' accounts of *Spracherleben* with a "philosophical ear". Additionally, in a collective attempt to understand the philosophical significance of experiences of *Spracherleben* and each other, the process of enquiry coincides with the attempt at building appropriate conceptual and lingual "tools" by which such understanding is reached and communicated. The philosophical group enquiries of this study can thus be considered "hermeneutical conversations" as described with reference to Gadamer (1960/2010: 391) in chapter 5 (5.1.1).

As regards a *critical* approach to enquiry, it is equally relevant to the PP groups of this study, since it implements criteria of philosophizing that are valid also in academic enquiry.

[72] The original illustration from Romizi (2018) is provided in Appendix C.

Following an analytical approach, for example, participants are encouraged to put interpretations under the scrutiny of coherence and cohesion, and they are asked to reconsider vague terms, assess their appropriacy, and further specify them if necessary. At the level of interactional atmosphere of the enquiry, this implies a need to facilitate a relatively safe space for sharing thoughts and opinions, because interpretations may be put to question. In this regard, the idea of Socratic dialogue that characterizes the PP groups of this study is different from the type of Socratic dialogue that is often described by reference to Plato's writings[73]. This type, as Birnbacher (2010: 217) points out, deploys a critical approach to reveal the *Scheinwissen* (i.e. ignorance, intellectual arrogance) of the dialogue partner and to reach a pedagogic effect. The PP groups of this study, however, have no pedagogic interest in the individual and are geared towards enquiry and general insights on *Spracherleben* and languaging. Nonetheless, a critical attitude and openness to critique of positions are of significance to the philosophical enquiry.

Having pointed out that the PP groups of this study have no pedagogic interest in the individual, I turn to the underlying objective of the PP groups between the poles of 'enquiry' and 'help'. On the vertical axis in Figure 8, the PP groups of this study are closer to the pole of *enquiry* than help. This means that philosophizing primarily aims to better understand the objects or topics of enquiry, rather than the person or fulfil needs of participants. This orientation reflects the academic purpose of the project but also the more general paideutic strand of PP I outlined in chapter 2 (2.2) (e.g. Helskog & Weiss 2021; Weiss & Helskog 2022). While philosophizing with the primary orientation of enquiry does not imply to fully ignore the personal concerns participants bring to it, it is methodologically relevant that the PP groups are not designed to solve the immediate problems of the participants. In the context of PP, philosophical consultancy, for example, often follows a therapeutic intention (see chapter 2 ,2.2). In the present project, however, Socratic dialogue is not intended to help, and participants are not addressed in their neediness. Instead, they are invited to share accounts of *Spracherleben* and together engage in a collaborative enquiry that seeks to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon and practice of languaging. Following Schuchter and Heller (2018: 57), such processes of collective enquiry cultivate practical wisdom, which in this study corresponds to the interest of gaining a better understanding of what it means to language in times of globalization and superdiversity. Within the academic framework of this study, such practical wisdom is sought to improve the AL insight into languaging, especially in the field of ELF research.

[73] For a compilation of Plato's dialogues, see, for example, Cooper (1997).

Summarizing the methodological considerations of this section, I have outlined the rationale for deploying established biographical methods of research on *Spracherleben* which foreground the narrative mode, and for expanding those by a methodology of PP group enquires appropriated for the purposes of this study. Since in this study PP enquiry is integrated with, but also serves, AL enquiry, I discuss their relationship in the subsequent section (7.3). Like the methodological considerations of the present section, the following ones have implications for the research design.

7.3. AL and PP principles—positioning of the approach

As this research project combines AL and PP enquiries, the methodological operationalization of the approach demands for a clear position on the relationship between the two. As elaborated in chapter 2, AL and PP overlap in their basic concern with understanding real-world problems and their mediatory position between theory and practice. However, the fields differ in their discursive orientation and positioning to their primary audiences. While AL enquiry has been established mainly as an academically oriented way of doing language-related research, PP has sought a position outside university walls and with a clear stance on engagement with non-academic audiences (see 2.3). These orientations are challenging to integrate on equal terms if the context is academia. Most obviously, the academic purpose overrules the constitutive causes of PP outside of academia. PP involves characteristics of enquiry that are compatible with academic criteria, such as proceeding by reasoning and argumentation (chapter 2, 2.3). However, the PP kind of enquiry is per definition of PP more immediately accommodative and responsive to the frameworks of relevance of the people it engages with. By combining AL and PP enquiries, this study therefore faces the limitation of attending to the causes of AL and PP equally—a position has to be defined, which has implications for the research approach.

To elaborate the positioning of this project, I draw upon the "good old" controversy on the nature of AL, which was outlined in chapter 2 (2.1). The limitations of combining and integrating AL and PP enquiries, are reminiscent of it. As a brief reminder, the controversy evolves around the (im)possibility of conducting an enquiry that simultaneously meets the discourses, interest, and criteria of specialized academic audiences *and* those relevant from the perspective of those participating in research (cf. Seidlhofer 2003b: 269–324). I made transparent that, to practically handle this dilemma, I follow the understanding of Widdowson (1980, 1998, 2000), who argues for the inevitable need of mediating between different (disciplinary) frameworks of understanding and relevance. Additionally, considering my professional backgrounds in academia, language education, and PP, I positioned myself with

Brumfit (1997), who emphasizes that there is no resolution to understanding from the "inside" and "outside" perspectives of disciplines and human subjects (chapter 2, 2.1). These positions on AL and on myself as an AL researcher built the ground of approaching the study of languaging by a combination of AL and PP enquiries.

Figure 9: Applied Linguistics and Philosophical Practice—positioning of this research.

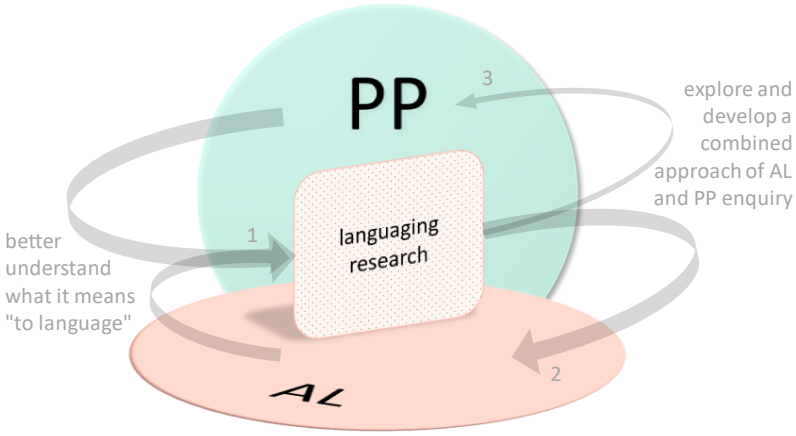


Figure 9 illustrates the relationship of AL and PP in this piece of languaging research. First, this study is in essence an *academic* enquiry that is grounded in the AL study of languaging. Both theoretical and empirical investigations are motivated by the AL interest to better understand the phenomenon and practice of languaging. AL is thus the foundation and main discourse to which this study seeks to contribute. Because this is so, the study has a primary orientation towards academia, while PP assumes the role of an informant. It is a rather influential informant in this research, however, as it shapes the AL interest in a particular way: integrated with the PP framework of relevance, the AL study of languaging turns into an investigation of speakers' experience of philosophical problems related with languaging. PP also informs the methodology of doing AL enquiry: expanding the methodology of biographical research on *Spracherleben* (section 7.2), PP group enquiries are adapted for the purposes of this project and add a participatory element to the research design. The groups are set in public spaces and are organized with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context and a public library (see 7.4.3). Thereby, this AL research follows causes of both AL and PP enquiries. This is illustrated by Figure 9 in the form of the two respectively grounded arrows that lead into this piece of languaging research (indicated by the number '1'). In comparison to the basic function of AL, PP provides a tapestry on which the study of languaging appears in a new light. Thus, the box which represents this research project on languaging in Figure 9 is coloured in "AL pink" and sparkled with "green PP dots".

Second, and new to the methodological considerations of research design so far, the principles of PP are attended to by what is called "third-mission activities" in the academic context. To clarify the term, academic and political institutions have defined the so-called "third responsibility" of universities as the responsibility to directly feedback into society. Following a European mandate, for example, the Austrian Ministry for Education, Science, and Research (2023)[74] has legally anchored the third mission of universities and defines it as activities of technological transfer and innovation, further education at academic levels, and social engagement (Roessler 2015). Fitting in with the latter kind of activity, and with the principle of primary relevance to participants, it was part of this research project to offer, besides the academically oriented philosophical groups, philosophical groups with the partner organizations in the Austrian (immigration) context that did not have a primary orientation of data generation and analysis. These groups were also less constrained by the pragmatic needs of research that concern procedures of data generation and documentation. Some of the third-mission activities of this research project are listed in the catalogue of such activities at the University of Vienna (Radinger 2020). Note that in the approach to this research, I understand the provided third-mission activities as an obligatory element of the research design to realize the socially embedded principle of PP enquiry.

Third, while the primary objective of this research is to contribute to the AL study of languaging, the investigations indirectly contribute to the field of PP as well (Figure 9, arrows '2' and '3'). As elaborated above (7.1), this research aims to gain better understanding of real-world problems in which languaging is a major issue, improve ELF research by measures of correcting the favourability bias, and explore how PP may serve the purposes of AL enquiry of languaging. Because these investigations probe into the potential of integrating PP enquiry with AL enquiry, they carry implications for PP too. Most obviously, the study performs a re-approximation of PP and academia, which is also critically evaluated regarding the chances and challenges of the developed approach. As explained in chapter 2 (2.2), the still emergent field of PP has deliberately distinguished itself from the domain of academic Philosophy. This distancing is based on the view that the latter is too removed from the concerns of everyday life experience and preoccupied with its own disciplinary concerns. Many philosophical practitioners thus assume the role of professional and volunteer service providers to laypeople, business, and public institutions. What has received less attention in comparison is the feedback into academia and Amir's (2015) vision of active exchange amongst academic philosophers

[74] Listed in the references by the German name of the ministry "Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung".

and philosophical practitioners. While in this research the academic field of feedback is AL, the exploration into the integration of AL and PP enquiries yields insights into how collaboration amongst academic and PP discourses can be intensified.

Fourth, with a background in AL and PP, my roles as a researcher and practitioner are relevant to this research and need to be thoroughly reflected on throughout the process. Regarding the controversy on the nature of AL, Brumfit (1997) puts forward that the only ways of resolution to understanding language-related problems from the "inside" and "outside" perspectives are researchers who

a) are in constant iteration between individuals who incline to one perspective and those who incline to the other;
b) or, include in their own research practice, at different times, orientations to the inside and outside perspectives on the issues in question (Brumfit 1997: 92).

In this research both kinds of resolution play a role. Considering 'a)', as an AL researcher I engage with participants' "inside" perspectives on languaging by biographical methods and participatory forms of enquiry. In the research process, I go back and forth between these insights and the theoretical framework(s) of languaging of the study. Considering 'b)', I already made transparent in chapter 1 (1.3) that this research is, besides academic interests, motivated by experiences I made as a language teacher. Condensed into the thought "How could I dare tell them to 'just' language!?", this experience took the form of an ethical unease about putting knowledge I had from ELF research about 'languaging' to teaching practice. In the conduct of this research, I step out of this first-person view and assume the perspective of the AL researcher. Additionally, at different times in the project, I assume the role of the perspective of the philosophical practitioner to integrate it with the AL researcher and mediate between the fields of AL and PP. In the chapters of this thesis, the philosophical practitioner's perspective is most prominent in chapter 5, when I develop the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and conceptualize the languaging dispositive. It is also prominent in the present section, as I consider the limitations of integrating AL and PP principles equally. In the conduct of the study, my background in PP informs my role as a researcher in and facilitator of the PP group enquiries. I will consider the significance of these different roles in my report on the data generation process (section 7.4, 7.4.3).

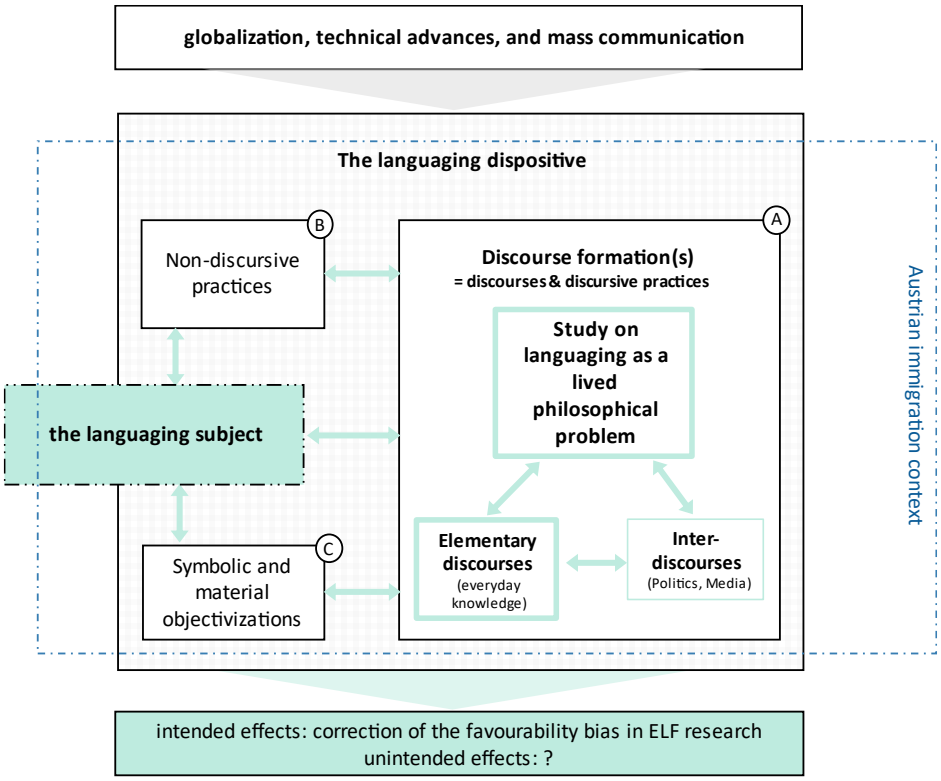
It is to be pointed out that the formulation of the four points of the positioning of this research project between AL and PP, is the outcome of a longer process of reflection that stretched far into the conduct of the empirical study. These reflections were supported by the keeping of a research journal. Based on the kaleidoscopic epistemology of the theoretical

framework and the aim of exploring an integrated approach of AL and PP enquiries, it was a deliberate decision to invest considerably in documenting and reflecting on the research process. This included reflection on my own involvement and positionality as a researcher. I continuously documented the research process in the journal, which includes organizational notes, literature excerpts, sketches of theoretical and methodological models of the research design, as well as reflections on the research interactions with participants, and more personal reflections on my experiences in academia. Where necessary and relevant, I discussed notes on the procedures of research with colleagues and with the supervisors of this thesis. The more personal notes helped me to assume a meta-perspective on myself as a researcher in the project. For example, on how participatory interaction as well as the process of doing a dissertational research project itself involved me as a whole person, both professionally and personally. I discussed and explored considerations of the more personal kind in monthly visits with a psychotherapist educated in PP, who assumed for me the role as an external supervisor throughout the project. Regarding the capacity of mediating between different frameworks of relevance, be it AL and PP types of enquiries or "inside" and "outside" views of experience, it can be said that the research journal assumed an important methodological function in this research.

The concept of the languaging dispositive served as a tool to assume a meta-perspective on the research project during the research process, in addition to keeping a research journal. Conceptualizing the languaging dispositive, I have argued in chapter 5 (5.2) that it can be a means to locate studies on languaging in relation to other elements of the dispositive, the languaging subject, and potential intended and unintended effects on the reality it contributes to construct. Applying this lens to the present project, Figure 10 (below) locates the research in the languaging dispositive. Considering discourse formations ('A'), this study is located within the specialized discourse formations and actively engages with the elementary discourses of 'languaging'. By generating accounts of *Spracherleben* with the participants, the study immediately engages with the (languaging) subjects and mediates between specialized and elementary discourse formations. By the participatory PP group enquires, the participants of these groups also assume a mediatory position between elementary discourses and discourses that abstract from lived experience of language in the specialized ways of AL and PP enquiries. As explained in the rationale of this study (7.1), it includes a focus on participants with experience of (forced) migration, particularly those in situations of immigration to Austria. By that focus the study also probes into relevant legal and educational discourses (the inter-discourses of the languaging dispositive) that shape the reality of the 'immigrant languaging

subject'. Therefore, the empirical investigations include an analysis of the most dominant discourses and policies in this context (chapter 8, 8.2). Considering effects, the main intended outcome of this study is to correct the favourability bias in ELF research by a better understanding of languaging in situations where linguistic repertoires and agency are constrained. Acknowledging the possibility of unintended outcomes of this research, this thesis is a critical response to the over-emphasis that the field of ELF research has so far placed on individual speaker agency in solving the problem of lingual communication. Although I emphasize a relational conceptualization of agency and languaging throughout this thesis, selective readings of the findings may lead to an over-emphasis on speaker determination by social environment.

Figure 10: The study as an element in the languaging dispositive.



Finally, the third "measure" that supported a reflective stance during the research process was the multi-perspective approach of the theoretical framework and the triangulation of the methods of data generation (7.2.3). This stance was carried over into the approach to data analysis, which includes, besides the content-focused qualitative analysis, basic quantitative means to examine the relationships between the content of the data and how they were generated. Having come to the conclusion of how I approached the mediation between and

integration of AL and PP frameworks and principles of enquiry, the remaining sections of this chapter turn to the concrete procedures of the data generation and analysis processes.

7.4. Data generation

This section marks a transition point in this thesis: from the description of the theoretical and methodological development of the research design, it turns to the report on the actual conduct of the study. Introducing the section, I start with an overview of the implemented research design and third-mission activities. Then I dedicate a subsection to each of the three methods used, i.e. the online survey (7.4.1), the follow-up interviews (7.4.2), and the PP group enquiries (7.4.3). These subsections provide detail on the respective procedures of data generation process, sampling, and information on partner organizations and contexts of research where relevant.

Figure 11: Schematic representation of the research project including research and third-mission activities.

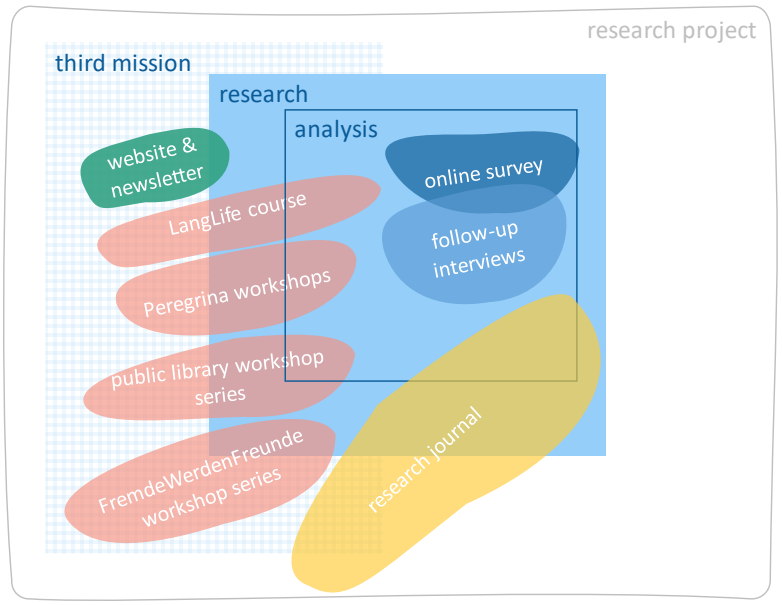


Figure 11 gives an overview of the eventual research design of the empirical study. The figure covers information on research *and* third-mission activities. This is because they are considered part of the overall approach to doing AL research with an imprint of PP enquiry, as explained in section 7.3. Additionally, the third-mission activities interrelated with participant recruitment and finding partner organizations. Represented in coloured bubbles in Figure 11, the study included the launch of a website and dissemination of information by a newsletter (green), four slightly different formats of PP group enquiries implemented with four partner organizations (pink), an online survey collecting written accounts of *Spracherleben* (dark blue),

follow-up interviews with participants from the online survey (blue), and the continuous documentation of the process and reflections in a research journal (yellow). The functions that each of these elements fulfilled in the study are indicated by their positioning in Figure 11. It shows three different frameworks of relevance with regard to research function: third mission (blue striped field on the left), research (plain blue field), and analysis (dark blue frame within research). While the online survey and the follow-up interviews were conducted for research purposes only, the participatory PP group enquiries had both data generation and third-mission functions. Furthermore, some of them were not used for data generation purposes or generated data which were eventually not used for analysis.

Before going into detail on the three data generation methods, the function of the other elements for the data generation process can be summarized more briefly. Concerning the element 'website & newsletter', it served the research purposes of recruiting participants and communicating with them. Given that data generation took place in times of the legal restrictions of the Corona pandemic (2020–2021), the website functioned as a virtual space of communicating the project to potential participants to introduce myself in more detail. The website also provided a possibility for transparently presenting third-mission and research activities as part of one unified and systematic endeavour of enquiry into *Spracherleben*[75]. Starting the data generation process in June 2021, I thus launched a project website, which was provided in English and German[76]. In section 7.3, I have already elaborated on the methodological function of the element of the 'research journal' in this study. It documented the development of both theoretical and empirical investigations of this research and was kept throughout the whole process. Therefore, it is represented by the biggest bubble of elements of the research design in Figure 11 (yellow). Relevant to the process of data generation, the journal includes organizational notes, reflections on researcher positionality, and methodological and theoretical considerations. These complement the dataset generated by the online survey, the follow-up interviews, and the PP groups. The research journal was, to the largest part, handwritten and eventually comprised eight notebooks in an A4 format, each about 70 pages.

Eventually, and still part of the overview of the data generation methods, some general notes on the target audience, informed consent of participants, and types of data generated are relevant for the whole design. Both research and third-mission activities targeted adult participants. If data were collected, participants voluntarily decided to share their personal

[75] Originally, I had planned to use the website also for sharing preliminary insights gained with participants during the research process. I discarded this plan, however, because the publication of such insights in chronological proximity with the offered participation options put a danger to the anonymity of participants.

[76] www.livedlanguage.com (25.11.24).

accounts of *Spracherleben* for the purposes of this research project upon informed consent and with the option of withdrawing from the study. Regarding the kind of data generated, the online survey collected written narratives of *Spracherleben* produced by fully anonymous participants; the follow-up interviews generated spoken data and implied meeting some of the formerly unknown participants from the online survey; the PP groups took place in person and were not audio and video recorded but documented by the researcher in the form of protocols. To support the documentation process, the PP groups were organized in a way that participants produced written material during the interaction. This material entered the dataset in the form of photo-protocols and the written documentation by the researcher. The PP groups were not recorded because audio and video recording posed a hinderance to providing these groups in collaboration with partner organizations, of which three were grassroot initiatives in the Austrian immigration context. It was anticipated that potentially interested participants would refrain from getting engaged because of the recording.

7.4.1. Online survey

The online survey targeted the generation of written accounts of *Spracherleben* only and did not fulfil any third mission functions. Conducting an online survey allowed to anonymously collect written data produced by individual participants without immediate interaction with the researcher. This feature of the research interaction is, in comparison to the other methods used, a distinct one of the online survey. Affected by the legal restrictions on physical contact during the Corona pandemic, the online survey assumed practical significance for conducting this research. It was conducted between August and October 2021.

The online survey collected accounts of *Spracherleben* from an international audience of adult participants. These had some biographical relationship with Austria due to distribution through my professional and personal networks. Based on these networks, the likelihood of responses from people with experiences of re-location was provided for, as I could reach out to organizations in the Austrian immigration context and persons distributing the study in national contexts outside of Austria. Like the whole study (see 7.1), the online survey aimed at adults with migration experience but did not have an exclusive focus on this population. Therefore, the survey invitation did not mention any criteria of participation other than being adult and willing to contribute to the survey. In the online survey, participants' history of migration is not visible to the study, unless they mention migration experiences explicitly in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. It was not asked for by the survey questions, however. Thereby participants

were addressed primarily in their role as subjects who have something to say about the experience of languaging, rather than as possible "migrant subjects".

The online survey was conducted via the online survey tool Lime Survey (LimeSurvey GMbH 2021). Unlike typical questionnaire studies as they are conducted in quantitative approaches, I deployed Lime Survey to guide participants through a process of generating their account of *Spracherleben* in a written or spoken form. The software provides a relatively easily accessible surface of creating a survey, as well as of taking it from the perspective of a participant. Additionally, the features of the software allowed to provide participants with multimodal options of making their contributions in the forms of typing their account directly into a provided text field, by uploading pictures, text files, and audio or video recordings. I installed this range of options to widen the repertoire of means to communicate accounts of *Spracherleben* and avoid losing participants due to the digital written mode. For similar reasons, I provided the survey in languages anticipated amongst the resources of the linguistic repertoire of the audiences to which it was distributed (Arabic, Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian, English, French, German, Turkish)[77].

Turning to the items of the online survey, a full print-version of the English version is provided in Appendix D. Giving detail on the most central item here, participants were guided through creating their account of *Spracherleben*. For the prompt, I built on a personal correspondence with Brigitta Busch (2021b)[78], in addition to the literature on her approach. In this correspondence, she shared useful guidelines amongst which the following ones were considered most relevant to this study:

- Take time for selecting an experience (this way you can chose an experience that really matters to you)
- Choose only one experience, event, scene; not a series of events (because the latter tend to pursue a purpose of speaking of "something", rather than of the experience)
- The scene should be described in a way third persons can follow it (When? Where? Who? In what kind of context? What?)
- All details and feelings of subjective experience (e.g. smell, taste, sounds, colours, etc.) are important; they help the author to set memories in train and readers to "live into" the text. (Busch 2021b)

[77] I am thankful to have received the help of friends and colleagues with the translation of the survey.
[78] Provided in Appendix E.

I appropriated these guidelines for the online survey context as illustrated by Figure 12 below. It shows the prompt of the item that guided participants through generating their account of *Spracherleben*.

Figure 12: Online survey prompt guiding participants through generating an account of *Spracherleben*.

Please **share below a story, an anecdote, memory, or simply some thoughts on an experience you would call a "lived language experience"** - an experience in which you think language plays a central role.

For practical reasons, you ideally enter your text by using English mainly. Of course you can also mix language and/or use other languages too.

These guidelines can help you with putting your experience into writing:

- Take a few minutes to think about an experience you want to share
- Focus on one experience rather than a chain of events
- If you have troubles finding a concrete experience, think of a memory and imagine taking a picture of it with words - what would you take a picture of?
- When you write about what happened and how you experienced language try to do so in a way that others can follow easily (for example provide basic info on when, where, who, what?)
- Details about sounds, tastes, smells, colours - anything that appeared to you in this experience is relevant and interesting as it gives an idea about what it was like there from your perspective
- Take as much time as you need to write your text, if you are interrupted you can resume later (click right upper corner)

If you are insecure about writing, style, or typos - do not worry! This text includes YOUR experience and story, so there are no wrong answers here!

If you want to share your experience in another format or if you want to add something (a sound file, a picture, a handwritten text, or a photo) use the upload option below. Type in 'x' below if you decide for the file upload only.

Once participants had entered their accounts of *Spracherleben* they survey asked them to indicate which main language(s) they used in their text. This served a pragmatic function: if participants wrote their accounts in languages that I do not speak, I could use this information for translation purposes. Three further items asked participants for reflective considerations on their account: the first and obligatory item asked for a title of the experience shared; the second enquired about potential takeaways for others; the third enquired into what participants find most important about their shared experience/text. These three items were included in the survey to capture participants' own view of what is salient and more generally significant about their experience. A further item asked for information on the contextual conditions regarding the language(s) used by persons involved in the reported account, if applicable. This item was originally included to secure the possibility of analysing data that report on ELF encounters only. The scope of the study was, however, eventually extended to the more general interest of gaining insight into the experience of languaging and philosophical problems related to it. The answers to this item thus played a minor role for data analysis. The online survey concluded with items asking for some basic sociodemographic data (age, identification of gender, country

of main residence). Finally, participants were asked if they are willing to participate in a follow-up interview and to provide contact details if they are.

Considering the outcome of the online survey, it yielded 31 written accounts of *Spracherleben*, counting the responses with completed obligatory items. No participant used the option of uploading an online or video recording. One participant used the option of uploading additional files. 28 survey contributions were suitable for further analysis and thus included in the dataset[79]. The other three were excluded because they lacked an explicit relationship with language. Exclusion followed the criteria of whether the account shows an explicit relationship with language and/or if such relationship is evident from the additional information provided by the participants. For example, I excluded a narrative in which a participant described their joy of sitting at the seaside listening to the waves (N18), but I included a narrative in which a participant compares the joy of listening to a live performance of their first orchestra composition with language (N36).

7.4.2. Follow-up interviews

The second method used for data generation are follow-up interviews with participants from the online survey. While the online survey had the advantage of reaching a broad audience, the follow-up interviews allowed to deepen investigations by dialogic interaction with a few participants. In a one-on-one setting, I asked them about further details and, if necessary, clarification of the accounts of *Spracherleben* they had shared in the online survey. During the interview, participants elaborated on further experiences and added thoughts that gave a richer and deeper insight into their subjective experience of languaging. The online survey had also collected some reflective statements of participants. The dialogic format of the biographically oriented follow-up interview now allowed participants to elaborate their reflective stances and expand on what about the shared experience is significant to them and in which ways. These reflective processes of the interviewee in situ are methodologically relevant to subject-centred approaches of biographical research, as the interviewee is "encouraged to take on an academic hat while the interviewer is brought deeper into the interviewee's life world and their lived experience of language" (Singer 2022: 104). In comparison to the other methods used in this study, the follow-up interviews granted the most in-depth and comprehensive insight into the lifeworlds, biographies, and *Spracherleben* of individual participants.

The interviews followed a semi-structured form and were prompted by the respective participant's contribution to the online survey. The full interview guide is provided in

[79] An overview of the dataset is provided in see 7.4.4.

Appendix F. Briefly outlined, the interview followed a structure of three phases. The first one served the purposes of explaining and making transparent the research engagement. For example, I explained measures of anonymisation and asked for consent and the conditions participants deemed important for the interview. The second phase is at the actual core of the research interest and targeted the exploration, extended narration, and reflection on participants' *Spracherleben.* It involved three main foci, which were foregrounded and backgrounded as appropriate in the dialogic interaction of the interview:

- *Focus on participant's view of* saliency *and agreement to their contribution:* Typically, I opened phase two by a question on what the participant finds important about the contribution they made to the online survey and whether there is something they would like to elaborate, add, and/or explore together in the interview. This question also served the purpose of re-activating the participant's memory of their online survey contribution. Where relevant, the question was re-addressed during the interview or posed with reference to a narrative of *Spracherleben* which participants newly introduced during the interview. The interview also included a focus on checking in on participant's continued agreement with their study contributions and whether they consider their points of saliency sufficiently covered. As biographical material can involve emotionally challenging memories, this focus involved getting feedback on participants' well-being during the research interaction.
- *Focus on the process of writing about (a) lived language experience:* Considering the interest on languaging in this study, the interview included a focus on the processes of putting *Spracherleben* into words. Additionally, regarding the objective of methodological evaluation, questions of this focus were intended to elicit information about potential problems participants experienced with the online survey format.
- *Focus on online survey contribution:* The online survey contribution functioned as a prompt to the follow-up interview. Inviting further elaboration and clarification by the participant, I asked questions such as, "Is there anything that strikes you about your account that you find particularly important?". If deemed relevant for the study from my point of view as a researcher, I enquired into specific aspects of their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Related questions were, for example, "Could you give an example for …?", "In the online survey contribution you wrote … what do you mean by that / could you further elaborate on that?".

The third and final phase of the follow-up interview served the closing of the interaction, covering the expression of gratitude and invitation to the (third mission) PP groups.

In total, six participants were interviewed. These had indicated their interest in follow-up interviews in the online survey. The number was considered appropriate for the purposes of this study, and feasible in terms of its scope and resources necessary for transcription of the spoken data and analysis. All interviews took place in September 2021 and were conducted in English or German. The interview setting depended on constraints of time and necessities of keeping physical distance during the Corona pandemic: I met three of the participants online via video conferencing software, and three in face-to-face encounters in public spaces outdoors, i.e. in parks. The interviews each lasted between 30 and 90 minutes.

The sample of participants is balanced in gender and covers a variety of biographical situations of re-location, ranging from temporal migration for professional reasons to situations of refuge and asylum seeking. The tables below (Table 6–Table 11) provide participant profiles and give the most relevant information about their contributions available from the interview and their online survey responses. The participants carry pseudonyms. Where necessary, placenames and other potentially identifying information were anonymized. The labelling of the data, e.g. "Interview_Carl_N108_A stone in [city name]", corresponds to the labels used in the full dataset (see 7.4.4). It shall be explained briefly here. Throughout data processing and analysis the participants were referred to by the label of 'interview participant (IP)' and the number of the interview. The first follow-up interview partner was referred to as 'IP1', the second 'IP2', and so on. These labels were linked with the online survey contribution of the respective participant. For example, IP1 was the 108th visitor of the online survey who clicked through it. Following submission, this survey contribution carries the label 'narrative (N) 108'. To this label the title of the narrative which IP1 provided is added, in this case "A stone in [city name]"; the full data label for the interview with IP1 is thus 'Interview_IP1_N108_A stone in city name'. For better readability, participant labels were eventually replaced with pseudonyms, e.g. 'IP1' was replaced by 'Carl'. In sum, the data are labelled purposefully to provide information on the data generation method and the links between the follow-up interview and the online survey contribution of a participant.

Table 6: Interview 1, Carl.

Interview_Carl_N108_A stone in [city name]	
IP1/Carl	male, ~27 years old, emigrated to Austria from the US; has been living and working in one of the bigger cities in Austria since about two years at the time of the interview; following Carl's elaborations from the interview, he grew up in a linguaculturally diverse area in the US, speaks English as a first language, and has learned Spanish and German to a degree he can get around and complete basic interactional tasks; Carl is married to IP4 (Tina)
online survey contribution	N108 was titled "A stone in [city name]" by Carl; it reports on an experience he made with a taxi driver during a business trip to [city name] when he had not emigrated to Austria yet; the narrative centres on a misunderstanding, the taxi drivers' impoliteness, and Carl's handling of the situation
interview setting	the interview took place online via video conferencing software; it lasted 00:37:59 min
interview content	- handling misunderstanding in a foreign language - settling into the Austrian city of [placename] - the role of language in functioning as a member of society

Table 7: Interview 2, Zlatka.

Interview_Zlatka_N14_ewiger Tunnel	
IP2/Zlatka	female, ~25 years old, has been living in Austria since her childhood and considers Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian as her "mother tongue", German and English as languages she uses actively, and Italian as a language which she has learned but does not use very much; Zlatka was studying to become a language teacher at the time of the interview
online survey contribution	N14 was titled "ewiger Tunnel" [endless tunnel] by Zlatka; it describes her experience and feelings when being commanded to use only one of her languages
interview setting	the interview took place face-to-face and outdoors in a park; it lasted 00:47:49 min
interview content	- values and attitudes related with multilingual language use - experiences of disappointment and appreciation with interlocutors

Table 8: Interview 3, Khaled.

Interview_Khaled_N106_lost in translation	
IP3/Khaled	male, ~36 years old; fled a country in the Middle East following experiences made in war and has been living in a smaller town in the East of Austria since about six years at the time of the interview; Khaled is writing poetry in Arabic, which is his first language; further languages he uses are German and English
online survey contribution	N106 was titled "lost in translation" by Khaled; it evolves around his experience and view of translations and readings of his Arabic poems by German-speaking friends; it includes a copy and translation of one of his poems
interview setting	the interview took place face-to-face and outdoors in a park in the town Khaled was living in; the interview lasted 00:58:32 min
interview content	- limitations of humans and language in expressing inner thoughts and feelings through language - the evolution and function of language in human life - language as an artistic means of expression and therapy

Table 9: Interview 4, Tina.

Interview_Tina_N119_Learning to be the Other	
IP4/Tina	female, ~27 years old, emigrated to Austria from the US and has been living and working in one of the bigger cities in Austria since about a year and a half at the time of the interview; following Tina's elaborations from the interview, she grew up in a small town where most people spoke English as their first language, she has learned some Dutch and was learning German; Tina was working as an English language teacher and is married to IP1 (Carl)
online survey contribution	N119 was titled "Learning to be the Other" by Tina; it reports on a specific event and experience during the time of an exchange semester in the Netherlands where Tina said to have experienced to be the Other for the first time
interview setting	the interview took place online via video conferencing software; it lasted 01:01:43 min
interview content	- settling into Austrian city of [placename] - the experience of being the Other based on language (and its relevance for language education) - handling challenging situations with language

Table 10: Interview 5, Peter.

Interview_Peter_N48_Alice in Wonderland	
IP5/Peter	male, ~31 years old, emigrated from Austria to a country in Eastern Asia and has been living, studying, and working there for about five years at the time of the interview; Peter has German as his first language, used English to formulate his survey contribution and reported to have a level of the main language of the country of immigration sufficient for getting around
online survey contribution	N48 was titled "Alice in Wonderland" by Peter; it is significantly longer than all other contributions and centres on three main experiences/observations the participant made in relation to language: the first one focuses on a misunderstanding in his childhood which irritated him considerably, the second one describes current experiences with living in a country with a language he perceived to master only to a limited degree, and the third one around insufficiencies in language use he observes in academia
interview setting	the interview took place online via video conferencing software; it lasted 01:36:41 min
interview content	- the mastery of languages - the evolution and function of language in human life - the relationship between societal progress and language use - experiences of misunderstanding, loneliness, and frustration in relation to language

Table 11: Interview 6, Inna.

Interview_Inna_N90_Mixed languages and feelings	
IP6/Inna	female, ~23 years old; emigrated to Austria from Ukraine (several years before the war started in February 2022) and had just completed her studies in English; Inna reported to speak Ukrainian as a first language with knowledge of a particular dialect, English, and German
online survey contribution	N90 was titled "Mixed languages and feelings" by Inna; the contribution tells of a childhood experience when Inna was asked why she uses "pure" Ukrainian and how this event has been irritating her until today; the contribution contains several questions about uncertainties of her own judgment of what is right and wrong regarding language use
interview setting	the interview took place face-to-face and outdoors in a park; it lasted 00:56:51 min
interview content	- experience of ambiguity about what is right and wrong in language use - political meaningfulness of language choices - inevitability of judgment related to language use

To prepare the spoken data for analysis, all audio recordings of the follow-up interviews were fully transcribed[80]. Since the focus of analysis was on content, a minimal detail of pauses and non-verbal phenomena like laughter was indicated as recommended by common transcription conventions (Selting et al. 2009). For the data excerpts provided in this thesis, indication of rising and falling intonation was added at segment level (e.g. Excerpt 7 in chapter 8, 8.3). This decision was made to represent the spoken character of the original data and to visually differentiate the interview data from the written data of the online survey. Table 12 provides the followed transcription guidelines of these adaptations.

Table 12: Transcription guidelines.

\	falling intonation
/	rising intonation
(-)	short pause (0.2–0.5 sec.)
(--)	longer pause (0.5–1 sec.)
((…))	omission
[comment]	explanatory comment provided by the researcher
( )	unintelligible
(x); (xx)	unintelligible syllable, two unintelligible syllables, etc.
(assumed words)	assumed words derived from audio passages difficult to understand
((laughs))	description of para- and nonverbal activities
translation	translation

7.4.3. PP groups and contexts of enquiry

Following a participatory approach, the PP groups were implemented together with partner organizations and targeted their audiences. Therefore, the PP groups were realized by slightly different formats that fit the respective contexts:

- With the grassroots organization *LangLife* in the Austrian immigration context, a course-like format was realized which ran over six meetings.
- With *Peregrina*, a grassroots initiative supporting women in situations of immigration to Austria, workshops were held within the time resources of a German language course.
- With the *public library of the city Graz*, a workshop series was implemented that was open to all visitors of the library.

[80] Many thanks go to Gerrit Prosch, who supported me in the role of a student assistant in the project and transcribed the interviews between September and December 2021. My gratitude also goes to the Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna, who financed this position.

- With the grassroot initiative *FremdeWerdenFreunde*, which is supporting the establishment of contact amongst local and immigrant populations in Vienna, a workshop series was offered as part of a programme on mental health.

In cooperation with the respective partner organizations, it was decided to use the labels of "course", or "workshop", rather than "PP group". It was assumed that such terminology would be more recognizable for their audiences and attract more participants.

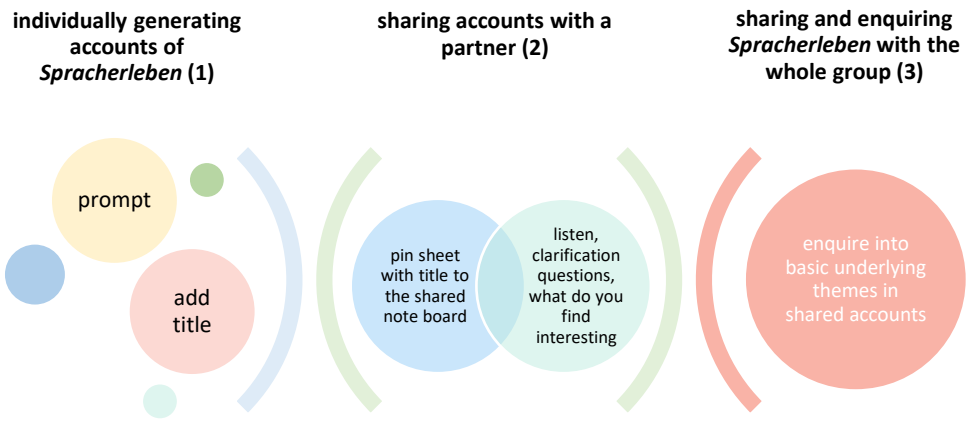
All PP groups took place within the premises and established spaces of interaction of the partner organizations. In these original contexts, the rooms in which we conducted the PP groups were usually used for education purposes, whereby they were equipped with chairs and tables, and whiteboards or blackboards. For the purposes of the PP groups, I brought additional material like flip chart paper, pen and pencils, which also served the documentation process. Except for "LangLife", the partner organizations of the project carry their original names, as agreed with them. This makes visible their contribution to this study and the social embedding of the PP groups. LangLife carries a pseudonym because data generated with them were also used in an earlier study (Radinger 2023), which was published in closer temporal proximity with the participants' actual engagement with the partner organization. The pseudonym of the organization is used to avoid the possibility of inferring information about the identity of the participants. For the same reasons, I provide a timeframe (2019–2021) rather than exact dates for when the PP groups were held with the other partner organizations.

Before giving more detail on the different contexts of the partner organization and the respectively adapted implementation of the PP group method (7.4.3.1–7.4.3.3), I outline the general methodological function and procedure of the PP groups in this study. Regarding their function, it was elaborated in section 7.3 that the research design included PP groups that were offered with an orientation to research as well as groups dedicated to third mission alone. The eventual dataset used for analysis includes the full material from the LangLife course, two workshops with Peregrina, and one workshop of the public library workshop series. No material from the PP groups with FremdeWerdenFreunde was included. All of the conducted PP groups, however, were relevant for developing the methodology and a rapport with the door-openers of the partner organizations. In this regard, the third-mission offers also enabled the socially embedded implementation of the research-oriented PP groups. Considering their third mission function, the collaboration with the NGOs as well as with the public library of the city Graz aided the transfer of knowledge and mediation between research and the first-person view of people concerned. Considering social engagement, the PP groups provided a social space in the Austrian (immigration) context for sharing, voicing, and trying to relate to each other's

Spracherleben. The methodological investigations of the study will provide more detail on the features of the social space that characterized the PP groups (chapter 9).

Turning to participant recruitment and sampling process, the collaboration with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context ensured the participation of people who had experienced relocation under more and less favourable conditions. Such sampling was intended by the study, as elaborated in the rationale (section 7.1). Many clients of the collaborating NGOs were attending German and English language classes at the time. In this regard, the organizations served as door-openers to participants for whom language (learning)—and probably also the experience that one's linguistic repertoire does not quite fit—was a relatable everyday-life matter. As elaborated before (7.1), however, it was important for the study to also involve people who do not fall into the category of 'immigrant', and 'refugee'. The intention behind was to avoid that experienced philosophical problems and limitations of 'languaging' are reduced to the problem of those groups of people. Instead, the aim was to grasp the more general philosophical dimension of the challenges languaging can bring about. So, all conducted PP groups had participants who of both categories: in the NGOs of the Austrian immigration context, participants with migration experience constituted the majority while those without were often represented by volunteers associated with organization and teaching in the services provided by the NGO; in the public library, we aimed for a heterogeneous group of speakers by advertising with an explicit invitation to speakers of all languages. In contrast to the PP groups organized with the NGOs, most participants in the public library groups who had a migration background did not immigrate to Austria as a refugee. Additionally, in each of the groups organized with the public library, about half of the group had been living in Austria since their childhood.

Figure 13: Three phases of the philosophical group enquiries in this study.



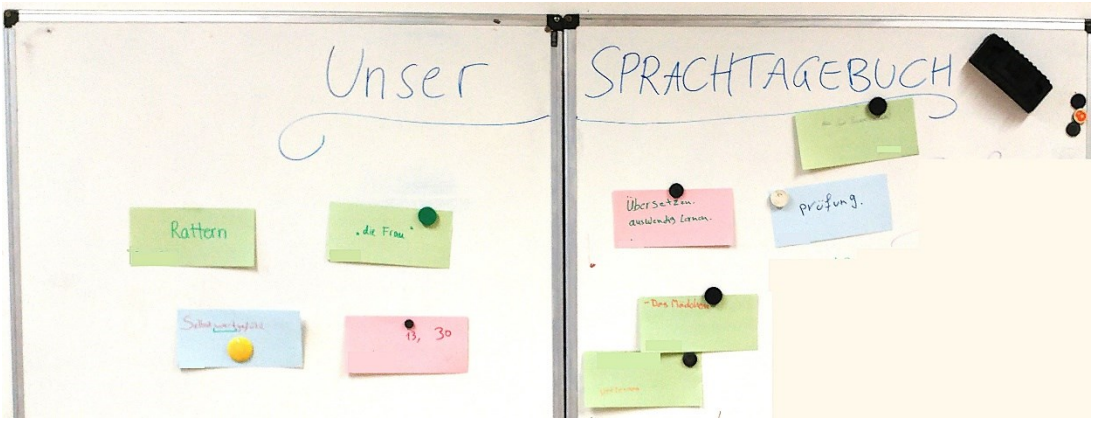
In all PP groups that were used for data generation and analysis, a basic three-phase procedure of participatory enquiry was deployed. This procedure is illustrated by Figure 13 above and builds on the methodological considerations expanding biographical approaches to *Spracherleben* by PP group enquiries (section 7.2). Starting with the first phase, following introductory words and organizational matters, participants individually generated an account of *Spracherleben* in some elementary written form. As a researcher and moderator of the enquiry, it was my role to facilitate this process. To this end, I provided participants with a prompt and guidelines similar to those used in the online survey (see 7.4.1). These were appropriated to fit with the main purpose of the PP group enquiries. In contrast to the online survey, their primary purpose was not to generate a written account of *Spracherleben*, but to initiate a PP group enquiry that is based on participants' everyday-life experience of languaging. Therefore, the investment in a written account was reduced and the oral narrative and exchange on it was foregrounded. In practice, this means that participants could also just take some basic notes on the experience rather than produce a coherent text. Depending on the context in which the PP groups were embedded by collaboration with the partner organizations, prompting questions were used, e.g. "What would you write in your language diary?", "How would you define 'language', if you approached it from our everyday life experiences?". These questions were intended to support participants with identifying biographical experiences they consider essentially connected with languaging. Backgrounding the written account, it was furthermore optional for participants to hand in their notes. What was significant for the first phase is that participants thought of an experience and account of *Spracherleben* that they would be willing to share with the group. After all, the aim was to together enquire into the philosophically significant themes of these accounts. I thus emphasized that participants are supposed to choose an experience they are willing to share orally.

As participants noted down their account of *Spracherleben,* they could choose themselves which language(s) they would use. Considering language choice, the PP groups were generally approached from a translanguaging stance (García 2019; Li 2022). Additionally, I drew upon literature from studies using language portraits which discusses how to avoid focus on specific languages in the research process (Busch 2018; Kusters & Meulder 2019; Singer 2022). Participants could bring in the linguistic resources they knew, help each other with language questions, and engage in the negotiation of meanings of the linguistic forms we used. As soon as we entered phases that involved interaction as a group, German functioned as the main lingua franca in all PP groups. It was the linguistic resource all of us shared, given that

the PP groups were set in the Austrian (immigration) context, and three of them organized in proximity to the language education programmes of grassroots initiatives (see 7.4.3.1–7.4.3.3). The final and very important element of the first phase was that participants individually find a title for the experiences they would share in the group. Thereby, participants set themselves what is significant about their experience, before sharing it with the group and thereby making it a source of common further enquiry and thinking. The titles were noted down by participants on coloured sheets of paper and later (in the third phase) added to our shared board of notes. This facilitated the process of shared enquiry and ensured a form of documentation without recording the interaction. The first phase lasted about 20 minutes.

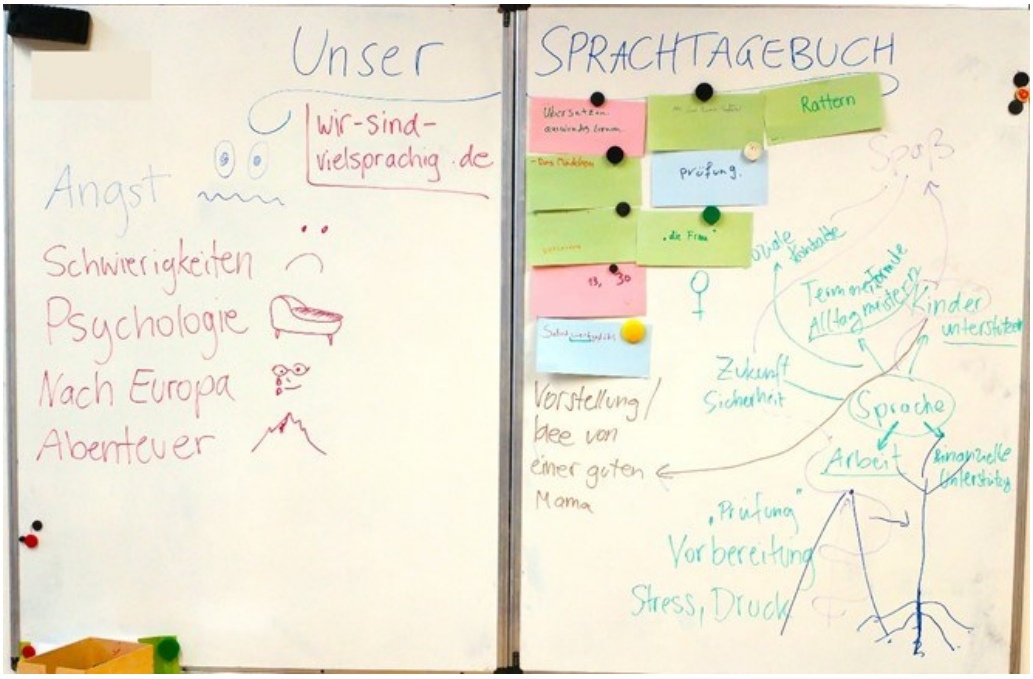
In the second phase participants shared their accounts of *Spracherleben* orally with a partner. Participants were briefed to communicate what they wanted to share about their experience, to not interrupt the partner during their narration, and to ask clarification questions after the narrating participant had finished. Once participants had shared their accounts, they were instructed to consider both experiences together, note down points they found interesting about their accounts and, if noticed, also patterns of themes and relationships they would like to further enquire with the group. Besides the purpose of sharing their account of *Spracherleben* in more detail with someone in the group, phase two was intended to give participants a chance of verbalizing their accounts in a more intimate sphere and seek support with expressing their experience if needed. This gradual approximation towards sharing one's own experience with the group was important for building languaging confidence—for most of the participants with an immigration status in Austria, the lingua franca German was a second language which they were still learning. Phase two ended after about 30 minutes, when participants pinned their coloured sheets with the titles of their accounts to the shared board of notes, as illustrated by Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1: Shared whiteboard in a PP group, phase two of the enquiry (PP_Peregrina1).



Once all participants had added their accounts (cards with titles) to the shared board, we entered the third phase—the actual phase of *philosophical* group enquiry. I first read out all titles collected on the shared board and expressed my gratitude and curiosity about learning more about the stories behind the titles. Then each participant was invited to briefly share their account with the group orally. Again, those listening could ask clarification questions and questions of further enquiry and understanding after individual participants had shared their accounts. In this third phase my role was to moderate the enquiry and facilitate a culture of philosophical enquiry rather than mere exchange of perspectives and opinions. I made explicit that in this phase we seek to enquire into the more general themes that relate and differentiate the shared accounts in relation to the lived experience of language. Reflecting upon experience, the sharing of accounts gradually moved into a more reflective dialogue and participants discussed aspects from an existential and structural perspective. Leaning towards Schuchter's (2019) approach to philosophizing in groups, the existential angle would focus on narration, compassion and resonance, and the acknowledgment and verbalization of existential and ethical questions linked with participants' *Spracherleben*. The structural angle in turn would focus on the conditions in which individual experiences were meaningful, ambiguous, and challenging or uplifting. As a facilitator it was not necessary to make these angles explicit because participants brought them in themselves. Especially in the accounts shared by participants in situations of immigration, existential and structural issues were upfront. For example, in relation to the account with the title "Prüfung [assessment]" (see Excerpt 1 above, blue card, right side), participants discussed the high-stakes that were involved for them in passing language tests and how this influenced their daily lives in the roles of wives and mothers (chapter 8, 8.2.3). Excerpt 2 documents the changes to the shared board of the PP group that resulted from the collaborative enquiry.

Excerpt 2: Shared whiteboard in a PP group, phase three of the enquiry (PP_Peregrina1).



As a researcher in and facilitator of the PP group enquiry, it was also part of my role to document our thoughts and take notes on the shared board or flip chart, as illustrated by Excerpt 2. Given my moderation and note-taking function, I had to beware of a power differential about what was noted down and how. I therefore sought to involve participants in this process: I asked them what to note down, checked their agreement considering the used words, and repeated the invitation to add something, and to make changes to the shared notes themselves. Participants had already moved to the shared board before when they had added their titles. Thereby, I had signalled their share in these notes. Still, most participants preferred to provide me with instructions for taking notes orally rather than coming out to the board themselves. Some, however, also enjoyed and seized the opportunity of expressing their thoughts with the help of the board. In chapter 9 (9.4.2), I will elaborate on an example where a participant performed a kind of mockery of the German language in the context of the German language course. At the end of phase three, I asked the group if there was something left which they liked to add, saw underrepresented on our board of notes, or were unhappy with and wanted changing. The PP groups were closed with thanks to the participants and an outlook on what would further happen in the project. The third phase lasted between 50 and 80 minutes.

While all PP groups followed this basic three-phase procedure, the social frameworks in which they were embedded by collaboration with the partner organization implied different conditions of implementation. A critical difference was, for example, that some PP groups met several times, while others met only once. In the following, I provide profiles of the three

organizations with whom data were generated. I describe how the PP groups were implemented, and which data were eventually considered for analysis.

7.4.3.1. LangLife course

With the partner organization LangLife, a PP group was implemented which met for six sessions à two hours and over a time span of two months. LangLife is a grassroots initiative in the immigration context that is based in one of the biggest cities in Austria. About twelve locally based volunteers are involved in offering activities that target a peaceful and respectful togetherness amongst local citizens and those more and less newly arrived. In this NGO, both locals and people who came as immigrants and/or refugees to Austria, assume roles as "service provides" and "clients". The offers of LangLife cover music and language education programmes, workshops on democracy, and consultancy in legal matters. The language programmes are mainly for learning German, but "clients" of the NGO also assume the role of teachers as they offer classes (of German or other languages) themselves.

The PP group was integrated in the schedule of German language courses of LangLife. This is because the person who functioned as the door opener of collaboration with this project, was the organizer of the language educational programmes. We agreed that the PP group "course" would run for about two months and be offered as an opportunity for clients to further develop their use of the language and to together explore their language-related experiences. We targeted clients with German language skills around the CEFR level A2 and beyond. While the clients of LangLife had registered for participation as usual in the language courses of LangLife, the course was kept open to new participants. Thus, when clients of LangLife got interested in the course as they peered into our course room, some of them joined the group for that session and were invited to join us in the future ones. In total, the LangLife PP group had about twelve participants, of whom four participating regularly in all six meetings. The participants were involved in different roles with the organization of LangLife, e.g. as volunteer language teachers, as refugees seeking support with language learning and a community to join with, or as both.

What is specific about the PP group implemented with LangLife is that the course-like format allowed to continue the participatory philosophical enquiry over six meetings and with the same participants. The other PP groups in this study, i.e. the Peregrina workshops and public library workshop series, took the form of workshops which were held once, and/or with different groups of people. The prolonged form of the PP group enquiry implied that the movement from the more concrete and personal accounts of *Spracherleben* towards the more

abstract, participatory, philosophical enquiry applied not just to single sessions but across the whole course. This allowed the PP group to cultivate a shared and participatory practice of philosophical enquiry based on lived experience of languaging. Additionally, it was possible to vary the prompts used for generating and the ways of documenting the accounts of *Spracherleben*. Thereby, we could thus focus on experience from different angles, as represented by the different focus questions in Table 13.

Table 13: Overview of foci, prompts, and methods in LangLife course (PP_LangLife).

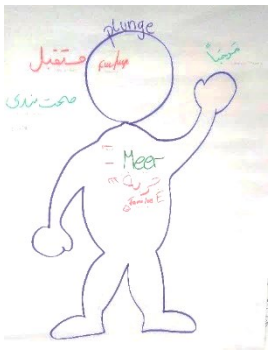
Meeting Nr.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Focus topic/question	Which languages do we speak and how do we experience that?	How in our everyday lives do we use our language(s) and where?	How are these experiences meaningful to us?	How are these experiences meaningful to human experience more generally?	How can we express our experiences to each other?	Harvesting and collecting insights— share them with others
Prompts & main methods	Shared group language portrait, language portrait	Language in social space/places	Language diary; Sharing and collecting, experiences orally;	Philosophical dialogue	Sharing experience in spoken and written format; finding titles, creating symbols with plasticine and paintings;	Philosophical dialogue & round-up; Brochure creation;
Data	Group language portrait	Flip chart papers for 4 different spaces, filled by participants	Flip chart protocol made with participants in class	Flip chart protocol made with participants in class (additions)	Participant narratives and painted/plastic symbols	Participant narratives and painted/plastic symbols
	Researcher protocol & reflective journal					

Table 13 provides an overview of the six meetings, the prompts and methods, and the data which were generated and used for further analysis. The thematic foci were co-determined by participants. In the first meeting, a visual outline drawn on flip chart paper was used to introduce participants to the intended topical focus points for each meeting and the possible material and prompts that could be deployed. This outline was then revisited in each meeting to allow participants to change course of action and put focus on what appears most salient to them. Thereby, participants were invited to engage in shaping the course itself. This, for example, resulted in the postponing of a writing activity and the addition of a sixth session to the originally planned five-session "course". In this sixth session, the group produced a

brochure which summarizes the process of enquiry and provides narrative and visual accounts of *Spracherleben* as expressed by the participants. Reflecting the third-mission character of the project, members of the group distributed the brochure at an event of LangLife to share some of their accounts of *Spracherleben* and insights gained from our enquiry.

Regarding modalities of communication and expression, the variation in prompts and documentation was significant to working with the audiences of LangLife, since the variation extended the repertoire of resources of communicating the experiences by using German as a lingua franca. Illustrating three forms of documentation that were not/less dependent on writing, Table 14 shows, (i) a group portrait of favourite expressions, (ii) an illustration of a specific event and *Spracherleben* created by one of the participants, and (iii) a mini sculpture created from plasticine by means of which a participant visualized her narrative account of *Spracherleben*. To deploy such forms for the purposes of the PP group enquiry, I drew upon literature on language diaries (Jonsson 2013), the language portrait (Busch 2018), visual and arts-based representations of linguistic landscapes (Gorter 2006), and literature on funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Moll 2014; Esteban-Guitart 2016).

Table 14: Example outcomes from multimodal methods used to generate accounts of *Spracherleben* (PP_LangLife).

(i)	(ii)	(iii)
		

Finally, in the full dataset (see 7.4.4) the data generated from the LangLife PP group are labelled "PP_LangLife". It consists of the material of all the six meetings of the course, which includes shared flip chart papers, photos of writing on boards that documented our thoughts, protocols of the process, my personal field notes and reflections on the interactions.

7.4.3.2. Peregrina workshops

The PP groups with Peregrina were operationalized as one-time workshops within two different German language courses at CEFR levels B2 and C1. Peregrina is a Vienna-based NGO that

supports women who immigrated to Austria by legal advisory services, education programmes, and psychological aid[81]. Additionally, the NGO offers childcare services during the time their clients are attending language classes. With a history of 40 years, Peregrina is a well-established NGO in the Viennese landscape of grassroot organizations that tackle disadvantage related to racism, sexism, and lower socioeconomic background. My collaboration with Peregrina was enabled by Donata Romizi, one of the supervisors of this thesis. In her function as scientific director of the postgraduate programme "Philosophical Practice", she had received an enquiry from the NGO regarding collaborations and forwarded the contact to me. Given the target group of Peregrina, the participants were exclusively women with an immigration background viewed from the perspective of the Austrian nation state. Each of the PP groups lasted 90 min, including a short break in-between. In the first group six women participated, seven in the second.

Preparing the PP group enquiries, the collaborating teachers and I agreed that I attend a session of their language course a week before the PP "workshop". In this first visit, I introduced the research project and myself. Additionally, I intended to activate the participants' reflective attention to language matters in their everyday lives. Adapting the language diary method as a prompt (cf. Jonsson 2013), for these purposes I:

- gave each participant a noble-looking notebook, inviting them to note down thoughts and experiences which they found interesting, important, and curious about language;
- emphasized that these notebooks belonged to them and would not be looked into by their teacher or myself, unless they wanted to share the content;
- invited participants to make at least three entries in their language diaries until we would meet for the workshop;
- provided some ideas of what kind of notes they could take and how; for example, "describe the routine of the day with a focus on what languages are spoken when, where, and with whom"; "take a picture/make a drawing of a specific situation or symbol that is important for them in relation to language"; "write a poem"; "write down questions around language which have been bothering them for a long time."

The oral instructions were given also in written form (see Appendix G) and handed out with the text asking for informed consent on participating in the research project. By providing data protection information well in advance of the actual data generation session, I intended to allow participants enough time to go through everything thoroughly and, if something was unclear, ask their teachers, me, or other persons for explanation. Besides the functions of preparation

[81] For more information, see the organizations' website https://www.peregrina.at/ (8.10.24).

and information, my introductory visits to the two classes had an important function for building rapport with the participants. The gift of the noble-looking coursebook was supposed to signal my interest in their perspectives and my offer for shared and collaborative reflection about their experiences.

Regarding the procedures of enquiry, the two Peregrina workshops followed the three phases of the PP group methodology already explained (7.4.3). Participants started with the individual generation of an account of *Spracherleben*. Given the preparatory language diary phase, they could make use of the notes they had taken down before. To draw upon this option, the first phase was headed by the question "What would you write in your language diary?". It was optional to hand in the written narratives in all PP groups. Like in the other PP groups, the accounts of *Spracherleben* were primarily shared orally. Thus, the final dataset does not include all the participants' accounts in their own written form. I assume that within the context of the German course, in which the PP groups with Peregrina were embedded, participants were more hesitant with handing in their written texts. Documentation of their narratives and thoughts was nonetheless secured by the titles participants provided as they shared their accounts orally, by the shared notes we produced during the PP group enquiry, and the protocol and reflective notes I took immediately after the workshops. Table 15 below summarizes the data generation process and data outcome of the Peregrina PP groups.

Table 15: Overview of foci, prompts, and methods in Peregrina workshops, (PP_Peregrina1 & 2).

Focus topic /question	What would you write in your language diary?
Prompts & methods	Written narrative account of *Spracherleben*; PP group dialogue.
Data	Shared board with participants' titles of accounts of *Spracherleben* and notes on themes; Researcher protocol on proceedings and reflexion on enquiry.

7.4.3.3. Public library workshop series

With the *Stadtbibliothek Graz*, i.e. the public library of the city Graz, the PP group was organized as a part of free educational programmes for adults and took the form of a workshop series. Each lasted two hours and involved different participants in researching and philosophizing about *Spracherleben*. The library offers various free education formats for its

visitors that target adults, young adults, pedagogues, and school classes in addition to the traditional services of a library[82]. These formats are free of charge for the visitors and accessible at low-threshold levels. The events are promoted on the various analogue and digital communication channels of the public library. The workshop series was advertised under the title "Spracherleben erforschen" (researching *Spracherleben*) and attracted visitors of the library with and without migration background. Participants were free to attend all workshops or just one or a few of them. Interested persons registered directly with the library Graz, online or at the book counter.

Each of the four workshops had elements where participants individually generated accounts of *Spracherleben* (e.g. through a language portrait, an imaginary diary), narrate and share a selected experience, and reflect upon it in relation to a selected topic focus of the workshop. Two of the four workshops had a third-mission function only, two were used for data generation. Only one of them, however, yielded appropriate data for this study and was included in the dataset ('PP_Library1'). It was the first workshop in the series, which was framed by the aim of together defining 'language' based on experiences from everyday life. Ten participants attended the workshop and together formed a heterogeneous group of persons from different ages, linguacultural, and professional backgrounds: the age range was between 18 and 75; some of the participants had a pedagogic professional background; one participant had worked and studied in a technical branch; two others had retired some years ago; about half of the group did not have German as their first language and had either grown up in Austria, lived and worked there for several years, or arrived as refugees about three years before the workshop.

The workshop followed the three phases of the PP group method outlined above. Following an introduction to the workshop and its link with the research project, participants were asked to individually note down an experience in which language played an important role. For the instructions, I drew again on the adapted guidelines of writing about "a" lived language experience and provided those both orally and in written form (see Appendix H). Participants decided themselves if they handed in their written narratives. After participants had shared their accounts, we entered the third phase of participatory enquiry. Table 16 summarizes the focus of the library PP group investigations, the prompts, and the material generated.

[82] For more information, see the library's website https://www.stadtbibliothek.graz.at/ (8.10.24).

Table 16: Overview of foci, prompts, and methods in library workshops (PP_Library1).

Focus topic /question	How would we define 'language' if we approached it from our everyday life experience?
Prompts & methods	Written narrative account of *Spracherleben*; PP group dialogue.
Data	Written narratives of ten participants; shared flip chart with participants' titles of accounts of *Spracherleben* and notes on themes; researcher protocol on proceedings and reflexion on enquiry.

7.4.4. Summary and dataset

Summarizing the report on the data generation process, this study used three methods to generate accounts of *Spracherleben*: an online survey, follow-up interviews, and PP groups set in the social spaces of grassroot initiatives in the Austrian immigration context and a public library in Graz. Each of these methods fulfilled one or several functions within the frameworks of third mission, development of the methodological approach, data generation, and the anticipated analysis of the data. Additionally, as outlined in the introduction of this section (7.4), a website and newsletter of the project served the purposes of participant recruitment and communication. Online spaces of research interaction assumed an important role in this project, as the data generation phase was affected by legal constraints on physical contact during the Corona pandemic. As a further important element of documentation and reflection, a research journal was kept throughout the process of this research. This journal complements the dataset regarding notes on the process, and reflections on interactional dynamics in the data generation process. Table 17 below provides an overview of the dataset that was used for analysis. It comprises material that gives insight into participants' experience of languaging in the form of 28 responses to the online survey, six follow-up interviews, and the protocols of the four PP groups.

Table 17: Dataset—kinds of data, documents, and data labels.

Methodology	Context	Nr. of documents	Document names	Specification
1 Online survey	not specified	28	N5, N7, N9, N10, N14, N15, N22, N23, N26, N30, N36, N39, N40, N48, N49, N58, N62, N71, N90, N106, N108, N112, N115, N118, N119, N120, N122, N125	written accounts of *Spracherleben* shared by participants via the online-survey form; text for items enquiring participant's title of the account, takeaway, and most important aspects from participant's point of view
2 Follow-up interviews	not specified	6	IP1/Carl_N108	transcript, 00:37:59 min, online
			IP2/Zlatka_N14	transcript, 00:47:49 min, on site
			IP3/Khaled_N106	transcript, 00:58:32 min, on site
			IP4/Tina_N119	transcript, 01:01:43 min, online
			IP5/Peter_N48	transcript, 01:36:41 min, online
			IP6/Inna_N90	transcript, 00:56:51 min, on site
3 PP groups	LangLife course (NGO immigration context Vienna)	1	PP_LangLife	6 sessions à 2 hours, includes texts and material produced by participants individually as well as in group (photos of shared flip chart/board, participants' written narratives, symbols made from plasticine), researcher's protocol and reflection
	Public library (Graz)	1	PP_Library1	1 session à 2 hours, includes texts and material produced by 10 participants individually as well as in group (photos of shared flip chart/board, participants' written narratives), researcher's protocol and reflection
	Peregrina (NGO immigration context Vienna)	1	PP_Peregrina1, PP_Peregrina2	each document refers to one session à 90 min with different participants, includes texts and material produced by 6 (Peregrina1) and 7 (Peregrina2) participants individually as well as in group (photos of shared flip chart/board), researcher's protocol and reflection

Bridging to data analysis, the consideration of the triangulation of data generation methods and types of data is important: while all data comprise accounts of lived experience of languaging, the material was generated by methods with different features of research

interaction and in different contexts of enquiry. I have outlined some of the different features in this section, such as that online survey provided for a maximum of anonymity of the participants and a minimum of direct interaction with the researcher. The follow-up interviews and the PP groups, by contrast, are characterized by immediate and dialogic interaction with the researcher. In the following section, I elaborate on the approach that was taken to analyse this varied dataset and how the triangulation of data generation methods was exploited for the purposes of methodological evaluation of the integrated AL&PP enquiry of this study.

7.5. Data analysis

This section describes the methods and process of data analysis. I first explicate the requirements that the approach of analysis had to meet. Additionally, the principles of analysis are made transparent (7.5.1). Then, I describe the method of data analysis in more detail. I give insight into the coding process and how the multiple perspectives of the theoretical framework, and the triangulation of data generation methods are reflected in the analysis (7.5.2).

7.5.1. Approaching a varied dataset from multiple perspectives

Given the triangulation of the theoretical perspectives on languaging and of the data generation methods, the method of data analysis had be flexible but also systematic enough to meet the requirements of academic enquiry. Besides analysing the data with a focus on insights into the experience of languaging, it was also an aim to exploit the methodological triangulation for the purposes of research objective 'B', i.e. for evaluating the combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in the study of languaging. Covering these research interests, the set of research questions formulated in section 7.2 served as an analytical heuristic. It reflects the perspectives and research foci by which the data are analysed in this study:

1) From the phenomenological perspective, participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* are analysed for content; they are taken to give insight into bodily experiences of languaging like emotions, and into evaluative stances of the participants towards linguistic resources and their languaging self.
2) From the poststructuralist perspective, analysis focuses on the meanings the practice of 'languaging' assumes for speakers and the concepts that participants use to communicate and make meaning of their languaging related experiences.
3) From the PP perspective, the data are analysed for the existential, epistemological, and (lived) ethical significance languaging assumes for speakers; this analytical angle overlaps with the phenomenological and poststructuralist lenses by a focus on

experiences of lived philosophical problems, ethical evaluations related with languaging, and how participants try to make meaning of their experiences.

4) From the interactional perspective, a meta-perspective on the dataset is assumed to analyse relationships between data generation methods, contexts, and setting, and the kind of experiences participants shared as *Spracherleben* and how.

To meet the requirements of this study, I deployed a toolbox model of approaches to qualitative content analysis, following which variations of established procedures are purposefully combined (Schreier 2014). I used a combination of so-called structuring, formal, and summative content analyses to address the four sets of research questions of the study. The *structuring* approach was relevant to follow the research interest in content of the data from the phenomenological, poststructuralist, and PP angles of analysis. Comparable to Steigleder's (2008) interpretation of structuring qualitative content analysis, the data were approached by a combination of deduction and induction in creating the system of codes and categories. This means that the coding system was continuously updated during the data analysis process and applied to the data in recursive phases. The analysis took a more *formal* approach, where it was relevant to identify patterns in the ways participants expressed their accounts of *Spracherleben*. This was the case for the poststructuralist interest of analysing the grounds of knowledge upon which participants relied to construct the practice of 'languaging'. It was also relevant to pursue the interactional interest in what and how participants communicated in response to the data generation setting. *Summative* approaches (e.g. Hsie & Shannon 2005) were relevant to address parts of the interactional question set. This means that basic quantitative means were used to examine distributions of codes across the dataset. Combined with qualitative analysis, the summative analysis targeted insights into relationships between what participants shared as an account of *Spracherleben* and the features of the data generation setting.

To organize the different procedures of analysis into one systematic approach, I drew upon the organizational framework of thematic analysis (TA; Braun & Clarke 2006; 2019, 2022). Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) very broadly describe TA as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently if [*sic*] goes further than this and interprets various aspects of the research topic". As this description characterizes qualitative approaches more generally, other scholars consider TA a technique of investigation (e.g. Rädiker & Kuckartz 2019: 8), rather than "a method in its own right" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 78). In this study, the framework of the six phases of TA served to organize the data analysis process and

to describe it transparently in the research report (see 7.5.2). Outlined briefly, TA starts with the familiarization of the researcher with the material (phase 1), enters the recursive phases of coding the material, generating, refining, and defining themes (phases 2–5), and eventually turns to writing the research report (phase 6; cf. Braun & Clarke 2006; 2019, 2022).

As reflection on the research process is an important element in TA (cf. Braun & Clarke 2019), it was also a useful framework to implement a critical and self-reflective stance of the researcher in the analysis process. However, I approached analysis with a degree of scepticism towards Braun and Clarke's (2019: 594) ideal of the "fully cognisant" reflexive researcher. As they put forward, in TA "the researcher strives to be fully cognisant of the philosophical sensibility and theoretical assumptions informing their use of TA […]. They are aware of the need to make decisions around analysis, and they knowingly engage and make them." (Braun & Clarke 2019: 594). While I agree that a reflective stance improves the decisions and transparency of research, it is debatable if one can be *fully* aware of one's assumptions. Referring to the phenomenological and hermeneutic perspectives that inform the theoretical framework of the present study, there is a necessary degree to which we stand in our own light as we try to perceive of ourselves and to which we may overcome the hermeneutic difference of understanding ourselves (see chapters 4, 4.4.1, and 5, 5.1.1). In other words, of which one is unaware, on that one cannot reflect, and of that one cannot speak. With this grain of scepticism of "full" awareness of one's own assumptions, thus, I drew upon TA to reflect on and make transparent the decisions I made in the process of analysis.

Turning to the means by which the analysis was conducted, MAXQDA software (VERBI Software) supported the process. The surface and functions of the software were useful for organizing the dataset, which varied in the length and kinds of documents. With exception of the research journal, all analogue documents (e.g. flip charts, shared boards from PP groups) were digitalized and imported into the software. Since the research journal did not provide accounts of *Spracherleben,* it complemented the data analysis where relevant for the interactional focus. The data from the online survey, the follow-up interviews, and the PP group protocols were analysed using the analytical heuristic outlined already. The flexibility and compact overview of MAXQDA allowed me to manage and organize the coding process, reflect the different epistemological views of data interpretation in the coding system, and to save versions of the code system for tracing the process and coming back to earlier stages if needed.

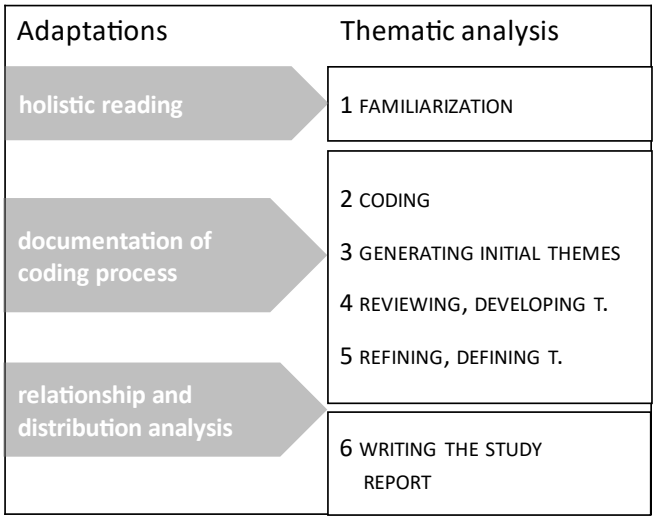
Considering the methodological approach to data analysis of this study, it is challenging to categorize it into established qualitative research paradigms. This is because it integrates different epistemologies, based on the multi-perspective theoretical framework of this study.

Nonetheless, some characteristics can be pointed out in relation to Silver and Lewins' (2014) typology of analytical strategies in qualitative research: elements of *(critical) discourse analysis* show in this study where focus is on how participants make meaning of their experience; characteristics of *narrative analysis* apply where content and narrative structure of participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* are in focus; characteristics of *grounded theory* where the inductive coding process leads to the theorization of so far uncaptured phenomena. Within the landscape of approaches to research, it can also be said that data analysis followed the more general principle of 'thick description' (Geertz 1995/2019), defined as the attempt at "identifying and representing the cultural contexts in which behaviours and the meanings behind them are embedded" (Harrison 2013: 860–861). In sum, I think of this study as an attempt at gaining a better understanding of the cultural contexts in which 'languaging' assumes meaning as a social practice of epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical significance to the human condition of being lingual.

7.5.2. The process of data analysis

Data analysis followed an adapted version of the six phases of TA (Braun & Clarke 2006; 2019, 2022), as illustrated by Figure 14:

Figure 14: Phases of the data analysis process.



Starting with the phase of familiarization, as common to TA, I first read through the full dataset without coding yet (cf. Braun & Clarke 2006: 87). I noted down initial thoughts and potential points of interest for further analysis. The data from the online survey received most attention in this phase. This is because these are they type of data I had not seen, or heard, in the data generation process itself. As I was present in the follow-up interviews and the PP

groups, I already had some degree of familiarity with these data. Engaging with the online survey data for the first time, I decided to adapt the familiarization procedure by including a holistic reading of individual participants' contributions, as indicated in Figure 14. As I read through the online survey data, the contributions were clearly recognizable as biographical data but also as narratives communicated to tell another about what it means to language. This more social and intersubjective dimension of the online survey data would be less visible through the fine-grained analysis of the four analytical angles of the study. To capture this dimension, I therefore drew upon Lindseth and Norberg's (2004) phenomenological-hermeneutic approach towards studying lived experience. Following this approach, data on lived experience are carriers of themes, i.e. "a thread of meaning that penetrates text parts, either all or just a few. It is seen as a conveying an essential meaning of lived experience" (Lindseth & Norberg 2004: 149). The experiencing body of the researcher assumes significance in this phenomenological-hermeneutic process of enquiry, as it is understood that "[i]t is not only the interpreter that interprets the text. The text also interprets the interpreter. Thus we use the results to help us and others gain insights about our world and ourselves and see our world and us in a new perspective" (Lindseth & Norberg 2004: 151). Furthermore, the approach builds on the attitude of *epoché*, or bracketing, in PP enquiry (see chapter 2, 2.2; Lindseth & Norberg 2004: 147–148; Lindseth 2014b). In this adapted phase of familiarization with the data, I thus put aside the analytical lenses of the study at first to accomplish a more "bodily" reading: I went through individual accounts, asking what participants tell me as a fellow human being about what it means to language/be lingual. I documented the outcome by inductively coding full documents/accounts of individual participants. These codes are provided in Table 18 below and make transparent my initial view of the data. In the subsequent phases of data analysis, these themes were not further developed. They served as a checkpoint to see whether insights that had emerged as significant in the first reading were captured and/or relevant also from the more detailed and theoretically guided interpretation of the data.

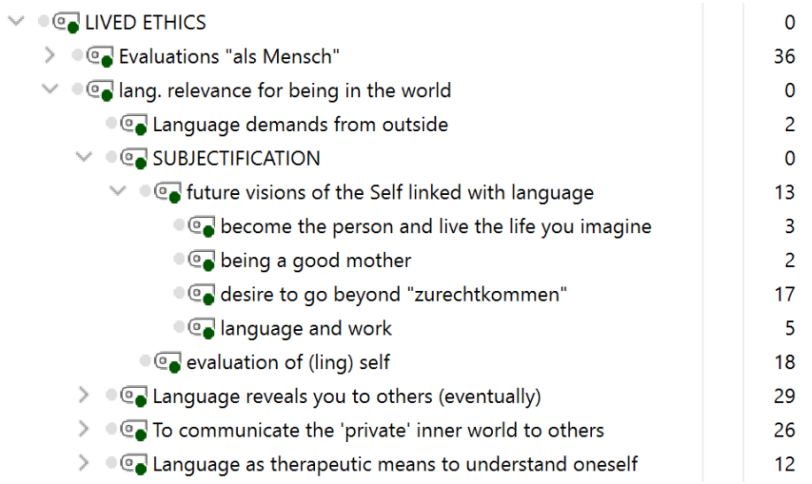
Table 18: Themes of full individual accounts of *Spracherleben*, holistic reading, familiarization phase.

CODE (OCCURRENCES)	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
HUMOUR OF (LANGUAGE) LIFE (2)	These accounts tell of *Spracherleben* within a humorously framed situation. They have an obvious narrative structure and appear as funny anecdotes about e.g. misunderstandings. Even where the misunderstanding could not be resolved (easily), the account foregrounds difficulties as humorous situations related with languaging.	N108
FEELINGS OF PRESSURE (5)	These accounts tell of *Spracherleben* as something that is related to feelings of pressure in the performance of language. Most of these accounts refer to situations of language learning and demands in contexts of education, migration, and work.	PP_LangLife
EXPERIENCES OF IN/EXCLUSION (5)	These accounts of *Spracherleben* centre on experiences of in- and/or exclusion. Language features as a something based on which one is in/excluded; as well as a means for effectuating in/exclusion of others and overcoming exclusion that concerns oneself. In many of these accounts, dynamics of in/exclusion are presented as unwilfully exercised by the persons to which one seeks to belong.	N118
FALLING OUT OF TAKEN-FOR GRANTEDNESS (7)	These accounts report languaging-related events and experiences that have led to some sort of revelation, to new perspective on what had been taken for granted or not conceptualized before.	N5
ZURECHTKOMMEN (12)	These accounts report on experiences linked with getting along and around with one's languaging—on making do with one's linguistic repertoire. Several of these accounts open a difference between "making do" and "thriving" with one's language (use).	N119
BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS (12)	These accounts tell of *Spracherleben* in which the central positively and negatively experienced challenge is the active engagement in building relationships with others, for example in situations of studying abroad and in situations of negotiating personal values with family members.	N14
FEELING UN/DIS/CONNECTED (21)	These accounts of *Spracherleben* centre on feeling unconnected with others, disconnected in the sense of having lost a quality in relationship with others one has felt before, and/or connected in the sense of experiencing a positive relatedness with others. Accounts carrying this theme often also carry the theme "building relationships". The latter however foregrounds the subjects' active engagement in building relationships, while this theme foregrounds language-related feelings independently from the protagonist's actions.	N120

In the second phase of data analysis, i.e. coding, the unit of analysis were passages of text, rather than full accounts of individual participants. The data were coded following the four-angled analytical heuristic of the phenomenological, poststructuralist, PP, and interactional question sets. Important concepts of the analytical framework served as deductive

points of orientation and organization, while the material was coded inductively. Applying this deductive-inductive approach (cf. Steigleder 2008), the broad deductive categories and the detailed coding formed an emergent code system that was developed and continuously revised during the process of analysis. Figure 15 below illustrates how this approach is reflected in the code system. The figure shows a part of the code hierarchy as viewed through the MAXQDA interface. On the left side, code categories, codes, and subcodes are displayed in hierarchical order. Those with an arrow to the bottom at their left side are expanded to show the lower levels of the category. The numbers on the right denote the number of coded segments. As regards content, Figure 15 captures the analytical focus of lived ethics. Inductively created codes relevant by that theoretical angle are sorted below the most abstract code domain of 'LIVED ETHICS'. In the code system, I used capital letters to differentiate the deductive categories and inductive code labels. At a lower level within the category 'LIVED ETHICS', the concept/category of 'SUBJECTIFICATION' fulfils again a sorting function. It comprises codes like "become the person and live the life you imagine", "being a good mother", etc. These illustrate that inductive coding was oriented towards the concrete formulations of participants, often using their wording as in vivo codes.

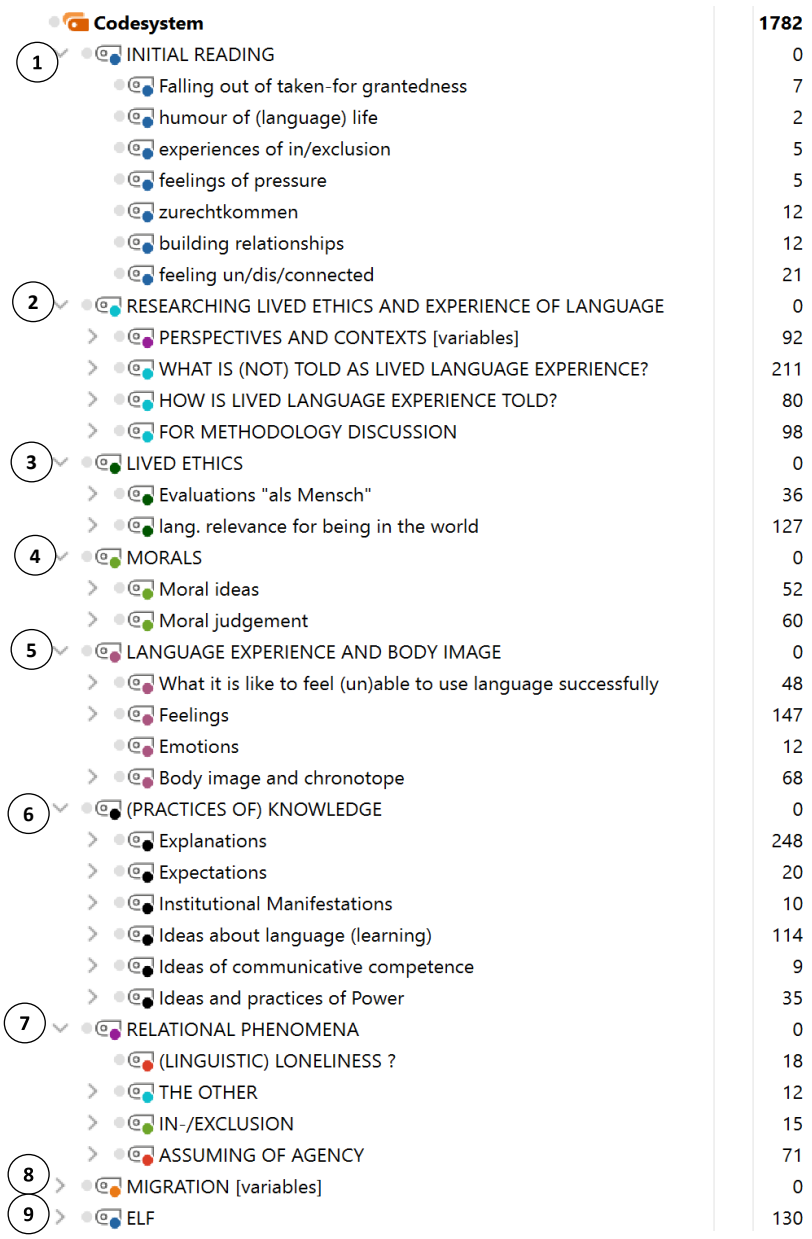
Figure 15: Illustration of deductive-inductive approach to coding.



While the literature on TA lists the phases coding (2), generating initial themes (3), revising themes (4), and defining themes (5) as separate phases, it also points out that these cannot be separated neatly (Braun & Clarke 2006; 2019, 2022). This is also the case in this study. Until the end of the fifth phase, the system of codes was being re-structured, if necessary, to respond to relevant new passages of data, to summarize codes that showed similar patterns, or to split and reorganize categories appropriately. Because of the different analytical angles, the code system was growing complex very quickly while working through the data in detail.

Therefore, the revision of the code system also followed aspects of feasible structures to organize the data and insights gained from it. By the end of the fifth phase, the system of codes, categories, and their relationship to each other was eventually treated as fixed. The relevant criterion of that fixation was that no additional codes and rearranging appeared relevant in the process of re-reading the data and coding. To ensure a comprehensive coverage of the data by the code system, the full dataset was worked through, applying the code system.

Figure 16: Topmost levels of code system before fixation.



To keep track of the changes to the code system between phases two and five, I complemented the framework of TA by continuous documentation of the coding process. This

allowed to go back in case information was lost. Moreover, it is useful for the purposes of reporting on the process of analysis here. Figure 16 shows the code system at the point when all data were coded but the eventual system not fixed yet. Like Figure 15, it shows a screenshot from the MAXQDA interface. This time, however, the image provides the full code system: at the first level it shows the most abstract analytical categories; at the second level, it shows the categories of codes that subsume the inductive coding units.

While Figure 16 gives a first glimpse into the content of the data, I use it here to explain the code and coding system. The "super category" or domain of codes '1 INITIAL READING' contains the themes generated for individual participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* during the holistic reading of the data. As elaborated above, these were not further developed and put aside during the more detailed coding process. Within the domain '2 RESEARCHING LIVED ETHICS AND EXPERIENCE OF LANGUAGE', I sorted data relevant for analysing what participants shared upon being asked to share "a" *Spracherleben* and how they did so. It reflects the interactional question set of analysis, by which I investigated how the content and knowledge generated in this study are intertwined with data generation methods and contexts of engagement. '3 LIVED ETHICS' and '4 MORALS' comprise codes which focus on ethical evaluations, meanings, and moral ideas that participants expressed in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Coding here was guided by the focus on languaging as a practice by which humans evaluate themselves and others as "good". This analytical angle is complemented by the codes sorted under '5 LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE AND BODY IMAGE'. This domain reflects the phenomenologically oriented lens of analysis, by which I examined bodily experience of languaging, foregrounding evaluative emotions linked with the body image, like shame and pride. What I termed '6 (PRACTICES OF) KNOWLEDGE' in the code system at this stage of the analysis process, reflects the poststructuralist lens on the data and the theoretical background of the languaging dispositive. Comprising explanations and ideas participants that had about language and languaging, the category organizes data and insights into the discourses and discourse practices by which participants made meaning of their experience. The remaining domains '7 RELATIONAL PHENOMENA', '8 MIGRATION [variables]', and '9 ELF' were relevant to account for the wider objectives of this thesis.

Writing the research report, the data sorted under the code domains 2–4 were most relevant. These domains are the ones which capture the four theoretical angles of the analytical heuristic most directly. Following TA, writing the research report is part of the data analysis process itself, as it is the phase where insights are made meaningful in relation to empirical insights and theoretical frameworks (cf. Braun & Clarke 2006). Following this understanding,

the code system built the ground for writing a research report that addresses the objectives of this research. The findings that are oriented towards insights into the experience of languaging are presented in chapter 8 of this thesis. Chapter 9, focuses on insights relevant to evaluate and discuss the potential and limitations of the combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in the study of languaging. To make these evaluations, however, the content-focused analysis was not sufficient. Therefore, the final adaptation I made to the framework of TA was to implement elements of summative analysis. These served the purposes of identifying relationships and distributions of codes across the dataset.

The relationships and distribution analysis exploited the benefits of triangulation in the data generation process. I defined variables that characterized the data generation methods, settings, and contexts, to make calculations of code distribution across the dataset. Before going into detail on these, it is to be pointed out that the quantification of the dataset of this study has clear limitations. It was thus approached with great consideration and served the purpose of identifying points of interest for deeper qualitative investigations. One of the most evident limitations of quantifying the data in this study is that the three data generation methods yielded different amounts of text, which implies a difference in the number of coded segments. For example, the transcripts of the follow-up interviews contain text of spoken interaction of about one hour, while the written narratives of the online survey varied between a few lines of text and four pages. Using MAXQDA software, I controlled for this issue to a certain degree by calculating code occurrences per subsets of data and/or counting occurrences of codes only once per individual account of *Spracherleben*. Additionally, in chapter 9, when I report on the methodological findings of this study, I will make transparent the respective procedures of the calculations on which the insights rely. In each case, the limitations of the calculations are compensated by qualitative investigations. In this regard, the code domain ‘2 RESEARCHING LIVED ETHICS AND EXPERIENCE OF LANGUAGE’ was of great relevance, as it covered data that showed clear evidence of interactional phenomena of the data generation process. For example, sequences where participants defended their behaviour in front of me, or where they positioned themselves as superior to me by demonstrating their knowledge about a certain topic/situation. Chapter 9 will provide more detail on these findings.

To calculate code distributions, I grouped the data into three subsets according to data generation methods. Additionally, I determined ten variable parameters which characterized the research setting and context that were not necessarily determined by the method. In doing so, I leaned towards a musical definition of ‘parameter’, “[a]ny more or less quantifiable feature (as pitch, rhythm, etc.) of a musical context, esp. such a feature undergoing a systematic sequence

of modifications in a serialist work" (Oxford English Dictionary 2023). The analysis thus investigates in how far features of the data generation method, setting, and context may have determined the produced "sound" of the research, i.e. the data and insights gained by this study. Table 19 shows the list of variable parameters of data generation: the values of each parameter in percentages of the full dataset are represented in descending order from left to right. While the limitations of quantification in this study need to be considered, the percentages give a rough estimate of the share each value represents in the dataset. Thereby, the relationships and distribution analysis also gives some relevant information on the sample, which I summarize below.

Table 19: Variable parameters of interaction in data generation.

Variable parameters	**Values and their representation in % by documents in full dataset**
1 space of interaction	online 56 | on site 44
2 degree of privacy	private 51 | semi public 38 | semi private 11
3 occurrences of meetings	none 51 | single meeting 36 | follow-up meeting 11 | repeated meetings 2
4 persons involved	P 51| PPs:R 20 | PPs:R:LT 18 | P:R 11
5 main mode of interaction	written 51 | spoken 49
6 main language	German 73 | English 25 | Arabic 2
7 (im)migration link of setting	not specified 80 |NGO in Austrian immigration context, language course 20
8 participant with migration experience	yes 58|not known 36 | no 6
9 participants immigrating to Austria	no 70 | yes 30
10 participants emigrating from Austria	no 95 | yes 5

1 space of interaction: captures the physicality/virtuality of the data generation space. Calculating code distributions for this parameter was relevant to examine whether and in how far the online/onsite setting influenced what participants shared as *Spracherleben* and how. Obviously, all documents of the online survey fall into the "online" value. Together with the three follow-up interviews held online via video conferencing software, they make up 56% of the dataset. The rest of the documents in the dataset (i.e. the other three follow-up interviews and the PP group protocols) make up 44% and were held in a research setting where both participants and I were physically present at the same time, in the same space.

2 degree of privacy: aimed at capturing in how far the interactional space provided privacy from the participants point of view. This parameter was considered relevant because the intimacy of the setting might have influenced how openly participants shared insights into their *Spracherleben*. The percentage for the value 'private' (51%) directly corresponds to the percentage of documents generated by the online survey. While it is unknown whether

participants were at home or on the tram while making their contribution to the online survey, it can be assumed that the entering of text and the related thinking processes remained private even in more public contexts. The percentage for the value 'semi public' (38%) corresponds to the PP group documents. I use the term '*semi* public' because the groups were set in the public spaces of the NGOs and the public library, yet not open for anyone to observe and join at any time. Participants had to register or be associated with the partner organization. The value 'semi private' (11%) corresponds to the follow-up interviews that took place in a socially enclosed space amongst researcher and participants but were physically held in public space like a park, or participants were at home or at work while tuning into the online space.

3 occurrences of meetings: was defined to capture patterns related with how often participants and I met for research purposes. The value 'none' (51%) corresponds again to the documents generated by the online survey. About 36% of the accounts of *Spracherleben* were generated from interactions in a 'single meeting' of respective PP groups. I differentiated this value from 'follow-up meetings' (11%), so that the calculations made a difference between participants of the online survey who had already engaged with the research project and with thinking about *Spracherleben*, while those in PP groups with single meetings had not. The final value 'repeated meetings' (2%) corresponds to the PP group with LangLife which met for six sessions.

4 persons involved: captures whether participants immediately engaged with other participants, with how many, and in what kind of roles. The value 'P' refers to 51% of the documents in the dataset which represents the online survey where participants were alone in contributing their accounts. The value 'PPs:R' refers to data generated with a group of participants (PPs) in immediate interaction with the researcher (R). Documents with the value 'PPs:R:LT' have a similar constellation of participants and roles, yet in these cases a language teacher (LT) was present. This differentiation considers that the presence of a language teacher may have influenced what participants shared as an account of *Spracherleben* and how they did so. Together, the two subsets of documents with the values PPs:R (20%) and PP:R:LT (18%) represent about the amount of participants and accounts of *Spracherleben* generated by PP groups (38% in total). The final value 'P:R' reflects the number of the follow-up interviews (11%).

5 main mode of interaction; 6 main language: concentrate on the means of communication rather than on the interactional setting. In the dataset there is a relatively even number of data generated through written (51%) and spoken modes (49%). As regards language(s) used, German (as a lingua franca) was the main means of communication (73%).

English (as a lingua franca) is represented by 25% of all documents in the dataset and Arabic with 2%. It must be pointed out, however, that this number does not record that in the PP groups participants often used other languages for communication amongst themselves and explained words of languages foreign to others in the group. The numbers here are thus not representative of the linguistic resources that were present in the research interactions. The 2% of Arabic by are quantitatively visible because one of the participants had entered an Arabic text and poems with English and German translations in the online survey.

7 (im)migration link of setting; 8 participants with migration experience; 9 participants immigrating to Austria; 10 participants emigrating from Austria: zoom in on the representation of data with obvious link to situations of migration. 20% of the documents in the dataset were generated with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context. Considering individual participants' accounts of *Spracherleben*, if respective information was provided, documents were categorized as data from persons with migration experience (58%). For the remaining 42%, I either lacked information (36%) or knew explicitly from participants that they had moved elsewhere for holidays and visits (6%). Where more detail was provided, I could furthermore create a subset for participants immigrating to Austria (30%) and participants emigrating from Austria (5%).

Concluding this section, the just outlined information on the dataset and sample has made the transition from describing the process of data analysis to the insights it granted. Reviewing the whole chapter, I first developed the research design of this study: I explained the rationale of this empirical study in relation to the wider objectives of this research (7.1); developed a methodology that builds on established biographical approaches to *Spracherleben* research; expanded it by the PP perspective and an adapted form of philosophizing in groups (7.2); and I positioned this research as an AL study that draws upon PP and seeks to attend to both principles by the overall project design (7.3). Then, I reported on the concrete procedures of the three data generation methods, i.e. the online survey, the follow-up interviews, and the PP groups (7.4). The report introduced relevant profiles of participants and the partner organizations with whom the PP groups were implemented. Finally, in the present and final section of this chapter (7.5), I gave an overview of the dataset, outlined the principles of the data analysis process, and provided detail on how and why this process involved different approaches to qualitative content analysis, including summative calculations to examine relationships between data generation and the insights gained from analysis.

8. Insights into the experience of languaging

This chapter presents the findings of the empirical investigations of this research which give insight into the experience of languaging. Within the scope of this thesis, the primary motivation to gain such insight was the identification of the favourability bias in ELF research, and the acknowledged need to approach the study of languaging by foregrounding issues of availability of communicative resources and considering the subjective experience of languaging in more *and* less favourable conditions of communication (chapter 4). Assuming a PP perspective, I furthermore developed a theoretical framework of languaging experience that takes into account situated relational and ultimate boundaries of speakers in acting upon language for communicative purposes. I demonstrated that this philosophical lens is significant to the AL study of languaging in contemporary times, as social transformations like neoliberalization tend to obfuscate both structural and ultimate human limitations of what individual speakers can do in solving language-related problems, including the problem of lingual communication as such (chapter 5). Continuing this line of enquiry, the findings of this chapter can be considered to answer to the overarching question of what it means to language in more and less favourable conditions of communicative interaction, in contexts that are shaped by globalization and neoliberal transformation.

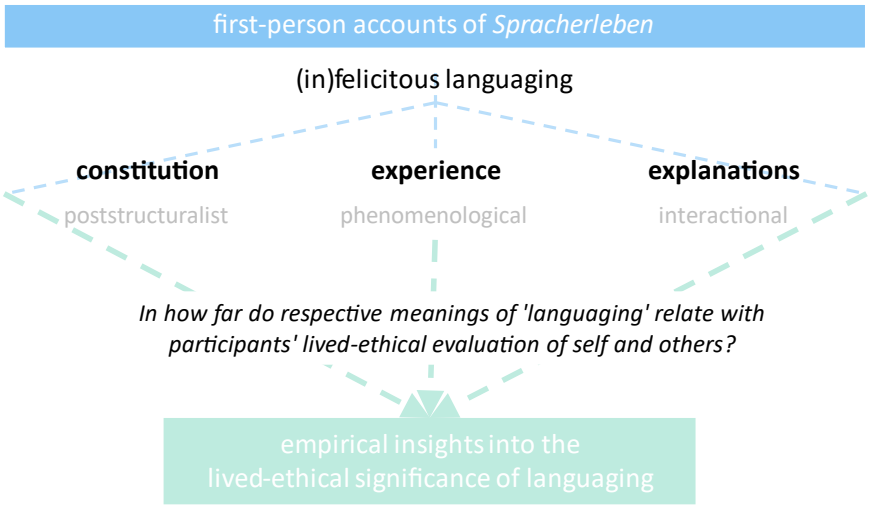
The sections of this chapter seek to provide both a coverage of the insights gained, as well as in-depth analysis of data with particular significance to the objectives of this research. To meet this demand, different means of presenting the data and the insights are deployed, ranging from an overview of themes to more detailed example analyses of data excerpts. Section 8.1 gives an overview of the meanings the process and practice of languaging assumes in participants' accounts of *Spracherleben*. The section frames a major finding of this study, which is constituted in the evidence of a considerable plurality of "languaging realities" in which speakers participate—realities in which 'languaging' is epistemologically, existentially, and lived-ethically significant, but in a conflictual relationship of concrete meanings. The experience of such ambiguity is examined by in-depth analysis in section 8.2. It focuses on data from participants embedded in the Austrian immigration context. These data allowed to discuss the findings in relation to social and legal frameworks that impact upon the languaging realities of the concerned subjects. Sections 8.3–8.6 turn to findings that foreground the analytical lenses of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and the body image. They are most relevant regarding the development of the notion of 'availability' in languaging research and the empirical study of the enabling and constraining conditions of linguistic room for manoeuvre. Focusing on data related to ELF encounters, I report on participants' great expectations towards the languaging self, or "sELF" (8.3). Then I examine data that indicate a linguistic dimension

of loneliness and give insight into lived-ethical evaluations that are related to it (8.4). The data furthermore granted insight into norms and moral standards based on which participants made such evaluations (8.5). These are insights into the discursively constructed rules and internal goods that constitute the social practice of 'languaging'. Relating to these, I discuss an explanatory pattern of the (in)felicity of languaging in the context of neoliberalism (8.6). Finally, section 8.7 summarizes the presented insights regarding their contribution to foregrounding issues of availability and the subject perspective in the AL study of languaging. Additionally, I draw practical implications for ELF research, considering how the findings can serve to counterbalance the favourability bias.

8.1. The many realities of languaging—focus on (in)felicity

The data of this research give evidence that speakers need to manage a plurality of epistemologically, existentially, and ethically significant meanings of 'languaging'—and that this management is part of the communicative exigencies of navigating and claiming voice in a 'vuca' world. Before going into detail on experiences related with these exigencies of languaging, this section gives an overview of the many realities of languaging that are reflected in the data. In this manner, the section gives a cursory idea of the social contexts in which participants of this study lived, and hence of the "the socially mediated meaning-making inherent in each and every life story" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022: 5). As it covers themes that are based on the breadth of the full dataset, this section does not go into detail, but provides reference to the following subsections, where relevant insights are elaborated by analysis of selected material. To present the overview of the many realities of 'languaging' evident in the data, I structure the report around the question of what is '(in)felicitous languaging'. At the point of this question centring on lived ethics, the analytical angles of the poststructuralist, phenomenological, and interactional views come together, giving a kaleidoscopic understanding of what 'languaging' means from a subject perspective. The three theme-clusters, i.e. constitutional features (8.1.1), characteristics of experience (8.1.2), and explanations (8.1.3) of '(in)felicitous languaging', can be mapped onto the three epistemological lenses of analysis, as illustrated by Figure 17.

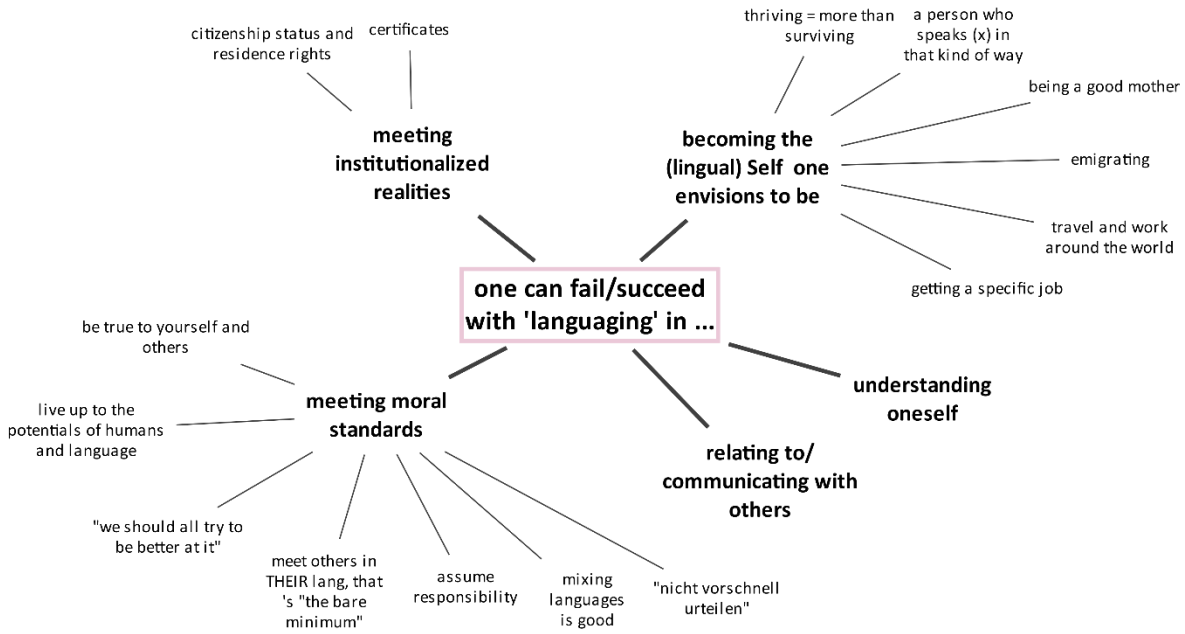
Figure 17: Theme clusters and their analytical relationship.



8.1.1. Constitutional features

The theme cluster on the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging' foregrounds the poststructuralist focus of analysis. It gives insight into the social realities in which the participants were embedded at the time of data generation, and thus into the factual material and social needs participants require and/or seek to fulfil by their languaging. The themes *meeting institutionalized realities, becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be, meeting moral standards, understanding oneself,* and *relating/communicating with others* repeatedly occur in the dataset in relation with how participants evaluate themselves and others as "good" human beings. Figure 18 shows these themes with subthemes, whereby it provides a first visual answer to the question of where and in what areas of life one can fail or succeed with languaging based on the data of this study.

Figure 18: Thematic map - the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging'.



Data of the first theme, *meeting institutionalized realities*, often centre on situations in which participants wish to obtain a specific language certificate, or need to obtain one in order to fulfil institutional language requirements. In both cases, institutionalized definitions of 'good languaging' are relevant directly for how participants evaluate themselves and others, and indirectly as the institutionalized definitions affect whether the participants reached ends to which the certificate in question was required. Looking at the full dataset, institutionalized language requirements are particularly strong with, but not exclusive to, data from participants of an immigration status in Austria. In section 8.2, I will elaborate on the institutional frameworks of language education and residence rights in the Austrian immigration context to dive deeper into data which revealed experiences of ambiguity between institutionalized and bottom-up meanings of "good" languaging.

Where participants referred to language certificates, they often also topicalized aspirations around a second theme, i.e. *becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be.* This points to the lived-ethical significance of 'languaging' as a socially constituted practice: the felicity of languaging is closely related to achieving a certain languaging quality that is considered necessary for, or indicative of, becoming the kind of person one aspires to be. In the dataset, participants' explicated visions of the (languaging) self often link with the notion of continuous language learning as a means for becoming someone who participates in the globalized markets of work and travel. This link is particularly evident with data that centre on *Spracherleben* in ELF encounters and with data that refer to English as a resource in one's linguistic repertoire. This is indicative of the global function of ELF communication, of which

participants had high expectations. I will examine evaluative stances towards the languaging self that are related to ELF in the data in section 8.3. In addition, data associated with the theme *becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be*, also give insight into the lived-ethical weight of the practice of 'languaging' in the supposedly "private" domains of life. In section 8.2 (8.2.3), I elaborate on this point by data from a PP group with Peregrina. In this group, participants draw a relationship between the felicity of their languaging and the felicity of mothering.

Turning to the themes *understanding oneself* and *relating to/communicating with others*, the data grant insights into lived-ethical evaluations that relate to whether and to what degree languaging is felicitous in achieving a certain quality in the relationship with oneself and with others. In the data of both themes, a dualism of "inner" and "outer" self plays an important role. In this regard, participants associated the felicity of languaging with the success of putting the "inner" into an "outer" lingual form that grants (shared) understanding. Around the theme *understanding oneself*, participants typically face something they do not quite understand about themselves; something that is troublesome, and which is more understandable once put into language. A particularly clear case is documented by the follow-up interview with Khaled (Khaled_N106), who explained that this process is significant to him as a writer and as a person who was in need for therapeutic procedures due to experiences of war[83]. Around the theme *relating to/communicating with others*, participants rather framed the felicity of languaging as whether they succeeded in putting their "inner" self into an "outer" lingual form that is understood by others, and whether they reached intended effects in relationships to others. They mentioned, for example, that they seek to feel connected with others, or do not want to be a burden on others. Since these social relational aspects of the felicity of languaging were expressed in more bodily, emotional terms, I return to this theme in the subsequent section on how participants framed the experience of (in)felicitous languaging (8.1.2).

Meeting moral standards is the fifth and final theme in the cluster on the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging'. It gives insight into informal policies of "good" languaging. Although less formalized and explicit than institutionalized language policies, the data reveal a set of norms and moral standards by which participants judged the languaging behaviour, and themselves and others as "good" human beings. The subthemes that are listed in Figure 18, outline the norms and standards that participants explicitly referred to in relation to language

[83] A relevant data excerpt is provided in chapter 9 (9.3, Excerpt 29), where I discuss methodological insights gained from his data. Within the scope of this thesis, I did not further investigate into the therapeutic effects Khaled described in his account of *Spracherleben*. Since the data suggest a kind of languaging that is targeted at altering the relationship with oneself, the case of Khaled warrants deeper analysis within theoretical frameworks that relate to psychotherapy and focus on relationships between language and trauma (cf. Busch 2016; Raschidy 2022).

and languaging. I will provide more detail in section 8.5, when I examine the role of these "languaging commandments" in lived-ethical evaluations evident from the data.

8.1.2. Characteristics of experience

The theme cluster around the experience of '(in)felicitous languaging' foregrounds the phenomenological perspective on the data. It complements the poststructuralist one above by insights that cover the more bodily and emotional dimensions of how participants constructed the (in)felicity of languaging. In other words, the cluster gives an idea of what the data tell us about what it is like to experience '(in)felicitous languaging'.

Figure 19: Thematic map - the experience of '(in)felicitous languaging'.

Figure 19 gives an overview of the experiential notions to which participants referred when they took an evaluative stance towards languaging practices, themselves, and others. Notions that were framed as positive experiences of 'felicitous languaging' are positioned on the left, negative experiences related to 'infelicitous languaging' on the right. These insights are relevant for languaging research, as they illustrate the experiential side of languaging which may impact upon the availability of resources in situ. Reminding of the relationship between body image and lived-ethical evaluations outlined in chapter 5 (5.1.3), our experiences of languaging can enter our ideas of self in ways that enable or constrain our linguistic room for manoeuvre in dependence of the situated meanings they assume.

In the participants accounts of *Spracherleben*, felicitous languaging is described by notions like feeling connected with language and with others, enjoying security and control over one's language use, an ease in languaging, and resonance (see list on the left in Figure 19). By contrast, infelicitous languaging is described by experiences like that of lacking control and security over ones' language use, of frustration about oneself, of envying others, and of feeling dependent and a burden on those others (list on the right in Figure 19). Several of the negative experiences in the list for infelicitous languaging have corresponding positive counterparts in the list of felicitous languaging (e.g. *feeling secure in one's language use* vs. *feeling insecure*). This is because the thematic map reflects how participants themselves represent the (in)felicity of languaging in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. I did not merge the themes under a bigger category such as 'security in languaging', to keep the original framing and subject point of view in the representation of findings.

From a phenomenological point of view, the list of codes around the theme cluster of experience of the (in)felicity of languaging illustrates a remarkable point about the data: when participants referred to emotions and more bodily manifestations in relation to the (in)felicity of languaging, they centred on a relational quality of language/languaging as an object or means of communication, of themselves as speaking subjects, and of concrete others. This is remarkable because it illustrates the existentially significant function of language/languaging as a gesture towards the world and others. Figure 19 illustrates a loose categorization of the codes in these relational terms, by sorting the themes according to kinds of relationships implied:

- Codes referring to a relationship between the speaker and language as an object are represented at the top (e.g. *feeling connected with language*);
- Experiences centring on the relationship to oneself are positioned in the middle (e.g. *frustrating; uncomfortable*);
- Those with focus on the relationship to other human beings are provided at the bottom of the lists (e.g. *feeling connected with others, feeling alone*).

The strong relational dimension of languaging, which shows with the experiential theme cluster of (in)felicitous languaging, indicates that the favourability of conditions of languaging one encounters across a lifetime are significant for whether and how one dares to engage in challenging situations of meaning making: if speaking subjects repeatedly make the experience that their languaging fails to establish connection and resonance with others, this will most likely affect their body image and imply constraints on the availability of communicative resources in newly confronted situations. Furthermore, together with the poststructuralist theme cluster above (8.1.1), the phenomenological cluster highlights that socially constituted idea(l)s

of 'languaging' can assume considerable weight in whether we conceive of ourselves as humans who have and can establish a positive connection with others and the world. The bottom set of codes listed by Figure 19, which centres on the human-to-human relationship, closely links with the features by which participants described the (in)felicity of languaging. Very often, they framed the failure and success of languaging around the feature of *relating to/communicating with others*. In sum, the experiential cluster of themes around the '(in)felicity of languaging' makes evident that lived-ethical meanings can weigh quite heavily on speaking subjects when it comes to engagement in languaging in situ, as well as to conceiving of themselves as human beings with a positive relation to others and the world. In sections 8.3 and 8.4, I will further investigate experiences of "feeling connected" by focusing on data that covered ELF encounters and data that centre on feelings of loneliness.

8.1.3. Explanations

The third cluster of themes gives insight into explanations of the (in)felicity of languaging. These themes occur in the data in the form of reasonings that participants used to make sense of their specific experiences and/or explicit general explanations for why languaging is (not) successful. These are relevant to this study since explanatory patterns give insight into social discursive attributions of responsibility around the (in)felicity of languaging. Analytically, this third cluster foregrounds the interactional lens—it grants insights into how participants make meaning of their individual experiences by reference to discursive patterns of the socially shared reality. In this regard, the cluster also links with the one on the constitution of (in)felicitous languaging (8.1.1), since explanations for why languaging was (in)felicitous prerequisite a concept of (in)felicitous languaging.

Briefly outlined, explanations of (in)felicitous languaging occur in the data mainly with a functional focus on whether one's language use fulfils the communicative purposes of the encounter. These purposes range from ordering food, to getting to know others, and make friends with these others. Participants' explanations for why communicative purposes were not achieved, patterned around eight themes:

- A circumstantial lack of opportunities for engagement with others or a specific language use;
- Interlocutor limitations (such as poor knowledge of the language used);
- The idea that language guarantees understanding;
- The opposite idea that language does not guarantee understanding;
- One's own work in the languaging engagement;
- One's confidence in using language;

- One's willingness; and,
- One's communicative competence.

Further explanations were provided, which did not pattern into greater themes, however. The themes instead patterned around three locations of the source of (in)felicitous languaging: the circumstances; the phenomenon of language itself; and the human, as in traits and behaviour.

Figure 20: Thematic cluster - explanations of (in)felicitous languaging.

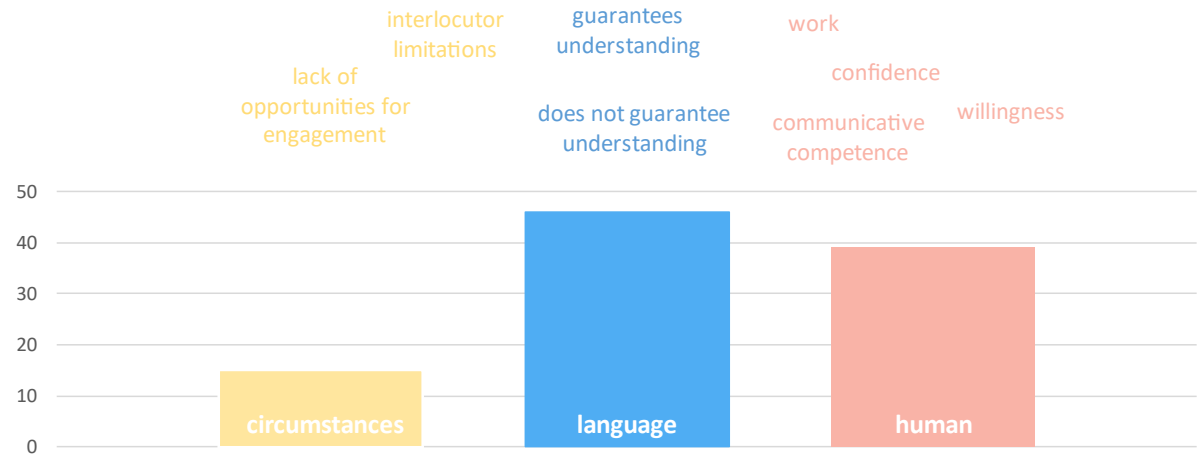


Figure 20 illustrates the three source-locations of '(in)felicitous languaging' that participants mentioned by means of a bar chart at the bottom, and eight themed explanations for (in)felicitous languaging at the top. The graph shows, in percentages of all instances of coding in the category of explanations (100%; n=300), those associated with language itself (46%; n=139) and with human traits and behaviour (39%; n=117) were considerably more frequent than explanations associated with the circumstances (15%; n=44). Considering the limitations of quantifying the dataset, the numbers have to be read as overall patterns of dominant explanations of why languaging is felicitous or not. These patterns are nonetheless significant to this research: considering the favourability bias as an issue in ELF research, this distribution of explanatory weight is a parallel between the specialized discourse of ELF research, and participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* (i.e. the elementary discourse level). Both put explanatory weight of successful languaging on the individual human being, rather than on the conditions of lingual communication. As this indication is most relevant for this research, I further delve into participants' explanations for the (in)felicity of languaging in section 8.6.

Concluding this section, I have presented a preliminary overview of the many and often incompatible meanings of '(in)felicitous languaging' from a subject point of view. I have structured these meanings around three clusters of themes, giving insight into what features constitute (in)felicitous languaging based on the data, how it is experienced, and how it is

explained. Given that this study is based on subjective accounts of *Spracherleben* from about 50 individuals, it is principally not surprising that the data revealed various experienced realities of languaging. The critical point, which will be supported and elaborated on by analyses in the subsequent sections, is that 'languaging' means different and often contradictory things also within individual participants' *Spracherleben*—and this has implications for the experience of languaging and processes of subjectification related to the practice of languaging. These implications are that speakers do not just need to negotiate the linguistic forms of language as they communicate, but also manage realities of languaging that are epistemologically, existentially, and (lived) ethically structured in different—and often contradictory—ways. In turn, it may also be challenging to find a clear position on the languaging self one aspires to be. The following section provides more evidence for drawing these implications by zooming in on experiences of ambiguity.

8.2. Experiences of ambiguity—focus on the Austrian immigration context[84]

Conceptualizing 'ethos' as location to understand discursive authority, Reynolds (1993: 326) puts forward: "[t]he subject is the 'site' on which language becomes meaning, where meaning is constituted and thereby constitutes the subjectivity of the individual". But which meaning becomes the subjectivity of the individual, when language, or in the case of interest of this study, the practice of 'languaging' carries many meanings that are ambiguous, maybe even contradictory at a basic epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical level of significance? This section sketches social realities of languaging that imply deeply conflicting idea(l)s of "good" languaging at the site that is the subject by analysing experiences of ambiguity the participants of this study expressed in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Before diving into the analysis, some notes are necessary on the selection of data, the structure of this section, and terminology used.

Regarding the data analysed and discussed in this section, I focus on data contributed to the study by persons with an immigration status in Austria. Experiences of ambiguity are not unique to, but most evident from the data of this group of participants. The following documents are relevant by reasons that relate to the persons and/or the context of data generation:

- Six out of the 28 survey narratives explicitly provide information on participants' migration experience (N26, N48, N90, N106, N108, N119);

[84] This section includes revised parts of a book chapter published with Multilingual Matters in the 29th volume of the series *Critical Language and Literacy Studies* (Radinger 2023). Subsection 8.2.3 extends these parts by new data and insights.

- Four of those narratives were provided by participants who immigrated to Austria, all of whom further participated in a follow-up interview (Inna_N90, Khaled_N106, Carl_N108, Tina_N119);
- Three of the four PP groups in this study took place in cooperation with NGOs in the Austrian immigration context (PP_LangLife, PP_Peregrina1, PP_Peregrina2).

To allow an analysis of experiences of ambiguity in relation to the explicit socio-political regulations that participants confronted, this section includes an overview of the most relevant structural frameworks in the Austrian immigration context (8.2.1). It provides information on how language, education, and citizenship and residence rights are intertwined, which is important to the analysis. Notions of '(in)felicitous languaging' in these data often relate with the theme *meeting institutionalized realities* that was already introduced in the overview in section 8.1 (8.1.1). Then I analyse the experiences of ambiguity by focusing on data from the PP group with LangLife (8.2.2). Eventually, I turn to data from the Peregrina PP group, which provides insights into the languaging reality of women, mothers in particular (8.2.3).

Concerning terminology, I use 'plurality' to refer to the mere existence of several different meanings attached to 'languaging' as a practice. The term 'ambiguity' is used to refer to a quality of the relationship between these meanings. The relationship of ambiguity is constituted in the simultaneous existence of meanings of 'languaging' which logically cannot be 'true' and/or practically followed through at the same time if viewed from a subject perspective. To give an example: in the process of subjectification, speaking subjects may experience that they cannot follow through the idea of felicitous languaging that is constituted in conforming to native speaker norms, and the idea that is constituted in challenging these norms at the same time. Additionally, I conceive of 'experiences of ambiguity' as an analytical category, as in lived experience ambiguities do not tend to show evidently as ambiguities between meaning A and meaning B. Therefore, I use the term 'experiences of tension' where ambiguities identified by analysis are, from a subject perspective, experienced rather as a feeling that something does not quite fit. From a PP perspective, these experiences of tension may involve philosophical problems in the form of "I don't know my way about", which was the definition provided earlier with reference to Wittgenstein (2003/2019: §123; chapter 2, 2.2).

8.2.1. An environment of disambiguation

In the Austrian immigration context legal language requirements claim significance in how immigrants are positioned/position themselves as speaking subjects. In the so-called *Integration Agreement*, the Austrian Integration Law (IntG 2019: §7) states that immigrants from outside the EU are required to obtain a German language certificate for A2 level according to the CEFR

(Council of Europe 2001, 2018) if residence is requested for up to three years. This certificate must be successfully completed within the first two years after having received entitlement for staying in the country (IntG 2019: §7, §9). For permanent residence, which is defined as everything beyond five years (NAG 2021: §45), a certificate for B1 level is required. Thus, the Austrian Integration Law sets an explicit link between language and residency. Moreover, it combines two very elaborate and powerful frameworks—legislature and the CEFR—to define both *what* has to be done and *how* one has to be able to use the German language in order to obtain demanded language certificates and residence rights. These rights are in turn linked up with access to social welfare. The entanglement of language, citizenship status, and access to social welfare in the Austrian Integration law is emblematic for ongoing neoliberal transformations across Europe that instrumentalize language for the allocation of public resources (cf. Flubacher & Busch 2022).

Additionally, Austria has centralized the management of assessing the fulfilment of the Integration Agreement. One sole institution, the national fund for the integration of refugees and migrants (Österreichischer Integrationsfonds, henceforth ÖIF), is commissioned with the production of officially recognized standardized tests, their assessment, as well as with the provision of curricula, example tests, and teaching material targeted at language educators[85]. Much of this material is freely available online (ÖIF 2024). The provision of materials, however, comes with monitoring claims. Both official language schools and grassroots initiatives need to be officially accepted as partners by the ÖIF to offer legally recognized courses and assessment (IntG 2019: §4). Thereby, the institutionally enforced notion of 'good languaging' finds its way into one of the most important public interactional spaces in which immigrants participate when they arrive in Austria: grassroots organizations dedicated to supporting immigrants with settling in.

Having outlined the legal and educational frameworks in the Austrian immigration context, it can be said that this environment enforces a disambiguated notion of 'good languaging' with which the immigrant speaking subject is supposed to comply. But research shows that speaking subjects today confront a plurality of meanings around the idea(l)s of the practice of 'languaging'. This has been pointed out by the literature (e.g. Blommaert et al. 2005; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015; Jacquemet 2016; Busch 2017b) and is supported by the empirical findings of this study about the many meanings of '(in)felicitous languaging' presented above (8.1). In this regard, the structural frameworks of the Austrian immigration context seem to deny the subjective reality and experience of the many meanings of "good" and "felicitous"

[85] For a full list of commissioned competencies, see https://www.integrationsfonds.at/der-oeif/ueber-den-oeif/gesetzliche-auftraege-des-oeif (last accessed, 2.10.24).

languaging. This has implications for subjectification: considering that the institutionally enforced reality of 'good languaging' is imposed upon immigrant subjects as well as upon the public spaces in which they participate, they find few public spaces in which every-day life experiences of many, various, and varying meanings of 'languaging' are acknowledged, let alone be suggested as images of identification. It could also be said that the languaging experience of immigrant subjects finds no voice, since the 'good languaging' of the structural framework pervades the public spaces in which they are positioned and position themselves as subjects to the new environment.

Observations of grassroots organizations and German language teaching initiatives in the Austrian immigration context are indicative of the just outlined issues around speaker voice. They have highlighted, for example, that there is a tension in their work between the empowering element of second language mediation and the involvement of this language in exclusionary policies and discourses (cf. Verein Migrationspädagogische Zweitsprachdidaktik 2018, 2021). Turning to the clients' point of view, the following analyses of experiences of tension/ambiguity give insight into how speaking subjects may struggle for a position on what is "good" and "felicitous" languaging in their everyday lives.

8.2.2. The struggle for voice in the distribution of lived-ethical weight

The data of this study give insight into immigrants' experiences of ambiguity around "good" and "felicitous" languaging which challenge the institutionally enforced strategy of disambiguation. The data reveal, however, that this strategy claims significance in the participants' experience, their positioning as citizens and languaging subjects. In the following, I analyse and discuss two examples in detail.

Excerpt 3: Being a certified speaker who is not *really* speaking (PP_LangLife, third meeting).

"ich habe alle zertifikate, aber mein freund auf der baustelle, er spricht wirklich"
I've got all the certificates, but my friend on the construction site, he really speaks

The first example is documented by Excerpt 3. It is taken from the protocol of the PP group with LangLife and shows a verbatim quote of one of the participants. This participant, let us call him Latif, is a man around the age of 30 who left Iraq to seek refuge in Austria in 2015. In the third meeting of the LangLife PP group, we start our enquiry of *Spracherleben* with a review of the last meeting in which we explored our use of language in different interactional spaces. The four spaces that participants named as relevant are: "at home", "online", "in the German course", and "around town" (PP_LangLife). In the course of our meeting, Latif shares the following thoughts and feelings: while he is told and certified to be a

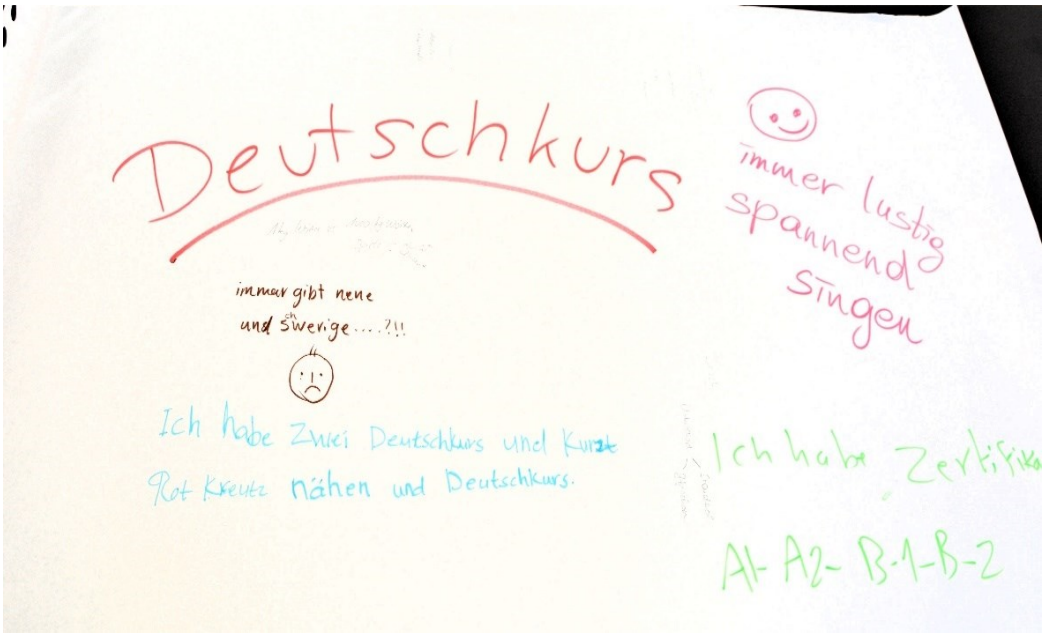
'good' language user in the context of language learning, he experiences himself as someone who does not "*really* speak". He does not further define "really speaking". Yet, as indicated by Excerpt 3, Latif draws a strong contrast between his own languaging and the languaging of his friend at the construction site (who supposedly has not invested himself so much in getting language certificates). Thereby, Latif's account of *Spracherleben* frames the lack of a decisive quality that would make his languaging felicitous in a "real" way. Whatever "really speaking" means for Latif, it is evident from his elaborations that his bottom-up notion carries lived-ethical significance, i.e. significance to what he considers a felicitous kind of languaging and speaking subject.

Latif's experience pins down an ambiguity between different realities of 'languaging'. The ambiguity is between the institutionally enforced notion of 'good languaging' that is enshrined in the language certificates Latif has obtained and the one he experiences as relevant and desirable in everyday "real" life. These different realities of 'languaging' seem incongruent but affect his life nonetheless as a whole. This implies a conflict in the process of subjectification since both realities of 'languaging' are existentially meaningful for Latif: while the institutionalized idea is relevant to secure access to basic material and social resources (like social welfare and residence status), Latif's own notion of "really speaking" is existentially significant in terms of the way he seeks to *live* 'languaging' as a speaking subject. The conflicting aspect lies in the fact that the legal and structural frameworks of the Austrian immigration context lay claim to Latif's distribution of lived-ethical weight as regards notions of 'languaging'; they tie basic conditions of a felicitous life in general to fulfilling the institutionally defined idea of 'good languaging'. Thereby, the imposed languaging reality is biographically impactful: Latif has assumed the position of the "good immigrant" subject by obtaining language certificates far beyond the requirements. What must be irritating for Latif is that his success in adapting to the institutional idea of 'good languaging' does not turn him into someone who "really speaks". In this respect, the above discussed scarcity of public spaces that are sheltered from the institutional definitions of 'good languaging' in the Austrian immigration context considerably constrains the opportunities that Latif finds to live the reality of the languaging subject that "really speaks" in terms that can be defined from the bottom-up. In sum, Latif's example illustrates how deeply the strategy of disambiguation of 'good languaging' in the Austrian immigration context interferes with languaging-related processes of subjectification.

Eventually, Latif's example also gives insight into "the" immigrant language learners' experience of the tension between the empowering element of second language mediation and its involvement with exclusionary policies in place. Making great investments in learning

German, Latif has demonstrated a great agentive response to the transformative appeal that comes with finding oneself in a new linguistic environment. This precise environment, however, has very clear and existentially (including socioeconomically) relevant definitions of how immigrants like Latif are supposed to respond to this appeal. Aware of the requirements, Latif has worked on his languaging self by following the paths of integration as laid out by the integration policies; he has taken German language courses and tests even beyond the required level B1. Latif's response, however, implied the neglect of developing voice according to his bottom-up definition of 'good languaging' or, as he framed it, "really speaking". It can be concluded that the structural frameworks in the Austrian immigration context do not just determine the linguistic resources Latif is supposed to acquire and how; they also constrain his room for manoeuvre in developing a voice that is worth hearing and worth living in terms that correspond to felicitous languaging in bottom-up terms.

Excerpt 4: Collaborative flip chart poster, "Deutschkurs" (PP_LangLife, second meeting).



The second example of experiences of ambiguity is also taken from the PP group with LangLife. Excerpt 4 shows a collaborative flip chart poster which we used in the second meeting to explore what we do with language in our everyday lives and where. As we discuss the notes participants took on the flip chart representing the interactional space of the "Deutschkurs [German language course]", the following scene unfolds. One of the participants, let us call him Mubashir, has a background similar to Latif and is about 34 years old. He tells the group that he has passed language tests beyond the required B1 level in German. As he does so, Mubashir points to his notes on our collaborative flip chart poster: "Ich habe Zertifikat A1-A2-B1-B2 [I have certificates A1-A2-B1-B2]" (Excerpt 4, right-bottom corner). Then he

elaborates on relationships between German language certificates and finding a job. Mubashir emphasizes that he has the necessary qualifications and obtained all language certificates required for getting a job. Nevertheless, Mubashir says, he does not have a job. He expresses his frustration, takes out his briefcase, and shows the group a driving license for forklifts saying that he even has the Austrian driving license for forklifts. Mubashir adds that he has tried to start an apprenticeship in Austria but was told that such programmes were reserved for younger persons. He goes on to tell the group that when he shows his Austrian certificates at a workplace, people still ask him if he has worked in similar jobs before in Iraq. When he answers "yes", he cannot prove it. He explains, "in Iraq we do not have these certificates". Mubashir adds that people are wrong if they believe that refugees come to Austria to get money. Coming towards the end of his elaborations, Mubashir finally puts forward that the German language is so difficult and illustrates this by the use of prepositions: "Manche Leute sagen '*auf* der Arbeit', andere '*in* der Arbeit', '*bei* der Arbeit'—Wie soll ich jemals wissen was ist richtig?! [Some people say '*auf* der Arbeit', others say '*in* der Arbeit', '*bei* der Arbeit'—How should I ever know what is right?!]". Many in the group agree with Mubashir. Trying to comfort him, they highlight that in real life people still get things done, even though they may not use the correct preposition. From this conversation our enquiry moves on to questions related to differences between written and spoken language.

In this scene, which is based on the LangLife protocols, Mubashir communicates an experience of tension that includes feelings of irritation and frustration. Moreover, it captures an ambiguity that is related with the implied promises of neoliberal transformations and their instrumentalization of language. Mubashir's contributions tell of the hard work he has put into trying to fit in with the formal criteria for 'good languaging' and the requirements for gaining access to the work market. He has made these efforts based on the expectation that when certificates are obtained, and requirements are fulfilled, the gate to socioeconomic integration into the Austrian job-market is opened. His elaborations indicate that this expectation is new to him and was formed as he engaged with the Austrian immigration context. As he explicated, in Iraq there was no need for certificates to find a job. Eventually, Mubashir finds himself in the situation that the expectation (or neoliberal promise) of success by hard work on the languaging self is eventually not fulfilled. Experiences of tension, feelings of irritation, and frustration emerge.

The case illustrates how neoliberal transformations take effect in the *Spracherleben* of persons affected by the legal immigration frameworks in Austria. Positioning himself as a person who actively seeks a job and wants to work, Mubashir is in the subject position of the immigrant for whom the institutionalized idea of 'good languaging' is not just meaningful for

obtaining residence rights, but also for finding a job. Accepting the conditions, Mubashir assumes agency by taking concrete actions such as learning German, taking language tests, engaging with public offices to get information on the work market, and learning about necessary steps people in Austria must take in order to get a job. Step by step, he identifies what he can do to get a job himself. In this way, Mubashir lays claim to assume a position at the job market like any other person. Within the given structural conditions, however, this claim does not find positive resonance easily. Moreover, the case indicates that because of the instrumentalization of language by neoliberal governmentality in the immigration context, immigrants' difficulties at the job market are probably often too easily and thus falsely explained by language-related matters (notably, by German language deficits) alone, while structural problems remain unconsidered.

Mubashir furthermore appears to struggle for a coherent image of himself in terms of body image. Having accepted the structural conditions and neoliberal instrumentalization of language to a certain degree, he may resign to considering himself as not having worked hard enough (yet), or as not being able to. The data indicate that Mubashir follows such self-evaluation at the point in the scene where he adds how difficult it is to learn and use the German language—a factor that is not related to the challenging conditions he faces by the structural frameworks. At the same time, the data demonstrate Mubashir's resistance to such self-evaluation when he articulates his frustration about the failing acknowledgement for his language certificates and driving licence. Based on these observations, it seems to be the case that Mubashir finds himself in a position where he does not fully accept the constraining frameworks of 'languaging' in the Austrian immigration context but is also struggling to form a coherent evaluative stance of his (languaging) self, i.e. body image.

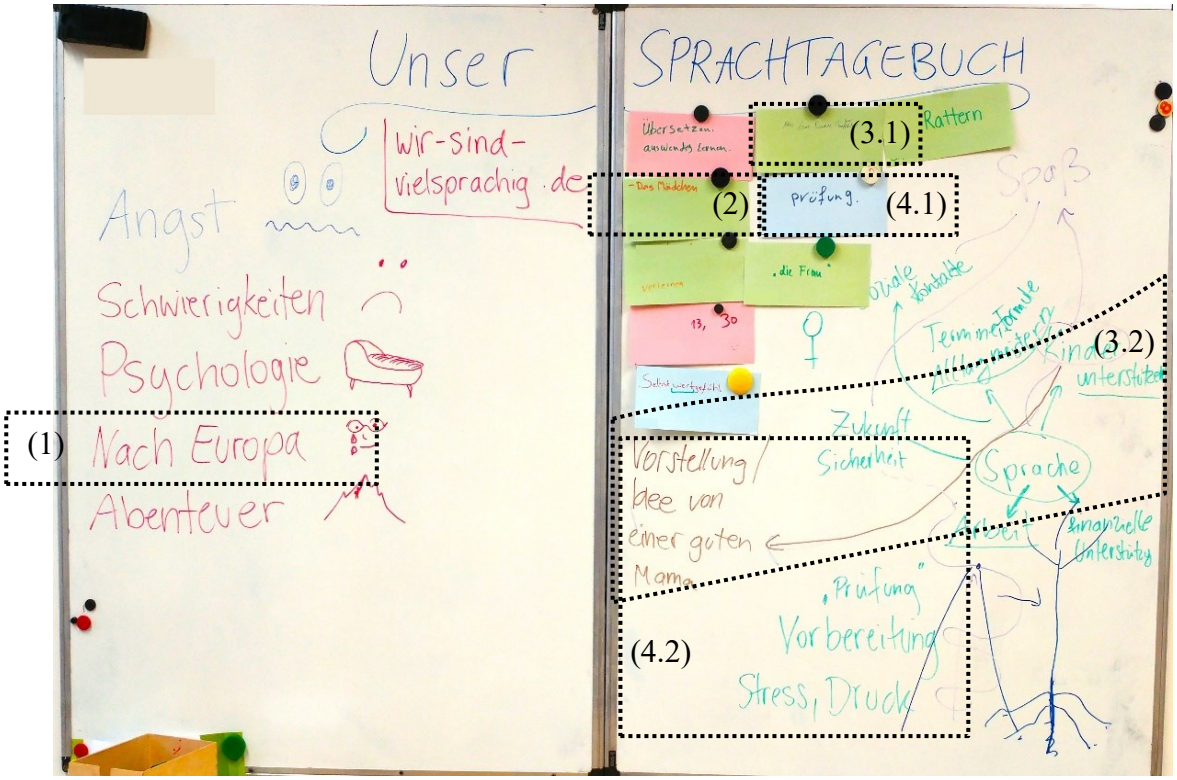
Concluding the example analyses, the data of this study granted insight into experiences of tension/ambiguity related with languaging, and how these emerge and take form at the site that is "the" immigrant languaging subject in the Austrian context. Here, legal frameworks enforce disambiguation around the practice of 'languaging', where there is in fact great linguistic plurality and fluidity of languaging practices. By tying a specific meaning of 'languaging' to citizenship status and social welfare, the frameworks lay claim to recognition in individual speakers' processes of subjectification and what kind of 'good languaging' they consider relevant in lived-ethical terms. A definition of *voice* is "the freedom to have one's voice heard, freedom to develop a voice worth hearing" (Hymes 2003b: 64). Borrowing from these terms, it can be said that the structural conditions in the Austrian immigration context are such that they lay claim to Latif's and Mubashir's agency over determining what kind of languaging is worth hearing and worth developing for them as immigrant speaking subjects in

the Austrian nation state. Based on these insights, the notion of voice may be extended by another kind of freedom: *the freedom to negotiate what constitutes a voice worth hearing and developing*. The data gave insight into how speakers' voice was constrained in these terms—however, they also gave evidence of how they laid claim to this freedom by articulating experiences of tension that challenge the frameworks in place. Notably, they did so at a place where these frameworks play an important role: consider that the LangLife course took place in a grassroots organization in the Austrian immigration context which supports immigrants by German language courses. In this regard, participants' articulations of tension in this context can be considered acts of citizenship, i.e. "deeds by which actors constitute themselves (and others) as subjects of rights" (Isin 2009: 371). The methodological analyses will dive deeper into these observations (chapter 9, 9.4).

8.2.3. Between performance and care: focus on mothers

The data from the PP groups with Peregrina (PP_Peregrina 1 & 2) complement the insights into experiences of ambiguity gained by Latif and Mubashir's examples. All participants in these groups were women, most of whom were mothers and made use of the opportunity of childcare services provided by Peregrina during the time of their language classes. Their accounts of *Spracherleben* tend to evolve around motherhood and situations of caregiving, which is a particular feature of the Peregrina subset of data; but note that the instructions for sharing an account of *Spracherleben* were equally general as in the other PP groups and the online survey. What the data from the Peregrina groups add are insights into how the institutional claim over determining what is "good" and "felicitous" languaging interferes with the constitution of felicitous languaging in the more "private" domains of life. Latif and Mubashir's examples of experiences of ambiguity, in comparison, were associated with the domains of work and language education—domains which are directly affected by institutionalized language policies around the Austrian Integration Agreement (IntG 2019: §7). Additionally, the Peregrina PP group data frame a kind of languaging felicity that resists the institutionalized frameworks and relates to the practice of caregiving. The following insights into the data first illustrate the role of care in the participants' accounts before focusing on two further examples of experiences of ambiguity. The data I refer to for these purposes are all documented by Excerpt 5: it shows a photograph of the whiteboard that participants and I used to take notes during the PP enquiry (PP_Peregrina1).

Excerpt 5: Notes on shared whiteboard (PP_Peregrina1).

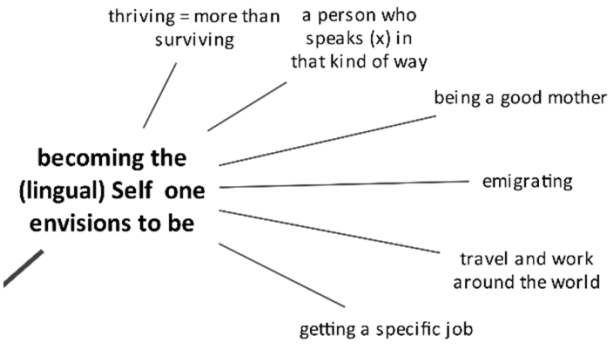


The first account is documented by '(1)' on the left side of the board in Excerpt 5. It shows the title ("Nach Europa [towards Europe]") of the narrative that a participant shared. I will refer to this participant by the pseudonym Carla. The narrative evolves around Carla's experience of having to take care and be strong for her younger brother during and after the refugee journey. By emphasizing how important her language skills and her linguistic resources were for fulfilling her role, Carla draws a link between the felicity of languaging and the felicity of care. The second account is documented by '(2)' in Excerpt 5, on the right side of the board. Another participant, let us say Nura, shares a narrative with the title "das Mädchen [the girl"]. In this narrative, Nura elaborates on how she felt responsible for a girl who was walking around a townhall square without parents: being a mother herself, Nura felt a need to approach and ask the girl about what she was doing here and where her parents were. The girl responded she was getting breakfast for her parents. Nura shares that in this situation she worried for the girl, but also felt great joy in using her newly acquired German language skills, taking responsibility, and engaging in a conversation with the child.

The two examples illustrate a remarkable point about the data from the PP group with Peregrina: in both accounts linguistic resources assume meaning as a resource of caregiving, and participants frame a kind of felicity of languaging that is oriented towards whether their languaging situationally supports their capacities of caregiving. Rather than orienting towards the institutionalized framework of 'good languaging' in the immigration context, the

participants seem to follow a *care logic* in construing the internal goods of the practice of languaging. This care logic is very different from the *performance logic* that is dominant with the rest of the dataset. To grasp these differences, it is worth reviewing the theme cluster on the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging' I provided in section 8.1 (8.1.1, Figure 18)—in particular the theme and subthemes of *becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be* (Figure 21 below): the theme covers patterns of relationships in the data between the (in)felicity of languaging and participants' personal aspirations regarding who they want to be, how, and in which domains of life.

Figure 21: Becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be – theme and subthemes.



The six subthemes (*thriving = more than surviving; a person who speaks (x) in that kind of way; being a good mother; emigrating; travel and work around the world; getting a specific job*) capture differences and similarities amongst participants' life situations, and what notions of '(in)felicitous languaging' are significant in lived-ethical terms. Data covered by the subtheme (becoming) *a person who speaks (x) in that kind of way* typically constitute the felicity of languaging in a specific formal quality of language use. Thus, a certain quality of languaging marks its felicity. Data covered by the subtheme *thriving = more than surviving* concern an experiential felicity that is "to thrive". Hence, the felicity of languaging is again constituted in qualities of the process, practice, and experience of languaging itself. Data covered by the other subthemes instead construct the felicity of languaging by indicators that point beyond languaging itself. The subthemes *being a good mother, emigrating, travel and work around the world,* and *getting a specific job* foreground the felicity of languaging in ends and personal aspirations that are reached by 'good languaging'. Amongst these four, the subtheme of *being a good mother* sticks out.

Unlike the other subthemes, *being a good mother* is languaging-wise not immediately and explicitly claimed by institutionalized frameworks of 'good languaging', such as by requirements of language certificates for getting a specific job and passing immigration tests.

In this regard, the participants from the PP group demonstrate a resistance to construing the 'good languaging' of caregiving in terms of the Austrian immigration context. While it is beyond the scope this study to go into more detail here, it is worth mentioning that this kind of resistance may also be nourished from idea(l)s of excellence around the practice of 'caregiving', especially in relation to motherhood (see for example Thurer 1995; Dolderer et al. 2018; Krüger-Kirn & Wolf 2018)[86]. Another feature of resistance to the reality of disambiguation around 'good languaging' is that participants' care logic of felicitous languaging seems acknowledges a relational quality of agency. Both Clara and Nura's narratives position caregiving as something that goes hand in hand with assuming responsibility, but they emphasize that assuming responsibility depends upon (linguistic) resources needed to exercise care. In this regard their bottom-up view of languaging and caregiving considers situationally enabling and constraining conditions of their agency in languaging and assuming responsibilities of caregiving.

However, the data also show that the lived-ethical evaluation of being a good mother does not remain unaffected by the structural frameworks of 'good languaging' in the Austrian immigration context. Rather, the participants seem to experience ambiguities between a care-oriented understanding of felicitous languaging and the performance-oriented logic of German language programmes and the job market. To support these findings, I elaborate on two further narratives of the PP group (PP_Peregrina1) that are documented by Excerpt 5 above. The first example of experience of ambiguity is documented by the green card at the top right in Excerpt 5 (3.1). It shows the unfortunately illegible title "gute Punkte (gute Gefühle) [good points (good feelings)]" of the account of *Spracherleben* that the participant "Ruza" contributed. In her account, Ruza reports on the positive feelings she had when her daughter received a good grade—"a Doppel-Plus [a double plus]"—on a text the child had written in school. As we move the PP group enquiry from the phase of sharing narratives to interpretation and analysis, Ruza's account is the point of reference when participants identify a relationship amongst several accounts. This relationship concerns the felicity of languaging and the experience and idea of being a good mother. One participant puts it this way: she is working on her own language skills to be able to support her child in school, but more importantly to support the child with getting around in everyday life. As we discuss this relationship, we document our conversation as illustrated by Excerpt 5, '(3.2)': the note "Vorstellung/Idee von einer guten

[86] From an AL perspective researching relationships between ideals of the practice of languaging, motherhood, and the practice of caregiving in situations of immigration appears highly relevant. Such insights could help understand structurally anchored language/languaging-related inequalities that affect women, mothers in particular.

Mama [image/idea of a good mom]" is illustrated to be linked with "Sprache [language]" and "Kinder unterstützen [language → supporting children]".

Ruza's example and the enquiry that resulted from it illustrate how the participants' role as caregivers and mothers is affected by institutional definitions of 'good languaging' in language education and the situation of immigration in Austria. Good grades of their children at school are read by the participants as a reflection of how well they are able to provide support by their own language skills. This indicates that the institutional frameworks of 'good languaging' play into how they evaluate themselves as "good" mothers. The participants, however, also show great awareness of differences between languaging that is "good" in school and the kind of languaging that is needed in everyday life more generally. The participants made a difference between supporting their children in school and in life. In this regard, it seems to be the case that helping one's children to be able to mediate between and navigate different interactional spaces of interaction and language regimes is considered a crucial part of 'being a good mother'.

Turning to the final example of experiences of ambiguity, the data I refer to is documented by the blue card on the board in Excerpt 5 (marked by the number '(4.1)'; with participant's writing of "Prüfung [test]". Additionally, the notes framed by '(4.2)' document the group's further enquiry of it: "Prüfung; Vorbereitung, Stress, Druck [test; preparation, stress, pressure]". In the PP group, a participant, let us call her Anastasia, shares what she presents as a typical scene in her current life, in which she is preparing for a language test: when her husband comes home and asks whether she has taken care of the baby, has changed the diapers, and prepared some food, Anastasia says "Nein, ich habe Prüfung! [No, I have test!]" (PP_Peregrina1). The participants of the group provide context to this experience. They explain to me that passing language tests is a high-stake matter for many of them since their spot in the Peregrina course—and with it the free childcare during lessons—is tied to requirements set by the Austrian national employment service. A participant adds that she is studying very hard for a specific language exam which allows her to earn money by exploiting her language skills in different languages, if passed. The participant explains that she is training to become a legally certified interpreter for the languages of German and Arabic.

Anastasia's example illustrates clearly that the care-oriented idea of languaging competes for resources while she is trying to fit in with a kind of languaging that is institutionally defined, associated with the job market, and constituted very differently in a logic of performance. Her account captures the situation of a speaking subject who is confronted with ambiguous social realities of 'good languaging' that are pragmatically impossible to live up to at the same time. Furthermore, the other participants explanations about their high stakes in

passing language tests underline the significance of the structural standards of 'good languaging' in processes of subjectification at the intersections of the mother and immigrant subject: there is an existential need to fulfil those standards to maintain access to public resources in their situation as immigrant mothers, as well as a need to gain access to the job market (which is in turn significant to matters of emancipation and socio-economic security). In the group, there was great awareness of the significance of the institutionalized notion of 'good languaging' in their lives. However, the data I provided above (i.e. the examples of Clara, Nura, Ruza, and Anastasia) all demonstrate that participants also identify with a care-oriented notion of 'good languaging'. Based on these insights, it seems to be the case that the structural frameworks that regulate immigrants' rights to public resources via language matters in Austria, affect mothers in a way that they are demanded to decide between investing either in fitting in with the frameworks, or in being a 'good mother'. At the subject level, this situation may imply paradoxical judgments in lived-ethical terms: taking time for working on the languaging self can mean both "being a good mother" (because one can support children with getting around in everyday life and in school) and "being a bad mother" (because one neglects one's caring duties).

In sum, the examples analysed from the PP group with Peregrina gave a sense of what languaging means at the site that is "the" speaking, immigrant, mother subject in the Austrian context. The data gave insight into how women with care responsibilities, who are involved in immigration procedures in the Austrian context, need to juggle urgent demands for fulfilling language requirements, expectations of good motherhood, and aspirations for employment (and emancipation). I want to emphasize that the care-oriented understanding of '(in)felicitous languaging' was visible in this dataset only by the accounts of *Spracherleben* of the Peregrina PP group. The relative absence of care in the other accounts indicates that (languaging-related) matters of care are societally pushed to the supposedly "private" domain of parenthood, notably to the responsibilities of women. Additionally, the examples of the Peregrina PP group demonstrated a more general conflict between the neoliberal logic of performance and a logic that is based on care. When it comes to managing resources at the subject level, institutionally enforced images of subjectification (like those related to 'good languaging') have good chances of being privileged over others, as they are politically tied to the urgencies of earning money and accessing social welfare. This way, the neoliberal logic of performance pervades the supposedly individual and private aspirations of the (languaging) subject. At the level of care institutions, similar observations have been made by Lindseth (2014b). He points out, under the heading of "new public management", education and health care institutions have taken measures of standardization to secure good practice. While these measures provide guidance

by rules, replicability by standardized methods, and quality assurance, they lead to a narrow and pre-defined "goodness" of practice which necessarily ignores the individuality of the situation and the needs, talents, and wishes of humans participating in the (care) interaction (Lindseth 2014b).

Concluding section 8.2, I have analysed languaging-related experiences of tension/ambiguity as expressed by participants in the Austrian immigration context. I have provided an overview of the structural frameworks which enforce a disambiguated reality of 'good languaging' and discussed how this reality is reflected in participants' *Spracherleben*, as well as in their resistance and subjection to it. If we consider that people in contemporary times of globalization and neoliberalization are most likely to be confronted with various and varying idea(l)s of 'good languaging', the data of this section underline how strongly legal and socio-political frameworks can impact upon who we can be as languaging subjects and how. Moreover, the findings beg the question of whether and in how far a strategy of disambiguation around 'good languaging' is pragmatically and logically reasonable for societies. If it is a fact that speakers today participate in various and fluid spaces of interaction which are linguistically and socially structured in different ways (Busch 2017b: 342–343), a societal strategy of disambiguation implies to ignore and silence experiences that languaging subjects make in this linguistically fluid and varying world. Turning to the subsequent section, there is a noticeable silence in the dataset about the limitations of language in accounts of *Spracherleben* that relate to ELF communication, while expectations of the speaking subject are high.

8.3. Great expectations of the languaging "sELF"

Examining the ELF-related data of *Spracherleben*, it shows that participants construed the felicity of languaging via ELF mainly around themes of work and travel, both imagining a geographically global scale. Additionally, regarding the favourability bias in ELF research, the data reveal a parallel between the academic (i.e. specialized) and elementary discourse formations of the languaging dispositive: the resource of ELF is framed primarily by positive features like having power, the felicity and success of languaging is construed by having "it" in one's repertoire, the interactional conditions of communicative space and agency, however, are hardly taken into account. As one participant put it, "[s]peaking English gave me the power to connect to others, make friends around the globe, learn and understand other cultures and work in a company which operates worldwide." (N7: 14–32). The analyses I provide in this section support these findings and give insight into the great expectations participants have of their languaging "sELF". I explore and discuss what these findings mean for the lived-ethical significance and the social construction of the practice of 'languaging' that is 'ELF

communication'. The data I refer to are accounts of *Spracherleben* that include explicit reference to English as a linguistic resource and/or described situations that fit the technical term of ELF communication (as defined by Seidlhofer 2011b: 7)[87]. Participants themselves typically used 'English' where the technical term is 'ELF'. I thus represent the technical interpretation of participants' own wording as 'E(LF)'.

Looking into the "ELF data" of this study, the felicity of using E(LF) was construed mainly around themes of work and travel. With reference to the already introduced cluster of themes on the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging' (8.1.1, Figure 18), the accounts pattern under the theme *becoming the (lingual) Self one envisions to be* in the form of frequent occurrences with the subthemes of *travel and work around the world*, *getting a specific job*, and *emigrating.* Examples of data that make these themes are provided below: in Excerpt 6, an online survey participant frames the resources of E(LF) as a door-opener to seizing international opportunities of education, travel, and work; similarly, in Excerpt 7, the interview participant Carl considers E(LF) as an economic resource that opens "the entire job market in Austria" (lines 354–355), rather than a communicative resource *per se*.

Excerpt 6: Travel and work around the world (N7: 2–13).

After I graduated high school one could think I should be confident
using the English language since I have been studying this language for over 12
years (if you count primary school). However, I myself did not feel ready to
speak English with others. I really liked the language but especially when
hearing native speakers or watching a series or movie in English I had quite a
hard time to understand them. Also on my trips abroad I preferred others to do
the talking instead of talking myself as I was afraid to make a mistake.
Secretly I envied the others because they were confident to talk to others and
although they did not speak perfectly according to the "rules".
I did not want to give up as my goal was to do an exchange semester, travel and
work around the world- and to be able to do this speaking German is not enough
of course.

[87] I provided this definition in chapter 01 (1.2). For the reader's convenience it is repeated here: Seidlhofer (2011b: 7, omitted emphasis) describes "ELF as any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option".

Excerpt 7: English as a door-opener to the entire job market in Austria (Carl_N108: 353–359).

353	CAR:	((…)) my wife has / (-)
354		slightly different (-) but (-) it's also a little bit easier for her \ because ehm (-) she has the
355		entire job market in austria open to her already / and (-) so ehm (-) she's an english
356		teacher / she's actually working at an international school now \ but with that i mean (--)
357		it's low stakes because for her to get the visa / i think she needs (-) to demonstrate
358		a one or a two (--) in a year or two / but because she has a degree already / she doesn't
359		have to show anything \ (--) so in that case it's low stakes \

Additionally, the two excerpts give insight into the significant role E(LF) plays in the participants' aspirations for becoming a person who can work and travel the world, and who can communicate with people of whatever language and culture. In this regard, E(LF) is attributed great power on a local and global scale. Carl for example, the American immigrant who has lived in Austria for about two years at the time of the interview, considered E(LF) as a door-opener to the "entire job market in Austria" (note that English is no official language in Austria, even though it is the most dominant language in second language education). The global scale of power attribution becomes evident when comparing the E(LF)-related data with accounts of *Spracherleben* referring to other linguistic resources in relation to travel and work. With the latter, participants' aspirations of work and travel around the world are directed at specific countries and communities, as illustrated by the following excerpts: in Excerpt 8, learning Spanish and being able to use it successfully is associated with the felicity of a holiday; in Excerpt 9, learning German and being able to use it successfully is associated with a short-term business trip. The dataset hence reveals a particularity about E(LF)-related accounts of *Spracherleben*, which is that participants refer to global(ized) ends when it comes to personal aspirations relevant for lived-ethical evaluations.

Excerpt 8: To better enjoy the holiday (N40: 6).

6	Spanisch lernen um den Urlaub besser zu genießen *learning Spanish to better enjoy the holiday*

Excerpt 9: In anticipation of a business trip (N108: 2–3).

2	In 2019, I took a business trip to [city in Austria] from the US. I spent
3	a few months learning German in anticipation of the trip

Several accounts of *Spracherleben* also construed E(LF) as a resource and situation of communication that is biographically significant to how they have overcome challenges and have turned into the kind of global citizens they aspired to be. In Excerpt 10 below, an online survey participant describes E(LF) as the resource that gave them the security and ability to connect with people from all over the world, "even though it was not [their] native language" (N5: 10–18). In a similar manner, in Excerpt 11 below, another participant from the

online survey frames the use of E(LF) as an experience of empowerment in communicating with interlocutors from various linguacultural backgrounds. In Excerpt 11, the participant describes experiences made during an academic exchange semester and elaborates that the experience of using E(LF) successfully with others although they all had "different roots and English accents" was "the best part of this all" (N7: 20–24); when some words where not understood, "this did not really matter" (N7: 24). In lines 31–32, the participant even positions the positive experience with E(LF) as one that can be generalized to every speaking subject: "I think it would help anyone understand others—especially other cultures—better". Together, Excerpt 10 and Excerpt 11 illustrate how participants link E(LF) use with widely positive outcomes and experiences. This positive and empowering connection is explicit in line 17 of Excerpt 10 (N5) where E(LF) use is associated with "professional/academic benefits", and lines 29–31 of Excerpt 11 (N7), where E(LF) is construed as the language (use) that gives speakers the power to "work in a company which operates world wide".

Excerpt 10: English as the one thing that gave me security (N5: 2–18).

When I was 16, I spent one month in [placename] learning English
with my best friend. We travelled together for more than 12 hours and when we
had finally arrived and had made it through customs and had gotten our luggage,
we met with people from EF and were separated since we lived with different
host families. So there I was: 16, tired and exhausted from travelling the
longest I have ever travelled, in a different country, on a different continent
surrounded by teenagers from all over the word who told me how impressive it was
that I travelled so far on my own when I was only 16. On the outside I was
smiling but to be honest all I wanted was to cry (again). But I had one thing
that gave me security. Even though we were people from all over the world, we
could easily communicate. We all spoke English and what made me feel even better
was that I had no problem to understand anyone or talk to anyone. My knowledge
of English offered me security in a very stressful situation. English made me
feel safe even though it was not my own native language. In that moment I knew
that knowing languages other than one's native language offers not only
academic/ professional benefits but helps to connect with other people one maybe
couldn't connect any other way.

Excerpt 11: English gave me the power to connect to others around the globe (N7: 14–32).

14 After taking courses at university in English I got a little more confident as
15 it became quite clear that hardly anyone speaks English perfectly (at the
16 University). So making mistakes did not feel so bad anymore.
17 The "final test" for me was my exchange semester in Canada which meant for me-
18 if I can "survive" there with my English skills I should be able to go anywhere.
19 And here is where my language experience started.
20 During the time there I have met so many people from other countries: Sweden,
21 Turkey, China, Brazil, Chile, ... and the best part of this all was- although we
22 all have different roots and English accents we all could understand each other.
23 Of course here and there was a word which was new, which one did not understand
24 but this did not really matter.
[...]
29 Speaking English gave me the power to connect to others, make friends around the
30 globe, learn and understand other cultures and work in a company which operates
31 worldwide. I wish anyone could have an experience like this as I think it would
32 help anyone understand others -especially other cultures- better.

Considering these positive framings of E(LF), a critical point is revealed when comparing the E(LF)-related accounts of *Spracherleben* to the rest of the dataset: in comparison to the data from the PP groups with LangLife and Peregrina, participants' plans of travel and work around the world in relation to E(LF), speak of relatively privileged conditions under which these are made. This privilege is evident by the above provided excerpts (6, 7, 10, & 11), which present E(LF) in an unanimously positive meaning for the process of subjectification. Excerpt 6, the online survey contribution N7, for example, positions the confident use of E(LF) as a central condition for being able to do an academic exchange semester and to work and travel around the world—but not as a central condition for gaining access to education and work as such. A privileged position of migration is also evident from Excerpt 7 (Carl_N108), where Carl speaks about how being an English teacher means low stakes as regards immigration to Austria from the US because it would grant access to the entire job market (of schools) in Austria. This outlook stands in stark contrast to the earlier introduced data from the Austrian immigration context, contributed by Mubashir and Anastasia (8.2). They struggled to fit in with the demands for German and worked hard on their languaging selves to gain access to the job market. In consideration of this contrast, it can be said that the E(LF) data in this study capture a rather privileged experience of globalization and migration, i.e. a view in which working the languaging self is an opportunity for constituting oneself as a global citizen who can work and travel the world, rather than a requirement.

A peculiar point arises about these insights into the kind of E(LF)-related *Spracherleben* captured by the dataset of this study. Taking into account the share of data which were provided by participants with experiences of forced migration, the absence of references to E(LF) use in

their accounts (such as the use of ELF in situations of the refugee journey, and in their daily lives in the new linguistic environment) is rather curious. If ELF is *the* means of communication in linguaculturally diverse settings, it can be assumed that the resource plays a role in the *Spracherleben* of participants in less privileged situations too. This assumption is supported by literature, by the already mentioned studies by Guido (2008, 2012, 2018) on ELF in the immigration domains, for example (chapter 4, 4.2.1). ELF can also play an important role in everyday-life conversations and building relationships in the Austrian immigration context, as found by Radinger (2018). In this previous study, I investigated the *Spracherleben* and availability of ELF amongst persons of the local Viennese population and asylum seekers who had just arrived in Austria in 2015. In the light of these studies, I would argue that the absence of references to E(LF) in the accounts of *Spracherleben* provided by participants in the Austrian immigration context and in less favourable situations in this study, is not a result of the irrelevance of the phenomenon in participants' lives. Rather, it seems to be the case that,

a) if asked to share an account of *Spracherleben*, the participants focused rather on what bothers them most in their current situations of immigration to Austria, such as the experiences of ambiguity discussed above (8.2);
b) unfavourable conditions for languaging are not part of the socially constructed reality about E(LF) as a global means of communication, which points to a parallel between the specialized (academic) and the elementary discourse formations of the languaging dispositive.

Eventually, there is also a methodological implication that follows from 'b)'; if there is no socially established "language game" of talking about E(LF) in relation to less favourable conditions of communication, it might be necessary to explicitly ask for the more challenging sides of *Spracherleben* in relation to E(LF) encounters.

Furthermore, through the perspectives of body image and lived-ethical evaluations of the languaging self, we can take a more critical look at the overly positive notions that participants communicated about having and using 'E(LF)' as a linguistic resource. The accounts, rarely mention basic limitations of language, languaging, humans, and situational constraints that may pose a hindrance to "success" with E(LF) communication. Thus, the unanimously positive construal of E(LF) seems to imply great, even inflated expectations of the languaging "sELF". Data excerpts that I have already provided in this section above illustrate these expectations. Excerpt 6 and Excerpt 11 were both taken from the online survey contribution N7; the narrative in which a participant describes their *Spracherleben* around an academic exchange semester abroad. In lines 2–13 of N7 (Excerpt 6), the participant refers to the time before the exchange semester and reports on their orientation towards English native

speaker norms and their lack of confidence in using E(LF). This is contrasted later in N7, when the participant frames the positive experience they made during the exchange semester upon using E(LF) without worrying about "mistakes" too much (Excerpt 11): the combination of this confidence with the resource of E(LF) is construed as a hyper-connective "power to connect to others" (Excerpt 11, N7: 29). This also shows in lines 17–18 of N7 (Excerpt 11), when the participant describes the exchange semester as the "final test"—"if I can 'survive' there with my English skills I should be able to go anywhere". In the contribution of another participant (N5: 10–12, Excerpt 10), a similar framing is evident: the participant writes that E(LF) was "the one thing that gave me security. Even though we were people from all over the world, we could easily communicate". Considering the lived-ethical significance of 'E(LF)' as a social practice, these data suggest a kind of mathematical formula (i.e. "having E(LF) + confidence"); if speaking subjects follow it, they would be able to fulfil personal aspirations around becoming global citizens. This formula, however, ignores how the favourability of situations impacts upon whether speakers may unlock the power of E(LF) as a global resource of communication, and moreover, the fact that also ELF communication has its limitations as a linguistic resource.

Regarding participants' great expectations of E(LF) and of their languaging sELF, the data point to an amplification of experiences of irritation when it comes to feeling lonely. Some of the accounts of *Spracherleben* refer to E(LF) as the resource that is known and wanted but un-available in the given situation. Since E(LF) in these data is also framed as by the allure of a hyper-connective force, its un-availability is used to explain feelings of un-connectedness. This is the case in Excerpt 12 below, which is taken from N48 (the online survey contribution of the follow-up interview participant 'Peter'). In this narrative, Peter shares an account of *Spracherleben* that is structured around three different situations: a situation of misunderstanding in childhood, his current situation as a person working in academia, and as an Austrian emigrant living in one of the biggest cities in Eastern Asia. Excerpt 12 provides the lines where Peter elaborates on the latter.

Excerpt 12: You can expect competent English-speaking staff at least at the central immigration office (N48: 29–45).

29 For example recently I had to go to the immigration office to ask about potential work visa solutions. Once again, I could ask my
30 questions and I think I understood the answer but of course being a visa matter I wanted to be extra sure. So when I asked the clerk if he can explain in English, which of course he can't, I was
31 mildly annoyed. I then asked if or when some English speaking staff will be available which (after waiting for 10 minutes for the clerk to find out if something like that even exists) was denied with
32 a "I don't know if there will ever be someone available (in [name of main language of the country to which Peter immigrated])". Of course waiting for hours to get this rather unsatisfactory answer is frustrating. Having experience with the immigration
33 office I expected that. So I sent an email with the same questions afterwards because the [people in the country immigrated to] are usually much better in written English than spoken. The reply simply was that they cannot
34 comment on visa matters over email and I should please come to the counter--the same one I had left a day earlier without any solution to my problem.
[…]
37 I know that it is basically my fault for not speaking the [local] language perfectly but one would expect that in a [several] million people country a *central immigration* office would at least have
38 competent English speaking staff.
[…]
42 I am not skilled enough to
43 just chat up random people or I am not in situations (like work) where this would happen naturally. Sometimes this makes life in [country name] a little lonely. Additionally, finding a romantic partner is also
44 more difficult because it is harder to meet people and the pool of potential mates is smaller. I think that shows how powerful and necessary language is to be able to belong to a social group, it is
45 the main reason of communication--especially for deeper, more meaningful communication.

Excerpt 12 (N48: 29–45) documents a discursive link between lacking language skills in the language of one's current environment, the un-availability of E(LF) as a shared means of communication, and the infelicity of connecting with others and getting around. At the time of data generation, Peter had been living in Eastern Asia for about five years. He had taken language lessons to prepare for emigration and repeatedly reports in the interview (Peter_N48) and the narrative (N48) that he is getting around well with the language in everyday life, but experiences troubles in high-stake matters (e.g. getting a visa, Excerpt 12, N48: 23–38) and "deeper, more meaningful communication" (Excerpt 12, N48: 45). To feel secure and be felicitous in this regard, Peter deems it necessary to either speak "the [local] language perfectly" or find an interlocutor who is a "competent" E(LF) speaker (Excerpt 12, N48: 37). In lines 29–37, Peter builds up a narrative of how he is trying very hard to meet the immigration officials in their language by using it himself, politely enquiring about the use of English and the possibility of finding someone who speaks E(LF). As he reports, however, this is refused by

reasons which "annoy" and "frustrate" him (Excerpt 12, N48: 31–32). Regardless of the actual reasons why E(LF) was un-available for use in the visa situation on which Peter reports, line 37 (Excerpt 12, N48) gives evidence of how the participant considers E(LF) as a resource which can generally be expected in international and official contexts of interaction: "one would expect that in a [several] million people country a *central immigration* office would at least have competent English speaking staff." These expectations do not fulfil in the environment he lives in, however.

Excerpt 12 furthermore illustrates the role E(LF) communication plays in the participants' explanation of feeling lonely. On a more personal note (Excerpt 12, N48: 42–45), Peter draws a link between the un-availability of E(LF), not speaking the main language of the country he immigrated to perfectly, and the (in)felicity of establishing deeper relationships with others and with "finding a romantic partner". The felicity of languaging, be it via E(LF) or via "perfect [language name]", is thereby constituted in whether it serves the purpose of finding a romantic partner and establishing deeper social bonds in the environment the participant lived in at the time. As it is framed in the account, however, he remains infelicitous in these regards since E(LF) is not available and because he does not speak the new language "perfectly". This, as the participant puts forward, "makes life in [the country of immigration] a little lonely" (Excerpt 12, N48: 43). Since feelings of loneliness are frequently topicalized across the dataset, I investigate these further in the following section. Before, however, I summarize the findings related accounts of *Spracherleben* that referred to E(LF) explicitly.

Concluding the ELF-focused findings, the insights reported on in this section highlighted the (discursive) status of E(LF) as *the* global means of communication. By this status, it seems to assume considerable significance for processes of subjectification of speaking subjects—at least for those who are in the privileged position of identifying with E(LF) as an economic resource that grants access to the global labour market, and/or with E(LF) as the communicative means of travelling and connecting with people around the world. In the present study, the lived-ethical significance of E(LF) was demonstrated by data contributed by people in rather favourable situations of migration and travel, while references to E(LF) in data from participants in the Austrian immigration context, with experiences of forced migration, were widely absent. This absence indicates that in the Austrian immigration context immigrants cannot exploit the "hyper-connective" force and economic power that E(LF) seems to have for the more privileged immigrants (like Carl from the US, who considered English as a door-opener to the entire job market in Austria). Studies show, however, that in other contexts the pursuit of a better life motivates people to learn English, as it is considered an important tool in economic migration (Erling et al. 2012; Erling et al. 2019). Additionally, in the light of

studies which give evidence of the role of E(LF) in situations of forced migration (Guido 2012; Radinger 2018), the findings point to a parallel between the favourability bias at the academic level of ELF communication and the elementary discourses around ELF communication. For the languaging "sELF", the overly positive framings of E(LF) communication as a communicative and economic resource implies great, even overrated expectations of the resources as well as of the speaking subject: E(LF) supposedly solves the problem of lingual communication, fulfils biographical aspirations towards global citizenship, and makes positive relationships with others possible regardless of linguacultural backgrounds. E(LF) communication is construed as a kind of hyper-connective force one may unlock by learning to use ELF and by using it confidently.

8.4. Linguistic loneliness

Across the dataset, the accounts of *Spracherleben* thematize experiences of connectedness with others based on languaging. This was pointed out before, when I provided the thematic map on experiences of '(in)felicitous languaging' (8.1.2, Figure 19). Codes like *experiencing resonance, being able to laugh together,* and *feeling connected with others* capture a felicity of languaging that is constituted in a positive lingual relatedness with others. The same kind of felicity, however, is frequently also thematized by accounts of *Spracherleben* that tell of a failure in reaching such a quality in lingual relatedness. These experiences are encapsulated by codes like *feeling not understood, feeling foreign, feeling alone,* and *being hopelessly caught in a "ewiger Tunnel [eternal tunnel]"*. In several of the corresponding accounts, participants literally refer to "loneliness". In other cases, reference to experiences of loneliness is more subtle in the form of an awareness of a threat to participants' lingual relatedness with others. In this section, I examine data which give evidence of a phenomenon, to which I refer as 'linguistic loneliness'.

I define linguistic loneliness, based on the data, as the experience of loneliness that is related to languaging. It occurs when the gesture of languaging we make towards the world and others is *in*felicitous in acting upon one's existential lingual relatedness with the world—when this gesture cannot be enacted, remains without resonance, and/or is punished by reprimand. It is thus also a phenomenon which relates to lived ethics. For when we come to inhabit a subject position of linguistic loneliness more permanently, we are likely to integrate it into our body image and consider ourselves as lingual beings (i.e. humans) incapable of relating to others and the world via languaging. We may consider *ourselves* infelicitous, not just our languaging practices. This can in turn affect the availability of communicative resources that we have at hand for solving the problem of lingual communication in situ. Furthermore, I think of the

experience of linguistic loneliness as one that confronts us with languaging as a lived philosophical problem. When we experience linguistic loneliness, we grow aware of the ultimate situation of being lingual, i.e. of being existentially related with others via language. In the case of linguistic loneliness, however, this existential relatedness takes, for whatever reasons, the form of experiencing the inability to act upon it. Based on the data, this experience involves the speaking subjects' observation that others are able to put to practice their languaging capabilities and knowledge of what it is like to do so too from earlier experiences. In this regard, linguistic loneliness appears as an experience everyone may face at points in their lives just by being lingual.

Excerpt 13 below is an account of *Spracherleben* from the online survey (N120), in which the participant explicitly refers to "sich fremd und abgetrennt fühlen [feeling foreign and disconnected]". The participant used these words in the online survey item which asked to point out the most important aspects of their experience. The narrative of N120 is set in the context of travel and work. Summarizing the content of this narrative, the participant first frames the account of *Spracherleben* as one that tells of an "incidence where [they] felt truly foreign and not understood" (N120: 3). They provide the context of work and travel and indicate a reason for their troublesome experience: "Without much preparation I travelled to China to serve a traineeship in my holidays" (N120: 2). The account then moves on to describing how the lack of appropriate means for (lingual) interaction in the new environment caught the participant by surprise when they wanted to buy food (N120: 6–8). Only in the situation itself they realized that the seemingly simple procedure of buying food suddenly posed a considerable challenge. The participant reports that they developed a reasonable strategy for resolving the situation by just buying food they were familiar with, i.e. bananas (N120: 9). However, even this strategy, they continue, proved useless without knowledge of writing in Chinese language. The participant shares that the situation brought about the feeling of "utter desperation" mixed with feeling "truly foreign" (N120: 11–12). The participant adds that the feeling of disconnection from society was re-enforced by their foreign (western) looks in the given social environment (N120: 12–15). The participant reports that they eventually resorted to an improvised dinner consisting of crackers only (N120: 15–16). The contribution ends with the participants' evaluation of the experience as one that is retrospectively funny but troublesome in the very situation (N120: 16–17).

Excerpt 13: The experience of feeling foreign and detached (N120: 1–28).

1 Mein Spracherlebnis ist an meine erste große und alleinige Auslandsreise gekoppelt.
My account of Spracherleben is coupled with my first big and on-my-own travels abroad
2 Ich bin ohne große Vorbereitungen nach China gereist um dort einen Ferialjob zu
Without much preparation I travelled to China to serve a traineeship in my holidays.
3 leisten. Das Ereignis, wo ich mich richtig fremd gefühlt habe und unverstanden
The incidence, where I felt truly foreign and not understood
4 ist der Ankunftsabend. Der Chaffeur der Firma hat mich vom Flughafen abgeholt
was the evening of arrival. The driver of the company picked me up from the airport
5 und direkt in meine Firmenwohnung gebracht. Mir noch gesagt wo ich Geld abheben
and brought me directly to my flat provided by the company. Told me where I can draw out money
6 kann und wo der Supermarkt ist. Nach der langen Reise hatte ich natürlich Hunger
and where the supermarket is. After this long journey I was hungry of course.
7 und ging einkaufen. Aber erst im Supermarkt habe ich realisiert, dass ich gar
and I went shopping. But only in the supermarket I realized that I cannot
8 nichts lesen kann, geschweige denn diese Sprache sprechen kann. Alles erschien
read, let alone speak this language. Everything was
9 mir fremd deswegen, wollte ich kaufen was ich bereits kannte - Bananen. Aber ich
foreign to me, so I wanted to buy what was already familiar to me – Bananas. But I
10 wusste nicht wie ich die Bananen abwiegen soll, weil ich die chinesischen
did not know how to weigh the Bananas because I could not read the Chinese
11 Schriftzeichen nicht lesen konnte. Das Gefühl dabei war eigentlich reine
signs. The feeling I had was actually utter
12 Verzweiflung gemischt mit dem Gefühl mich richtig fremd zu fühlen. Auch mein
desperation mixed with the feeling of feeling truly foreign. Also my
13 äußeres (westliches) Erscheinungsbild trug dazu dabei, dass mich die Leute schon
outer (western) appearance made people recognize me as
14 von weiten als Ausländer erkannten und das Gefühl von der Gesellschaft
a foreigner already from far away which added to the feeling of being separated from society
15 abgetrennt zu sein verstärkten. Gelöst hab ich das Problem in dem ich an dem
I solved the problem by
16 Abend nur Tuk Cracker gegessen habe. Im nachhinein eine lustige Geschichte,
eating only Tuk-Crackers this evening. In retrospect a funny story
17 schwierig aber in der Situation selbst.
but troublesome in the situation itself.

Reading N120 through the lenses of phenomenology and lived-ethics, it can be said that the narrative centres on a moment of irritation as it is typical of narrative accounts of *Spracherleben* (Busch 2022: 297–298). In the given case, it is a moment where taken-for-granted availability of language and experiences of connectedness with others were no longer a given. Furthermore, while it is an account of temporal and relatively privileged conditions of relocation, the narrative tells of the participants' strong experience of having a linguistic repertoire that no longer "fits" (cf. Busch 2017b: 340–341). Additionally, as regards lived ethics, the participant seems to see the felicity of languaging in whether they are capable of putting their linguistic resources to fulfil the purposes of getting around in everyday life and

feeling at least a basic lingual connectedness with others. In the account, however, the protagonist is infelicitous with languaging in both of these terms: the participant thematizes a lingual relatedness that is characterized by the quality of being foreign and disconnected from others in languaging terms; the participant presents a protagonist who failed to realize the importance of the fit between their own linguistic repertoire and the new linguistic environment for mastering everyday life basics and for establishing and experiencing a connection with the people and society surrounding them; even though the protagonist eventually finds a (non-lingual) strategy to get some food, they are positioned as a person who failed to prepare languaging-wise as well as to resolve the situation in a way that could be described as felicitous in managing everyday life and relating to others via languaging. Finally, the account underlines the protagonist's dependency on others—when they were with the driver of the company, they received support and were still o.k. (N120: 4–6).

In sum, N120 is an account of *Spracherleben* that illustrates a lingual relatedness with others that is characterized by *not getting around* and *being dependent on others*. These themes (8.1.2, Figure 19) frequently occur with data of situations in which linguistic resources are not easily available. The participant who provides N120 seems lucky, if we consider that, as far as we know from the account, they found themselves in this situation of linguistic loneliness only temporarily (they were on a work-related travel abroad). Beyond the individual and biographical situation captured by N120, however, the account gives an idea of what it means to inhabit a situation and experience of linguistic loneliness for longer periods of time, and/or hold it as part of one's body image (which is likely if one inhabits such a position long enough): one is likely to become, so to say, a speaking subject who is existentially related with others and the world via language, but this relatedness has the experiential quality of existential loneliness and disconnection from others.

Like N120, the following data from the follow-up interview with Peter (Excerpt 14) thematize experiences of loneliness in relation to languaging. Additionally, they give insight into how great expectations of ELF as a resource for international communication can feature in experiences of linguistic loneliness. For reasons of space, Excerpt 14 provides the translated English version of the transcript (the German original is provided in Appendix I).

Excerpt 14: A level that is necessary for building friendships (Peter_N48: 945–955).

945	INT:	*Okay, so this also means a certain degree of loneliness, which you also*
946		*described for now in [country of immigration]? That you just do not get rid of now,*
947		*at least as far as language is concerned? No matter how much language you learn, even if*
948		*you speak it perfectly, it will not work out?*
949	PET:	*If I predestine loneliness towards being a [name of people of the country of immigration], then*
950		*I never get rid of the loneliness. But if I say for me it is enough that*
951		*I can linguistically converse with people so well that everything*
952		*is no problem at all, then, even when I will never be a [name of people of the country of immigration], I can of course*
953		*get rid of the loneliness. But I would rather say the second, so for me it would rather be*
954		*the second. I don't care about never becoming a [name of people of the country of immigration], I mean*
955		*I am, why would I want to become a [name of people of the country of immigration], I mean I am an Austrian*
[...]		*((...))*
961		*But I am somebody. That I am linguistically a bit lonely now is actually*
962		*my fault, hundred percent. Because if I invested more energy in learning [the language of the country of immigration]*
963		*then I would be much better already. For whatever reason,*
964		*also because I am somewhat lazy and so on and so forth, I just do not do it, so*
965		*the loneliness is self-inflicted anyways. But it is self-inflicted*
966		*based on language.*
[...]		*((...))*
1000		*So maybe one has to know, people, the fewest people,*
1001		*so the fewest people in [the country of immigration] know English, which means I*
1002		*just cannot talk to many people. It is just, the pool of people I can*
1003		*talk with at all is extremely small. This is a problem.*
[...]		*((...))*
1006		*I mean, I am not*
1007		*fundamentally lonely in this country. But when I compare it to*
1008		*Austria where I, for example, hey [first name] what do you do? Do you have time today? Hey*
1009		*let us play computer games, order pizza! Good we'll do it. Just these,*
1010		*these relationships you cannot build. Or build up with much more difficulties in a country*
1011		*where the pool of people with whom you can communicate at all, at*
1012		*a level that is necessary for building friendships. After all it is about*
1013		*friendships. Not about, about the belonging to a group. But about*
1014		*friendships. If you cannot build that, then of course you have a*
1015		*certain level of loneliness.*
1016	INT:	*And it works, however, so when someone knows English, it works?*
1017	PET:	*Yes. So we are now already a bit older and work and have a bit*
1018		*less time. And of course one meets less often and so on. But principally,*
1019		*yes it works. So if one knows English then this was never a problem.*

Excerpt 14 provides a sequence from the follow-up interview with Peter, the participant who emigrated from Austria to a country in the East of Asia. I already drew upon his data in the previous section on expectations of the sELF (8.3, Excerpt 12). In this section I zoom in on parts of the interview in which Peter referred to experiences of loneliness explicitly. Considering the experiences he describes, in contrast to N120 above, the experience of language-related loneliness occurs *despite* participants' preparation for linguistically diverse settings and relocation as well as their continuing efforts on making their linguistic repertoire fit. As Peter explained, he had prepared for relocation by learning the language of the country he emigrated to and was still engaged in doing so at the time of the interview. At the time we recorded the interview, Peter had lived in the new country for about five years. This is also a difference to N120, Peter's situation of relocation was of a more permanent kind.

Excerpt 14 starts with a clarification sequence in the interview, in which I ask Peter whether he thinks that the loneliness he describes in his online survey contribution (N48) could be resolved at all by learning a local language to perfection (Peter_N48: 945–948). I posed this question based on his online survey contribution (N48), in which he explicitly writes about experiences of loneliness and isolation at several instances ("Sometimes this makes life in [country name] a bit lonely" (N48: 43), "I feel very isolated" (N48: 71), "makes me feel isolated" (N48: 73). The response that Peter gives demonstrates his awareness of different ideas of "good" language use. In lines 949–955 (Peter_N48, Excerpt 14), he outlines two possible conceptual orientations relevant for the determination of his loneliness. The first idea, which he opposes to in the interview, is oriented towards the idea of connecting with others by becoming like the people of the country he immigrated to (Peter_N48: 949–950). The second idea is oriented towards communicative effectiveness: Peter puts forward that he can "of course get rid of his loneliness" (Peter_N48: 952–953) by assuming an attitude that it is sufficient to be able to "linguistically converse with people so well that everything is no problem at all then, even if I will never be a [name of people of the country of immigration]" (Peter_N48: 952–953). His data are somewhat contradictory, however. Although Peter makes his position and attitude of sufficient communication explicit, he later highlights (Peter_N48: 961–966) that he needs to invest more time in learning the new language to reach the necessary level to overcome his loneliness. He could resolve it by investing more time in language learning, he says, and sees the experience of loneliness he goes through as "self-inflicted based on language" (Peter_N48: 965–966).

In contrast to N120 from the first example above, the loneliness that Peter describes does not reside in a minimal lingual connection with others in his surroundings. Peter has worked hard to increase the fit of his linguistic repertoire with the new environment and,

following his elaborations, he is overall content with how he gets around with his acquired language skills in his everyday life. The only exception are the domains of friendship and romantic relationships. The loneliness he describes concerns the experience of not being able to establish such deeper relationships and conversations via languaging—which he seeks with just a handful of other persons. As he emphasizes, "after all it is about friendships not about the belonging to a group but about friendships" (Peter_N48: 1012–1014). If you cannot build friendships through your language use, "then of course you have a certain level of loneliness" (Peter_N48: 1014–1015), he continues. While Peter considers this loneliness as consequence of not investing enough time in learning the new target language, he positions E(LF) use as a linguistic resource where there is never a problem as soon as someone knows English (Peter_N48: 1019). In this regard, Peter demonstrates great expectations of E(LF) as a communicative resource amongst speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds. However, as he observes E(LF) communication as widely un-available for use in the country he was living in at the moment, Peter's data also frame a kind of isolation in solving the problem of lingual communication: he considers himself as the only one who can help him with getting rid of his "language based" loneliness and adds that it is after all "self-inflicted" by laziness (Peter_N48: 1000–1003).

Concluding the analysis of Excerpt 14, Peter's data illustrate an example where the participant assumes a view of the problem of communication that resembles conceptualizations of ELF communication, i.e. it is about function, not perfection. At the same time, the participant imagines an ideal of problem-free language use in ELF communication and locates the source of his loneliness in the un-availability of ELF and his lack of effort for becoming a better user of the language of the country he immigrated to. Moreover, the participant emphasizes his supposed laziness as a reason for his self-inflicted loneliness that is "based on language" (Peter_N48: 964–966). This is in turn reminiscent of a neoliberal narrative of overcoming troubles by effort and hard work. While in Excerpt 14, ELF communication is framed as the *solution* to linguistic loneliness, the use of ELF features as its *source* in the following data provided by IP4, i.e. Tina (Excerpt 15).

Excerpt 15: English as a lingua franca is more like a business (Tina_N119: 474–481).

474	TIN:	you know / (-) and (-) i think / but in
475		using english as a lingua franca / (-) i do think (-) sometimes it does / (-) it can feel alone ehm \
476		if you're not a native speaker / because (-) if you don't have (--) the vocabulary / (-) to
477		express (-) you know more personal thoughts / or opinions / or (-) you know other than
478		business \ (-) or other than professional matters / that can be very isolating / (--) and then
479		i think (-) to kind of (-) ehm compound to build on that / if you're using it as a lingua franca in
480		like a professional setting already / (-) then there's more of the expectation to (-) hold
481		back the more personal parts of yourself \ (--) ehm (-) if that makes sense
[…]		((...))
505		you know i think (-) if i were expected to be able
506		to use german in a business setting \ (-) or a company setting \ (-) on the one hand it
507		would almost be (-) easier (-) ehm (-) because i don't (--) there's / (-) it's almost more (-) of a set
508		vocabulary that you need to know \ (-) and you know that kind of reminds me one of
509		[name]'s coworkers / you know his english is fantastic / but he says (--)
510		he was commenting ( ) the other week / he says it's so much easier to talk (-) about (-)
511		you know (-) tech (-) things in english \ you know when i start thinking of myself / or i
512		start to want to talk about myself / (-) he goes (-) it gets really hard / i don't always
513		have the vocabulary \ (-) so it's almost like english has a more (-) for him english is like
514		the business vocabulary / (-) and the rest of it is like obviously is (-) is (-) not there / (-) so i think
515		that might / (-) especially if you (-) if you bring in english as the lingua franca / (-)
516		it's almost more of a (--) yeah / like a business \

Tina is a woman in her late twenties who emigrated from the US to Austria and worked as an English language teacher around the time of the interview. Excerpt 15 is a sequence from this interview. The excerpt begins as Tina shares her thoughts about the use of ELF as a kind of language use that can make you "feel alone if you're not a native speaker" (Tina_N119: 475–476). She explains that this may mean that one lacks certain vocabulary to express "more personal thoughts or opinions other than business […] matters" (Tina_N119: 475–476). As an exception amongst participants, Tina uses the term "English as a lingua franca" herself. Moving on to lines 479–481 (Tina_N119), she makes an interesting point about linguistic loneliness: she highlights that ways of using language to which oneself and others have grown accustomed in professional contexts may be linked with "the expectation to hold back the more personal parts of yourself" (Tina_N119: 480–481) in other settings too. The interesting point of this observation is that one may easily get things done with languaging by drawing upon whatever communicative resources available, these resources, however, may be associated with very specific functions and domains (e.g. work) that background languaging as a relational practice in more personal terms. In this regard, the data suggest linguistic loneliness as something that

is lurking in various situations and related to an illusion of finding felicitous languaging in the functional spheres of business and everyday life.

Tina complements her thoughts on established links between ELF and ways of using language to get (business) things done with an imagined scenario for her use of German as a lingua franca in lines 505–508 (Tina_N119). She elaborates, if she had to use German in a business setting rather than in personal life, it would almost be easier because it is "like a set of vocabulary that you need to know" (Tina_N119: 507–508), so comparable to predictable and limited purposes of talk. She then provides an example from a coworker of her husband. This coworker, she reports, is perfectly fine with speaking about "tech things" (Tina_N119: 511) but has troubles with expressing his personal thoughts in English. In Excerpt 15, Tina links the global status of ELF with its use for purposes of business. In her view, this link entails a habitus of using ELF in ways that are less personal and make it challenging for people to express personal thoughts. While Tina idealizes 'native speaker English' in terms of experiencing positive linguistic relatedness with others, her data introduce the possibility that regardless of the specific resources that are empirically observable in languaging, speaking subjects may in fact experience linguistic loneliness in situations which look linguistically smooth and communicatively effective. Considering *Spracherleben* and body image, it may be challenging for speaking subjects to overcome established ways of using linguistic resources, since these may just have become taken-for granted and linked with the expectations of others in a spatial-repertoire. In this regard, Tina's data contrast Peter's data in two respects:

a) In Tina's data, the use of ELF is considered rather as the source of loneliness;
b) The view represented by Tina challenges the neoliberal narrative of Peter by indicating that linguistic loneliness is a phenomenon that is not controllable by individual efforts alone.

The final example from the data (Excerpt 16, below) adds another aspect to the understanding of languaging-related loneliness. In this case, the account of *Spracherleben* concerns a close personal relationship but the established languaging practice does not reflect this closeness in the experience of the participant. Excerpt 16 is a full reproduction of the online survey contribution of IP2, i.e. Zlatka.

Excerpt 16: In this moment I dispense any hope for togetherness (N14: 1–11).

1 Für mich spielt Sprache immer eine bedeutende Rolle wenn ich ermahnt
For me, language always plays an important role when I am reprimanded
2 werde, im Redefluss kein code-switching zu betreiben. Da ich Sprache als etwas
to not use code-switching in fluent talk. Since I consider language as something
3 verbindendes sehe [u]nd code-switching für mich diese zwischenmenschliche
connecting and code-switching for me symbolizes this
4 Verbundenheit durch Sprache symbolisiert, fühle ich mich stets in meinen Werten
interpersonal connectedness through language, I always feel attacked in my values
5 angegriffen wenn darauf beha[rr]t wird Sprachen nicht zu mischen. Das Erlebnis
when it is insisted that languages should not be mixed. This experience
6 fühlt sich für mich an, als würde ich unverstanden sein und als wäre ich noch
for me feels like I would not be understood and as if I would
7 Meilen davon entfernt meine Gedanken und Gefühle akkurat zu teilen bzw.
be miles away from sharing and expressing my thoughts and feelings accurately.
8 auszudrücken. Wenn ich das Gefühl näher beschreiben müsste, würde ich es als
If I had to describe this feeling in more detail, I would describe it as
9 einen ewig langen, dunklen Weg beschreiben, welchen ich am liebsten sofort
an eternally long, dark path, on which I would prefer to return
10 umkehren wollen würde weil ich in dem Moment jegliche Hoffnung auf ein
at once because in this moment I dispense any hope
11 Miteinander verliere.
for togetherness.

In the follow-up interview to this online survey contribution (Zlatka_N14), Zlatka explains that she wrote her text with a specific person in mind. This indicates that the struggle for feeling connected with others is not just a matter of strangers. In this contribution (N14), Zlatka provides a strong image for what it is like when she is reprimanded for her use of various languages with others. As she puts it, "code-switching" for her symbolizes a kind of "interpersonal connectedness through language" (N14: 3–4). When this meaning does not find acknowledgement, and when she is additionally reprimanded to express herself in one language only, she elaborates, she gets the feeling of being on an eternally long dark path, on which she wants to turn back because in that moment she loses any hope for togetherness (N14: 8–11). Moreover, the title Zlatka gives her online survey contribution "ewiger Tunnel [endless tunnel]" adds to the image of the participants' experience of infelicitous languaging that entails feelings of loneliness. The metaphor gives a sense of what it can be like when one is trying to reach out to another person by a practice of languaging that is strongly related with one's personal values, but that practice is accepted neither in its form nor in what it symbolizes for the speaker. Furthermore, the images of an eternally long path and the idea of tunnel conjure up an idea of continuous hardship and isolation. Regarding the phenomenon of linguistic loneliness, Excerpt 16 provides an example of how the felicity of languaging that is constituted in connecting with

others and the world goes beyond languaging as a communicative tool and encompasses the acknowledgement of virtues one associates with it.

At the beginning of this section, I provided a definition of linguistic loneliness that is based on the data discussed above. While in all examples languaging cannot be considered the sole source of experiences of loneliness, the data revealed those dimensions of loneliness that show relationships with languaging. These dimensions became visible in particular through the lenses of *Spracherleben* and lived ethics, both of which give insight into what it is like to language and be (in)felicitous with one's languaging gesture towards the world and others in basic existential terms of relating to those others. The first example (Excerpt 13, N120) provided a case where the phenomenon of linguistic loneliness is related with the infelicity of getting around and connecting with a society that was a new linguistic environment for the participant. The second example (Excerpt 14, N48) showed a case where the participant relates his loneliness with insufficient skills in a second language that poses a hinderance in building closer relationships. The third example (Excerpt 15, N119) was one where linguistic loneliness does not appear at surface level, i.e. as an unfit linguistic repertoire, but in an impersonal habitus that is associated with the use of a specific linguistic resource (in the given case ELF). The final example (Excerpt 16, N14) showed an experience of linguistic loneliness that is constituted in reprimand for using language in a way the participant associated with strong personal values for togetherness. Based on these data, I defined linguistic loneliness as an experience that is linked with the ultimate human situation of being lingual—and which may thus be experienced by anyone regardless of their current situation and linguacultural background. From a socially engaged stance on AL, a critical question seems to be whether social structures tend to enforce linguistic loneliness or connectedness. Considering that loneliness has been called out as a major public health issue of contemporary societies (World Health Organization 2021a, 2021b), further investigations into linguistic loneliness appear highly relevant.

8.5. Norms and moral standards

Across the dataset participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* include moral evaluations which mark specific features of languaging and of speakers themselves as "good" or "bad". These evaluations gave evidence of norms and standards around the practice of languaging and of how participants install language/languaging as a practice to sort out "good" and "bad" behaviour and people. An overview of these patterns was provided in section 8.1 (8.1.1, Figure 18), by the thematic cluster on the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging'. It includes the theme of *meeting moral standards*, with seven subthemes:

- Be true to yourself and others;

- Live up to the potentials of humans and language;
- "we should all try to be better at it";
- Meet others in their language, that's "the bare minimum";
- Assume responsibility;
- Mixing languages is good;
- "nicht vorschnell urteilen [do not judge too quickly]".

Compared to the institutionalized frameworks of 'good languaging', these seven norms and standards are of a more informal character, as they are not written into policy papers, or explicitly enforced by public institutions. They are nonetheless relevant for subjectification, as they give insight into discursively circulating idea(l)s of excellence of 'languaging' that have a significance in the lived realities of the participants of this study. So, they shape the ideas of excellence of the practice of 'languaging' with which subjects may seek to be felicitous as human beings. To better understand how the listed norms and standards become relevant for (lived) ethical evaluation and *Spracherleben*, I examine the data of four subthemes, which assume the status of a kind of "languaging commandment" in participants' accounts, in more detail. Table 20 lists these four in the left column and provides respective examples from the data in the right. For each of these four "languaging commandments", I provide more context and elaboration below. Additionally, I identify the normative and morally relevant criterion that is associated with languaging and discuss its sorting function.

Table 20: Patterns of normative and moral evaluation; four "languaging commandments".

	"Languaging commandments"	**Examples**
1	*be true to yourself and others*	"If I want to put this symbol, then I must think to create the symbol and this is then for me not honest anymore. This is somehow fake because I thought." (Khaled_N106: 643–645)
2	*meet others in their language*	"learning the language is like the bare minimum" (Carl_N108: 55–56); "it's definitely on me to try to (-) to try my best \" (Tina_N119: 34)
3	*mix languages*	"I tend to mix German and English […] I think it's great they do that [too]" (N9: 2–15)
4	*live up to the potentials of humans and language*	"Language is difficult, we should all try to be better at it" (N48: 86); "why do you set your own language limit […] so low?!" (Peter_N48: 616–617)

Before diving into the data, I would like to prepare analysis by drawing attention to the plurality of the meanings of 'languaging' as a practice and experiences of ambiguity related to

it (sections 8.1 & 8.2). In the analyses below, it will show that the sorting function in terms of the "good" and the "bad" is rather implicit in the data where participants make loose associations between specific features of languaging and moral standards. It explicit were participants use specific features of languaging to differentiate between "good" and "bad" kinds of languaging and people, sometimes also to sort between "us" and "them". Moreover, however, the data give insight into participants' experience of insecurities around such kind of ethical sorting: the interview participant Inna, for example, was wondering: "I am somewhat binary because on the one hand I want this? On the other I do that?" (Inna_N90: 163–164). Such instances add to the insights gained into experiences of ambiguity, which I analysed and discussed with a focus on the Austrian immigration context in section 8.2. Once more, the data underline that speakers are confronted with a plurality of ethically significant meanings of the practice of 'languaging', meanings which may be in ambiguous relationship to each other in pragmatic, logic, and ethical terms. Moving on to the four "languaging commandments", these often occur with explanations for whether languaging was felicitous in its communicative purposes. The data thus give insight into how moral evaluations of specific languaging behaviour also function as factual knowledge about how humans *can*, potentially *could*, and eventually *should* relate to others via language use.

8.5.1. Be true to yourself and others

Some participants thematized honesty as a central moral quality of speakers as well as their ways of using language. Excerpt 17 illustrates an example where the quality of honesty in languaging is an explanation for good relationships with others. Excerpt 18 and Excerpt 19 illustrate an example about reaching the moral standard of honesty in languaging as something that depends upon language skills and one's own relationship with a culture and "its" language.

Excerpt 17: Honesty—a moral languaging standard (PP_Peregrina2).

German original	***English translation***
[…] Aber was ich hinweisen möchte, dass die alle Leute, die echte Beziehungen miteinander aufbauen möchten, auf die Ehrlichkeit als erste Priorität in ihrem Leben bekommen müssen. Denn wenn Beziehungen auf […]	*[…] But what I want to point out, is that all people who want to build true relationships need to have honesty as a priority in their life. Because if relationships […]*

Excerpt 17 shows parts of text that was written by a participant in the PP groups with Peregrina (PP_Peregrina2). The participant, let us call her Nehir, wrote this text as an answer to the question of what they would write into a language diary. In the group, Nehir provides the title "Ehrlichkeit [honesty]" for the text and emphasizes that language plays a major role when

establishing contact amongst humans, or if one seeks to improve or end relationships. Because this is so, she continues, honesty must have priority regardless of the language used. Nehir concedes that we cannot always be honest everywhere but that we should have such a habitus (as she writes in her text, "jedoch sollten wir eine solche Gewohnheiten haben", PP_Peregrina2). Nehir does not specify on which occasions, and under which circumstances we cannot fulfil the standard of honesty in our languaging. However, as the PP group enquires into the specific relationship between language and honesty, Nehir emphasizes that we cannot have deep relationships with others if we do not build them on solid foundations. Considering the relationship between moral standards and lived-ethical meanings, the participant takes languaging as a practice in which the more general standard of honesty shows. Furthermore, she associates it with a communicative and relational function that is of lived-ethical significance: in her data, honest languaging is an essential (moral) quality of deeper human relationships and a necessary means for establishing such relationships. In the given case, the moral standard of honesty in languaging thus assumes lived-ethical significance in how well, or "true" we can and should relate to others as human beings.

While Nehir's data from the PP group with Peregrina point to circumstances that may hamper the fulfilment of the moral standard of being true to yourself and others, the following excerpts draw an explicit link with the linguistic repertoire as an enabling or constraining factor. The data are taken from the online survey contribution N106 and the follow-up interview with Khaled who contributed it (Khaled_N106).

Excerpt 18: The honest writer 1 (N106: 65–68).

65	In order to be an honest writer, it is not enough for you to learn the language
66	and vocabulary. Rather, you have to learn the culture and history of the
67	language in order to reach a stage that allows you to start writing your texts
68	with honesty and depth.

Excerpt 19: The honest writer 2 (Khaled_N106: 633–646).

633	KHA:	((…)) wenn ich schreibe dann
		When I am writing then
634		kommt von sich selbst / weil ich auf arabisch denke im kopf \ aber ich bin (noch
		it comes by itself. Because I think in Arabic in my head. But I am (not
635		nicht dort) auf deutsch \ (-) also wenn ich auf deutsch denke (-) ich bin noch nicht in
		yet there) in German. So when I am thinking in German, I am not
636		der lage dass diese gefühle wirklich von sich selbst kommen (-) und dann muss ich
		able to that these feelings really come all by themselves and then I have to
637		nachdenken \ und da ist für mich dann nicht mehr pur/ wenn ich (überlege) \
		think. And then for me this is not pure anymore, if I (ponder).
[…]		((…))
641		weil arabisch ist meine muttersprache \ wenn ich
		Because Arabic is my mothertongue. If I want to
642		jetzt auf deutsch dasselbe / im selben stil schreiben möchte / dann muss ich
		write the same now, in the same style then I have to
643		nachdenken \ wenn ich diese symbol stellen möchte (-) dann muss ich nachdenken um
		think. If I want to put this symbol, then I must think to
644		symbol zu schaffen (-) und da ist dann für mich nicht mehr ehrlich \ das ist
		create the symbol and this is then for me not honest anymore. This is
645		irgendwie fake weil ich hab nachgedacht \ das ist nicht mehr so pur \ das ist
		somehow fake because I thought. This is not as pure anymore. This is
646		nicht mehr rein \
		not clean.

In the case of Khaled, the moral standard of honesty in languaging has considerable weight in how he positions himself as a languaging subject. Khaled identifies as a writer and associates "honesty" with being a "good writer", as demonstrated by Excerpt 18. In his data the moral standard of honesty merges with a normative standard of excellence in the practice of writing. Khaled shares information about his writing in both of his contributions and is the only participant who made use of the option of adding additional files to the narrative. He uploaded a poem with the title "طقس [rite]", written in Arabic; and a German translation he had produced with the help of friends. In his online survey contribution (N106), Khaled sketches out how he struggles with positioning himself as an honest writer in his new environment, because he depends upon others for translations to German (the dominant language in this new environment). As he puts it, to German he does not have an honest relationship himself (yet). This description is provided by Excerpt 19. Following his data, the languaging quality and criterion which sorts out the honest writer (i.e. the good writer) from the "bad" one, is whether one has a kind of direct access to the language in which one writes. In his first language Arabic, he enjoys immediate access to emotions and thoughts but experiences a lack of such immediacy with German (Excerpt 19: 633–634). Measuring his writing in German and himself as writer against the normative excellence standard of honesty, he concludes that his writing is "nicht

mehr ehrlich [not honest anymore]", "irgendwie fake [somehow fake]", "nicht mehr so pur [not so pure anymore]", and "nicht mehr rein [not clean anymore]" (Excerpt 19: 641–646). Considering how Khaled describes his linguistic repertoire as unfit for and a hinderance to honesty in languaging and writing, his data reflect a traditional view of solving the problem of communication in lingual diversity by getting as close as possible to the native speaker. At the same time, the critical criterion of reaching honesty in writing is constructed not by the idea of becoming a native speaker, but by accessing ones' emotions and thoughts directly through the target language—and this, as he indicates, is possible: "ich bin (*noch* nicht dort) auf deutsch [I am (*not there yet*) in German]" (Excerpt 19: 635–636).

In sum, both examples refer to a standard of languaging that is set on "honesty" and related to how one should behave as a human lingual being generally, and specifically as a writer (for whom processes of subjectification are most likely intertwined with the practice of 'languaging'). In the first case, honesty is a general moral value that should show in languaging and is necessary for building deep relationships with others; in the second case, honesty is a quality of languaging that assumes considerable weight in determining whether the participant is felicitous in constituting himself as a writer. In both cases, the informal standard "be true to yourself and others" is installed as a normative feature of the practice of languaging, with which the participants strongly identify as subjects.

8.5.2. Meet others in their language

Amongst the four "languaging commandments" that I analyse in this section, the one which calls to meet others in their language shows closest relationships with the traditional view of the problem of lingual communication. This is because it presumes a kind of ownership of language, which in turn builds on the idea of relatively homogeneous speech communities. With the languaging commandment "meet others in their language", these concepts assume significance in allocating responsibility over solving the problem of lingual communication to those who traditionally do not classify as members of a speech community. If this allocation of responsibility is accepted, the speaking subject may ethically evaluate itself and others based on the question of whether they assume "their" responsibility or not. Particularly clear examples are provided in the dataset by the follow-up interviews with Carl (Excerpt 20) and Tina (Excerpt 21).

Excerpt 20: The bare minimum (Carl_N108: 54–58).

54	CAR:	((…)) let's say the way that my
55		wife and i / (-) when we travel we think that learning the language is like the bare
56		minimum / (--) if you would say hello goodbye (xxxx) la biblioteca even
57		that's something you should like put in some effort for right / (--) even if you
58		aren't ( ) to function in society \

Excerpt 21: It's definitely on me to try my best (Tina_N119: 34).

34	TIN:	i think yeah / it's definitely on me to try to (-) to try my best \ (-) you know not expecting that i'm going to be accommodated just because i'm a language learner \

In Excerpt 20 Carl puts forward that in situations of travel "learning the language is like the bare minimum" (Carl_N108: 55–56). By "the language" Carl basically refers to "the language" that is spoken and "owned" by the members of a speech community. In the position of the outsider to this community, a traveller entering foreign social territory (and the political and geographical one associated with it), Carl considers it his duty to "put in some effort" (N108: 57). This, following Carl, shows in learning basic conversational features like "hello goodbye […] la biblioteca" (N108: 56). Putting forward that this effort should be made "even if you aren't […] to function in society" (N108: 57–58), Carl construes a moral standard for the so-called non-native speaker: be it situations of temporal or permanent relocation—it is the non-native speaker who must meet the so-called native speakers in "their" language, not vice versa. A very similar view is expressed by Tina in Excerpt 21. Referring to her current situation as a native speaker of English in Austria, Tina puts forward that it "it it's definitely on [her] to try to, to try [her] best" (Tina_N119: 34). She adds that just because one is a language learner, one cannot expect to be accommodated by others.

In both examples, the traditional view of ownership over "a" language by native speakers seems to function as an institution that sets the supposedly legitimate claim of these speakers to be linguistically accommodated in the case of linguistic diversity, variety, and fluidity. If someone enters "their" linguistic territory, it is the "intruder" who has to make an effort for learning "their" language so as to not inhibit the supposedly problem-free communicative language use of native speakers. In the theoretical part of this thesis, I have elaborated that and how ELF research has put this view to debate at the academic levels of discourse (chapter 3; cf. Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 2011b). At the elementary level of discourse, the presence of languaging commandment to "meet others in their language" in the data indicates that traditional views are still relevant for subjectification and lived-ethical evaluation. Moreover, in this thesis analyses have already revealed that structural frameworks like those in the Austrian immigration context also enforce a one-sided responsibilization over

solving the problem of lingual communication (see 8.2). So, speaking subjects in situations of relocation may find themselves confronted with both formal and informal standards that responsibilize them over solving "their" languaging problems.

8.5.3. Mix languages

The previous subsection gave insight into traditional conceptualizations of "a" language and "a" speech community in the data. However, there were also participants who explicitly expressed that they prefer to "mix languages" in a way that fits contemporary (trans)languaging stances. Excerpt 22 provides an example of a narrative from the online survey. In this excerpt, the participant explains that because they are a student of English, they "tend to mix German and English" (N9: 9) whenever they are with friends. They continue that this "mixing" is normal for them but was a bit difficult for their friends at the beginning. The friends adapted eventually adapted to the participants' "mixing" of German and English, which the excerpt frames as "convenient" and "great" because everyone gets an opportunity to "make use of English" (N9: 15–16).

Excerpt 22: Mixing languages is great to do (N9: 9–16).

because I am an English student I tend to mix German and English
whenever I am with my friends regardless of their studies.
Whichever word or idea comes first in my head I'll say that first doesn't matter
which language it is. Also for me this is quite normal but I think at the
beginning it was a little difficult for my friends to adapt to my way of talking.
Gradually though they also do that whenever it's convenient for them because of
me and I think it's great they do that because this way they can make use of
English which I am sure they don't use that much.

Considering lived-ethical significance and moral standards, in Excerpt 22 "mix languages" does not appear as a moral standard *per se*. It is rather framed as a consequence of studying English and as something "great" to do because it is considered convenient for the individual speaker. The participant furthermore construes it as an opportunity for using English for those who do not necessarily have the chance to use English very often. This stance implies a functional and positive view of "multilingualism", which the participant seems to impose on their friends to a certain degree: the participant puts forward that they made their friends adapt to the kind of "quite normal" mixing of English and German the participant practices themselves. Somewhat patronizingly, the participant legitimizes their behaviour by arguing that it is eventually good for everyone: "[g]radually though they also do that whenever it's convenient for them because of me" (N9: 14–15).

In other data the languaging commandment "mix languages" is more obviously presented as a moral standard. In these cases it is closely related to personal values. Unlike the online survey participant in Excerpt 22, the interview participant Zlatka, for example, explicitly speaks of the mixing of languages as an important "value" in her life. In section 8.4 (Excerpt 16, N14), when I investigated linguistic loneliness, I already provided the narrative she contributed to the online survey. In her narrative as well as in the follow-up interview, Zlatka explains that the situated use of various named languages, to which she herself refers as "code-switching" (N14, Zlatka_N14), is of great personal significance to her. In the online survey contribution, Zlatka elaborates, "[s]ince I consider language as something connecting and code-switching for me symbolizes this interpersonal connectedness through language, I always feel attacked in my values when it is insisted that languages should not be mixed." (N14: 2–5). So, for Zlatka, "mixing languages" goes hand in hand with the recognition of a general interpersonal connectedness by language, and the recognition of her as a particular "multilingual" language user. Zlatka strongly identifies with this position, as indicated by "I always feel attacked in *my values*" in the narrative. Thereby, "mixing languages" assumes an ethical quality: it serves as a moral standard of languaging behaviour against which Zlatka "measures" whether people acknowledge the multilingual reality of others and of speakers like her who position themselves as multilinguals language users.

Considering the acknowledgment of "multilingual" languaging practices, Zlatka has high expectations of speakers with whom she shares the experience of migration and linguistic resources. In the follow-up interview (Zlatka_N14), Zlatka shares information about her and her family's migration history. Additionally, she elaborates that she is using both German and Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian with her family members. Without specifying the relationship in more detail, Zlatka explains that a person close to her refuses to "code-switch" by insisting on the use of one language only. Zlatka highlights that this person puts great constraints on their multilingual room for manoeuvre in languaging, even though this person is multilingual too: the person is "auch eine mehrsprachige person. sogar mehrere sprachen als ich [a multilingual like me. even more languages than I, i.e. Zlatka] (Zlatka_N14, lines 55–56). In the follow-up interview (Zlatka_N14: 10–11), Zlatka names "BKS [Bosnian-Croation-Serbian]" as her first language and German, English, and some Italian as her second languages. In both her online survey contribution and the interview, Zlatka expresses a deep disappointment with this other person who she considers multilingual like her. This disappointment seems to be associated with the personal and moral significance Zlatka assigns to "mixing languages". By this standard, Zlatka appears to sort out those who recognize her fully as a speaker of various languages and those who do not. As framed by Zlatka, living up to this standard is not

necessarily demanded for those who "are" not multilingual, but it is most significant when they are (Zlatka_N14).

While Zlatka positions herself unanimously positively with the moral languaging commandment "mix languages", the interview participant Inna offers data that give insight into struggles for pragmatically realizing such a subject position. In her study contributions Inna generally shows a positive attitude towards linguistic diversity and the "mixing of languages". What she thematizes in the online survey and the follow-up interview is, however, that she struggles to coherently hold on to this attitude when looking at her biographical self, and in relation to particular situations in which she finds herself at present. These struggles are shared as feelings of irritation. The title of her online survey contribution, "Mixed languages and feelings" (N90), captures the link between the mixing of languages and her irritated feelings. In this contribution (N90) Inna shares a childhood experience from when she still lived in Ukraine[88]: a boy asked her "How come you speak 'pure' Ukrainian? Is your mom what, a teacher of Ukrainian or something?"; she elaborates on the irritation she felt as a child, because at the time she had never thought about her way of speaking Ukrainian before (N90: 13–23). As Inna explains in the contribution, the boy and people in their environment were more accommodated to the use of a particular dialect and "mix of Ukrainian and Russian" (N90: 12). In the follow-up interview with Inna, I take the chance to enquire further into this experience on which Inna elaborates as follows (Excerpt 23).

[88] Note, the last phases of data generation were finished about one year before the start of the war between Russia and Ukraine in February 2022.

Excerpt 23: So, because I am somewhat binary (Inna_N90: 154–165).

154	INN:	((…)) diese Wörter waren *These words were*
155		für mich so wie unkraut (-) ja die die man rausnehmen konnte \ *for me like weed you can pick out.*
156		((…)) ich wollte *I wanted*
157		das einfach selbst schöner machen \ das war auch vor dieser zeit mit russland mit *to just make this more beautiful myself. This was also before the time with Russia with*
158		diesem konflikt \ (-) ja also das war nur ein wunsch schöner zu reden \ *this conflict. Yes so it was just a wish to speak more beautifully.*
[…]		((…))
163		also ja vielleicht *So yes maybe*
164		bin ich jetzt / (-) hab ich jetzt irgendwelche (-) also weil ich binary irgendwie bin \ *am I now, do I now have some whatever, so because I am somewhat binary.*
165		weil einerseits möchte ich das / [i.e. remove words] andererseits mache ich das / [i.e. mix words] *Because on the one hand I want this [i.e. remove words], on the other I do that [i.e. mix words].*

In this sequence, one can observe how Inna is trying to make sense of and evaluate her *Spracherleben* and her language use about 20 years after the described situation. In the beginning (Inna_N90: 154–158), Inna puts forward that the "Russian" words were "like weed you can pick out" (Inna_N90: 155) and that doing so was like an innocent wish of making the language she was using "more beautiful" (Inna_N90: 158). Looking at her child self, however, she seems irritated by that whish since, after all, and as she repeatedly emphasized in the interview and in N90, she considers the mixing of languages to be "good". Lines 163–165 of the interview (Excerpt 23) capture this irritation in the form of a kind of transparent thinking process in which Inna struggles to find a clear moral position towards the mixing of Ukrainian and Russian and a coherent body image in that regard. The preliminary conclusion on which she dwells seems to be a consideration of herself as someone who is embodying two positions which cannot go together: "I am somewhat binary because on the one hand I want this? On the other I do that?" (Inna_N90: 164–165). The case of Inna demonstrates that where linguistic features (and named languages) are heavily loaded with socio-political meanings that reach far beyond individual biographies and personal domains of everyday life, the moral as well as the communicatively strategic preference of "mixing languages" is no option. It rather seems to be the case that the separation of Ukrainian and Russian is not negotiable, and the socio-political meaning of their use is absolute—there is no in-between and there are no innocent languaging choices.

Together, the insights into the languaging commandment "mix languages" are highly relevant for studies which seek to support a "translanguaging stance" (García 2019; Li 2022) or "ELF awareness" (Sifakis 2014; Lopriore & Vettorel 2015) in contexts of education. The data emphasize that claims about theorized positive effects of changing attitudes in that direction cannot be generalized for speaking subjects. In chapter 3 (3.4), I critically pointed out that some researchers have been tempted to make such claims too easily, for example by locating the virtue of "cooperativeness" (Meierkord 2000; Mauranen 2010) and "conviviality" (Costa 2022) in the linguistic resource of ELF as such and by enthusiastically pushing "ELF awareness" (Sifakis 2014) to real-world contexts. Based on the data, it can be said that in order to support speaker voice and agency, transformative efforts of attitude studies must refrain from imposing theoretically preferrable meanings of "good languaging" and engage closely with what languaging means in the everyday-life experience of speakers. Thereby, studies get insight into how structural frameworks take effect and how transformation requires more than a change of attitudes at the individual and structural levels. A good example for research working this way in the education context is the UDELE project (Erling 2022-2026), which explores why multilingualism does not consistently translate into an advantage for learners of English in Austria.

8.5.4. Live up to the potentials of humans and language

"Live up to the potentials of humans and language" is the fourth and final languaging commandment in the data that I discuss in further detail. It is evident in participants' statements like,

- "[l]anguage is difficult, we should all try to be better at it" (N48: 86);
- "Lebenslanges Sprachen Lernen! [Lifelong Language learning!]" (PP_Library1);
- "Die Muttersprache allein ist nicht genug! [The mother tongue alone is not enough!]" (PP_Library1).

As illustrated by the form of these examples, this languaging commandment occurs most obviously as a kind of imperative, if compared to the three investigated so far.

What is particular about this final "languaging commandment" is that participants constructed this moral standard, and legitimized their ethical judgements, based on a socially established framework of knowledge about human development and evolution. The state and quality of language (use) is installed as an indicator of the evolutionary progress of humanity as such. Moreover, participants allude to a moral duty of humans that is constituted in having to try hard to live up to the potential inherent in human beings and language itself. This way, the participants legitimize the moral judgements they make about themselves and others, based

on the idea(l)s of excellence they associate with the practice of 'languaging'. The following examples give insight into how some participants construct "live up to the potentials of humans and language" as a moral standard to legitimize their own languaging behaviour and to indicate their moral and evolutionary superiority over others.

In the follow-up interview with Peter (Peter_N48), I had the chance to further enquire into the already mentioned statement "[l]anguage is difficult, we should all try to be better at it", which he made in his online survey contribution (N48). In the corresponding passages of the interview (provided by Excerpt 24 below), Peter first frames his view as a basic "philosophical" outlook on the world that consists in the belief that "absolutely everything is in our hands" (Peter_N48: 598–599). It is noticeable that this view fits with a neoliberal attribution of responsibility of the individuals over their own destiny. Based on this kind of individualized responsibility, Peter states in lines 599–618 of the interview that it is legitimate to demand of others and oneself that one does not only develop competences in using language but also awareness of one's personal limitations and the limitations of human language in general. In lines 603–605, Peter goes on to explain that human language is inherently a limited form of communication and that the critical limiting factor is not the language but the human limitation of putting it to practice correctly. Humans are, as he puts it at another point in the interview, a very "ungenaue Maschine [inaccurate machine]" (Peter_N48: 161). Checking for clarification, in lines 608–610 of the interview I paraphrase Peter's conclusion, asking if this basically means that the highest demand one can pose to others and oneself is to try one's best. Peter immediately picks up my words and rephrases them; he responds that this is in fact what we *should* demand from humans (Peter_N48: 611). Thereby, Peter sets a moral standard. To emphasize the demand, Peter gives an example from an experience he made in collaborative writing in academia (Peter_N48: 611–618). According to him, a colleague kept using an English word "wrongly" and did not bother looking it up in a dictionary. For Peter, this is an indicator for not making an effort in trying to be better at language. He expresses his irritation with such an attitude by fictionally addressing the colleague: "Why do you set your own limit in language so low? Why do you not just look up the word?!"

Excerpt 24: Something you *should* demand (Peter_N48: 598–618).

598	PET:	((…)) ich weiß nicht wie man die philosophische strömung nennen würde / *I don't know how this philosophical line of thought would be called.*
599		aber ich bin absolut der meinung dass absolut alles in unserer hand liegt \ also *But I am absolutely of the opinion that absolutely everything is in our hands, so*
600		ja \ (-) und eben / sprache kann auch bedeuten (-) einfach nur es liegt in meiner hand um *yes. And so language can also mean it just lies in my hand about*
601		die limitation / über die limitation der sprache zu wissen \ weißt wie ich mein / (-) *the limitation, to know about the limitation of language. Do you know what I mean?*
602		also es ist nicht nur dass ich sag wenn ich kompetent genug bin / dann kann *So that it is not to say that if I am competent enough then*
603		sprache alles \ (-) weil das glaub ich nicht weil sprache hat ihre inhärenten *language can do everything because this is not what I believe. Because language has its inherent*
604		limitationen als kommunikationsform \ (-) aber bevor ich dieses limit der sprache *limitations as a form of communication. But before I even reach this limit of language*
605		überhaupt erreiche / hab ich mein persönliches limit viel früher erreicht \ *I will have reached by personal limit much earlier.*
606	INT:	und das ist / (-) weil du auch schon mit (-) i know i am not perfect, i know that i *And this is. Because you also wrote "i know i am not perfect, i know that i*
607		suck at language (-) hast du tatsächlich geschrieben [reference to Peter's online survey contribution N48] (-) but i try to be better \ das *suck at language", it is what you have actually written [reference to Peter's online survey contribution N48], "but I try to be better".*
608		heißt das ist eben / dieses bewusstsein von den limitation von sprache / und auch *Does this mean that this awareness of the limitations of language and also of*
609		dessen was sie für mich gerade leisten soll / und das versuchen dass man halt das *what language should do for me right now, and the trying, that this is basically*
610		beste gibt ist das was man halt verlangen kann / *what one can demand?*
611	PET:	verlangen sollte ja \ also ich denk / ich mein das ist jetzt auch wieder ein *Should demand. Yes. So I think, I mean this is also a primitive*
612		sehr primitives beispiel aber / und das was wir gerade meinen ist wahrscheinlich *example. But, and what we mean right now is probably*
613		konzeptuell viel weitreichender / aber ein beispiel ist wenn wir kollaborative *conceptually much broader. But an example is, if we are writing collaborative*
614		papers schreiben und jemand verwendet zum viertausendsten mal ein englisches *papers and someone uses an English word simply wrong for the fourththousandst time.*
615		wort einfach falsch / und die person hat das noch immer nicht nachgeschlagen (-) ich *And this person has still not looked it up,*
616		mein (-) dann denk ich mir warum bist du / warum setzt du dein eigenes sprachliches *then I think, well why do you set your own language*
617		limit / (-) wenn ich bei den limits von vorher bleib (-) so niedrig / warum schlägst du das *limit, if I stay with the limits of before, so low?! Why do you not just*
618		wort nicht einfach nach / *look up the word?!*

Excerpt 25: If humankind would just travel much faster along the trajectory of progress (N48: 56–77).

I think that there is a lot of junk science out there that would not be published or shared if people would use *exact* language. I would love it if humankind would travel much faster along the trajectory of progress but I fear that due to shitty use of language we handicap ourselves. To tie this in with how it makes me feel.....it makes me sick, it frustrates me and I think that fundamentally it leads to shitty academia and is one of the reasons why I want to get out. Language is bastardised and abused to communicate untruthful things. It is hindering what we could achieve and it is fundamentally because people can get away with it

[…]

But it seems that most people are intellectually lazy. They want easy answers, they have trouble navigating the complex reality. Language would be the bridge between people. My connection to my peers, my group and society. Language should make me feel like I belong. But more and more there is this rift of what is being said and what is. I feel very isolated, I dislike the terms "blue pilled", "red pilled" or "black pilled" but I think in that case it describes perfectly how I feel about language. I feel red pilled. I feel like language is used to construct the matrix and I feel like Neo after taking the red pill. Looking at all the people still connected to the matrix, to the what-people-say reality. Staring at the countless humans in their pods connected to the matrix makes me feel isolated. It is difficult to find peers that are able to have a nuanced conversation, that are skilled enough to wield language as a tool and most of all that really listen--and I mean really, *really* listen.

[…]

I view language as the complement to mathematics. Mathematics is the language of nature, our language is the medium of communication between people. I often think about what humanity could achieve if we would not be bogged down by incompetence.

In his online survey contribution (N48, Excerpt 25), Peter writes that other people's "bad" languaging is an impediment for human progress while he positions himself as one of the few who truly understand the significance of "good" languaging for human evolution. Overall, he uses more explicit language than in the interview to frame the moral dimension of languaging, and to express frustration and devaluation of the kind of languaging behaviour he considers "bad". Peter puts forward that he wished for humankind to "travel much faster along the trajectory of progress" (N48: 57) but that he observes people behave in a way that "handicaps" (N48: 57) this progress. The example he provides for such behaviour is set in the context of academia. Using phrases like "shitty use of language" (N48: 57) and "language is bastardised and abused" (N48: 58–59), Peter strongly devalues the language behaviour he observes with others. He even puts forward that humanity could achieve much more, if "we would not be bogged down by incompetence" (N48: 76–77), i.e. "bad" languaging behaviour.

Moreover, Peter positions himself against and even as a victim of such "bad" languaging: "it makes me sick, it frustrates me" (N48: 58). Peter also positions himself as one of the few who have insight into the role of language in human progress. He does so by an implicit reference to the film *The Matrix*, where the protagonist is given the choice of taking the red pill (by which he will learn about an unsettling and life-changing truth) or the blue pill (by which he will remain in the contended experience of everyday life reality). Peter writes that he feels "red pilled" (N48: 72) and at least tries to live up to the potentials of humans and language, while "most people are intellectually lazy" (N48: 70). Repeatedly in the online survey contribution and the interview, Peter explains his experience of loneliness with the morally, functionally, and evolutionary "weak" behaviour of others (e.g. "I feel very isolated"; "Language should make me feel like I belong"; N48: 71). Thereby, Peter points to a moral and evolutionary superiority of himself over others that is based on moral judgments related to the practice of 'languaging'.

Turning to a different participant, the framework of evolution and human progress is also evident in Khaled's follow-up interview data (Khaled_N106). Like in Peter's data, specific forms of languaging and behaviour are associated with a higher evolutionary and moral quality than others. Khaled also positions himself with the "more developed" ways of languaging. However, he does not devalue those of others as strongly as Peter. Khaled is the interview participant who identifies as a writer and who had uploaded a poem in Arabic and its German translation to the online survey. In the follow-up interview, Khaled asked me if he should explain these poems to me. As I say yes, he devotes about six minutes to explaining an evolution of language to me (Khaled_N106: min 01:19–07:59; lines 17–101) before actually elaborating on the metaphors and the abstract language of his poems. Excerpt 26 shows relevant passages from the interview.

Excerpt 26: A higher level of languaging that is communication no longer (Khaled_N106: 61–64).

61	KHA:	das ist eine andere ebene von kommun / (-) das ist nicht mehr kommunikation \ das *This is a different level of commun, this is not communication any longer. Then*
62		ist dann ein instrument geworden um meine gefühle zu beschreiben \ (-) oder / das ist *it has developed into an instrument for describing my feelings, or; This is*
63		dann wirklich so ne total andere ebene \ das ist dann nicht mehr rein *really a totally different level. This is not just pure*
64		kommunikation und notwendigkeit \ (--) das haben wir / das ist schon erledigt und wird *communication and neccessity. This is, we have been there, done that, and becomes*
65		nächste ebene \ (-) ja wir wünschen dass die schönheit beschreiben wie *the next level. Yes, we wish to describe how beautiful it is.*

As illustrated by Excerpt 26, in Kahled's view, human language has evolved from a necessary means of pointing to things, to a resource that allows expressing and communicating abstract thoughts and meanings. It is this resource which he considers himself to use as a writer. Khaled says that the highest evolutionary level humans have reached with language is "nicht mehr kommunikation [not communication any longer]" (Khaled_N106: 61). As he puts it, language has become an instrument that allows him the expression of feelings (Khaled_N106: 62) and the description of beauty (Khaled_N106: 65). Later in the interview, Khaled sets himself off from other people who have no preference for this higher level of language use. He moves on to describing that many people dislike the more abstract kind of language use: "die sagen ich verstehe nicht was willst du, sag mir einfach was du [they say I don't understand what do you want, just tell me what you]" (Khaled_N106: 336). Khaled continues and says that he sometimes gets the feedback of being arrogant because these people simply prefer the lower and basic communication level of language. Unlike Peter, however, Khaled seems to feel less isolated by his preference for the evolutionary "more advanced" use of language. As he points out: "es gibt genug menschen die das mögen und die das, die suchen sowas [there are still enough people who do like this, who search for this]" (Khaled_N106: 344–345).

Looking at Peter and Khaled's data side by side, both participants position themselves amongst those trying to do the best they can to contribute towards human progress. In their contributions "trying to be better at language" carries meaning beyond a moral principle of social interaction: it is exalted to a kind of duty and moral obligation towards humanity itself, one that is inherited from those who have worked for the evolutionary progress of humans and language before. Thereby, "trying to be better at language" is significant for fulfilling a general languaging commandment, "live up to the potentials of humans and language". Furthermore, both Peter and Khaled name empirical indicators by which they observe whether this commandment is fulfilled. They use these indicators to discriminate between the humans of evolutionary and moral progress, and those who supposedly "bog down" human progress by incompetence and/or laziness. At the level of the subject, their data give insight into norms and standards these specific participants relate to the practice of 'languaging'. However, they are also indicative of a more common social discursive framing of language/languaging by theories and established knowledge about human evolution. The framing serves as a legitimization of success of those who are supposedly morally and evolutionary advanced (languaging) subjects. Neoliberal ideologies legitimize the allocation of power and resources in a very similar manner, as elaborated in chapter 4 (4.3).

Concluding section 8.5, the data revealed norms and standards of the practice of 'languaging' that participants installed and/or referred to make moral judgments about their

own and others' languaging behaviour. Considering lived-ethical evaluations and body image, the findings gave insight into discursive patterns of such standards and their function in defining socially accepted idea(l)s of excellence of the practice of 'languaging' as well as of "the good languaging human". In this section, I discussed four of these patterns, or "languaging commandments" in more detail. The first demanded for honesty in languaging. The second ("meet others in their language") revealed the prevailing significance of traditional conceptualizations of native speaker ownership of language. This was contrasted by the third languaging commandment ("mix languages"). The corresponding data demonstrated that languaging practices can be a highly politicized matter: depending on the sociopolitical context, there may be very little, even no socially accepted room for manoeuvre in negotiating what these languaging practices mean for subjects' (political) positions. Finally, I discussed data in which participants framed efforts for being better at language (use) by discourses of evolutionary progress. These participants alluded to a moral duty speakers would have in taking humanity further and drew upon discourses of evolution to legitimize differentiations between "the good" and "the bad" (or to speak with evolutionary terminology, "the fit" from "the unfit"). These findings tie in with the following insights about participants' explanations of language-related success.

8.6. From struggle to legitimate joy

Foregrounding the question of how participants communicated their accounts of *Spracherleben*, detail can be added to the theme cluster of explanations of '(in)felicitous languaging' (8.1.3, Figure 20). Many of the online survey contributions have a narrative structure that follows a path of language-related struggle to success and joy that is legitimized by that phase of struggle.

Figure 22: Narrative structure "from struggle to legitimate joy"

As illustrated by Figure 22, the narrative structure introduces a long and troublesome experience of language-related struggle that is interrupted by a turning point where hardship is not just alleviated but gives way to the experience of language-related joy and new insights about life. Whatever happens at the turning point in these narratives is installed not only as an explanation for the change, but also as a legitimization of the eventual experience of

language-related joy. Considering lived-ethical evaluations, the narrative structure gives insight into what kinds of paths of overcoming language-related problems are considered acceptable—in other words, what counts as *well-deserved* experience of joy. Additionally, the narratives typically frame the turning point as an important moment in participants' biographies, which points to the lived-ethical significance of this moment for becoming the kind of speaking subject they envision to be.

Excerpt 27: I don't have to feel ridiculous anymore (N23: 1–5).

1	For me language was always an int[e]resting topic, especially English
2	even though I couldn't talk in English properly. I always felt insecure and
3	ridiculous when I was talking. After a year travelling around Australia I feel
4	secure and I'm really happy to say that I think my English improved and I don't
5	have to feel ridiculous anymore. That was a special moment for me.

Excerpt 27 is taken from the online survey contribution N23. It shows the full text which the participant provided as their account of *Spracherleben*. In its five lines, the contribution illustrates the narrative structure from struggle to legitimate joy well: in the first lines (N23: 1–3), the participant describes their general interest in language, "especially in English", but introduces it together with the experience of not being able to "talk in English properly" and associated feelings of insecurity and ridicule. These feelings, as the participant concedes, were "always" there when using English until the turning point when the participant travelled to Australia (N23: 3). In the narrative, this turning point brings about feelings of security and happiness about eventually being able to say, "my English improved and I don't have to feel ridiculous anymore" (N23: 4–5). Finally, the participant marks the truth value of pronouncing these words as a "a special moment" in their biography (N23: 5).

Considering insights into lived-ethical significance of languaging, N23 patterns with the themes in the cluster on experiencing felicitous languaging as *gratitude for not feeling ridiculous in language use any longer* and *feeling secure in one's language use* (8.1.2, Figure 19). The analysis here reveals a pattern of explanation by which such felicity is reached, and a path of success that legitimizes the experience of language-related happiness with improved English ("I don't have to feel ridiculous anymore", N23: 4–5). In the example, the participant associates this improvement of their English with spending a longer stretch of time in Australia, which is a native speaker environment of English language use. From the very beginning, the narrative introduces speaking "English properly" (N23: 2) as the standard against which the participant measures their use of English and following which they would have to feel "insecure and ridiculous" (N23: 2–3) or not. Even though the participant does not explicate their idea of "proper English", the installation of their travels in Australia as the turning point from struggle

to legitimate joy suggests reference to the traditional equation of "good English = native speaker (like) English". Regarding body image, the example illustrates how established standards of "good language use" are reflected in the bodily and emotional evaluations of the experiencing speaking subject. Furthermore, ridicule (the central experience to which the participant refers) is in essence an experience of devaluation of the self in the eyes of an (imagined) other. The fact that the participant elevates "improved English" to the indicator for not having to feel ridiculous anymore, points to a social "truth" about what *is* ridiculous languaging.

In the case of N23, the participant retains the idea of "proper English" throughout the narrative to explain and legitimize experiences of security and insecurity alike. This is contrasted by the following example (N7), which nonetheless resembles N23 in terms of content and narrative structure. The relevant data I examine were provided in full length in section 8.3 already (Excerpt 6 and Excerpt 11), when I investigated participants' expectations of ELF as a communicative resource. Thus I only paraphrase the relevant passages for the purposes here. Like N23, N7 follows the narrative structure from language-related struggle to legitimate joy. The narrative starts with a description of how the participant kept feeling unconfident when using English even though they had studied it "for over 12 years" (Excerpt 6, N7: 3–4). The participant adds observations of their difficulties in following native speakers' language use and in watching series and movies in English ("I had quite a hard time to understand them" (Excerpt 6, N7: 6–7). N7 construes these difficulties as evidence that explains the participants' lack of confidence with using English. In contrast to N23, however, "talking English properly", i.e. like native speakers, seems less important.

In N7, the phase of struggle is characterized by envy of "others because they were *confident* to talk to others and although they did not speak perfectly according to the 'rules'" (Excerpt 6, N7: 9–10). Furthermore, the turning point in the narrative is not the improvement of the participants' English but the insight that "hardly anyone speaks English perfectly (at the University)" (Excerpt 11, N7: 15–16). The participant pronounces that by this insight they "got a little more confident" (Excerpt 11, N7: 14). What is pronounced hesitantly at first is then confirmed as the participant was reassured by the positive experiences they made during their exchange semester abroad. In the narrative, the participant installs this semester as a biographically significant event—as a "final test" regarding their languaging skills: "if I can 'survive' there with my English skills I should be able to go anywhere" (Excerpt 11, N7: 17–18). From that point onwards the participant describes a growth of their confidence in using E(LF), of the positive experiences they make in languaging, and of felicity in becoming the kind of person they aspired to be: a person who "travel[s] and work[s] around the world" (Excerpt 6, N7: 11–12); "mak[es] friends around the globe, learn[s] and understand[s] other

cultures and work[s] in a company which operates world wide" (Excerpt 11, N7: 29–31). Regarding lived-ethical significance, N7 explicitly marks that there is a greater human virtue in their account of *Spracherleben* and the experiences they made: "I wish anyone could have an experience like this as I think it would help anyone understand others—especially other cultures—better." (Excerpt 11, N7: 31–32).

What is remarkable about the framing of the turning point in N7 is that the participant uses the label "lived language experience" (Excerpt 11, N7: 19) to clearly set off the phase of struggle and experience of infelicitous languaging (*feeling insecure*) from the experience of joy and felicitous languaging (*feeling secure in one's language use*; *feeling connected with others*). As if the experience of struggle were not part of "lived language experience", the participant introduces the phase of confidence and language-related joy with the words, "And here is where my language experience started." (Excerpt 11, N7: 19). Thereby, N7 evokes the impression that the participant does not consider the more negative experiences before as "true" experiences. In this regard, N7 is quite different from N23 as the legitimization of eventually feeling confident with using E(LF) does not reside primarily in a change of language skills, but in a change in realization of what languaging is all about: "of course here and there was a word which was new, which one did not understand but this did not really matter" (Excerpt 11, N7: 23–24). It could be said that N7 tells the story from struggle to legitimate joy as a story of conceptually and practically embracing the kind of ELF communication the participant had formerly considered "imperfect". Thereby, the participant also positions themselves towards the discourse of "proper English" that shaped the past experiences of lacking confidence in using E(LF). The data thereby illustrate well how evaluative discourses of "good" language use find evaluative resonance in speaking subjects' *Spracherleben* and body image. Furthermore, the examples prove that in these evaluations traditional language ideologies which are challenged by ELF research (e.g. native-speakerism, standard language ideology) still play an important role.

The examples show that speakers may position themselves quite differently to these ideologies: while the protagonist in N23 arrives at a more positive body image by following these ideologies, the one in N7 overcomes the language-related struggle by a conceptual change towards E(LF) that opposes the native speaker ideal. This is a critical insight for ELF research. As explained in relation to the favourability bias in ELF research (chapter 3, 3.4), positive effects like an increase of non-native speakers' confidence and effectiveness of communication are mainly associated with an ELF position, and a (trans)languaging stance in general. In this regard, N7 constitutes an account of *Spracherleben* which corroborates ELF research. Using Seidlhofer's (2011b: 80) words, in N7 the conceptualization of ELF "conveys a sense of a

liberating additional means of communication, increasing the repertoire of languages that speakers rely on to function effectively in all areas of their professional and private lives." However, a very similar sense is conveyed by the "proper English" of N23 that takes native speakers' language use as a standard. So from a subject perspective, improving one's English to fit a traditional ideal and a point where one does not "have to feel ridiculous anymore", may be just as liberating as a change in concept of what constitutes "good" English. This finding, I would argue, does not devalue the insights gained by ELF research and the potential of its conceptualization for overcoming traditional concepts of language. Rather, the insights demonstrate that speakers today live and participate in realties where both ideas of "good" languaging are discursively (re)produced, experienced, and "true". Awareness of this is significant if AL researchers seek to understand and potentially resolve languaging-related issues around ELF. Moreover, it appears that subjective experiences and local meanings of languaging and E(LF) need to be acknowledged more. Without such consideration, making individual teachers or leaners of English "ELF aware" (Sifakis et al. 2018: 166), or promoting an "ELF agenda" (Costa 2022), seems just as normative and top-down as enforcing a traditional view of those speakers by supporting them with improving their "proper English".

Finally, the E(LF)-related data analysed in this section make an argument for further investigations of *Spracherleben* in the field of ELF research by using more pictorial and visual methods. In comparison to the experiences of ambiguity and liminality in the data of participants with an immigration background (section 8.2), the linearity of the narratives and the unambiguous stance-taking of participants towards solving the problem of lingual communication appears somewhat suspicious. These features may have been encouraged by the methodological choice of the written and text-focused mode of the online survey. As elaborated in chapter 7 (7.2.3), this mode tends to encourage the biographic illusion, i.e. the representation of experiences in a way they construe a fiction of biographical coherence and continuity (Busch 2022: 296; cf. Bourdieu 1986). It thus seems reasonable to further investigate biographical narratives of *Spracherleben* related to ELF communication by using pictorial methods. According to Busch (2018: 5–6) these better allow participants to represent "contradictions, disruptions, overlaps and ambiguities" because pictures work on the basis of relations and proportions rather than by a structure of sequence and linearity. I will elaborate more on the methodological insights of my study in chapter 9. Before, however, a concluding discussion of the content-focused findings presented in this chapter is provided.

8.7. Discussion: counterbalances to the favourability bias

In this chapter I have investigated the concrete meanings that 'languaging' assumes as a practice in the everyday-life experience of speakers, and how these meanings are significant for lived-ethical evaluations of self and others. I have made these investigations based on the aims of gaining insight into what it means to language from a subject perspective and to better understand the enabling and constraining effects on the linguistic repertoire at the interplay of biography, situated interaction, and languaging as a philosophical problem. By integrating the theoretical lenses of languaging as a philosophical problem, *Spracherleben*, and body image, it was possible to pin down part of the dynamics of this interplay that constitutes at the site that is the speaking subject itself. Furthermore, it was possible to identify qualities of structural conditions which are likely to enforce experiences of language-related hardships in situations where speakers face challenges that inevitably accompany humans in certain situations (e.g. relocation) and in the confrontation with languaging as a philosophical problem (e.g. the ultimate lingual relatedness with others).

In this section I review the insights gained in this chapter to discuss them within the larger scope of this thesis: I consider the relevance of the findings as viewed from the more general framework of the AL study of languaging, and specifically from the framework of ELF research. My elaborations will centre on two main conclusions:

(1) Foregrounding issues of availability and subject-centred perspectives in the AL study of languaging:

The findings strongly suggest that the mediation between different epistemologies, ethics, and existentially relevant meanings of the practice of 'languaging' is an integral part of the languaging experience. In the complex and vuca realities in which speaking subjects participate and are embedded today, this mediation process must be considered a communicative exigency itself. As such, it may constrain and enable the resources available for communicative interaction and is in these effects dependent on the degrees of incongruency, their experience by the subject, and the epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical weight 'languaging' assumes at the site that is the speaking subject.

(2) Tackling the favourability bias in ELF research:

Together with the theoretical framework developed by this thesis, the findings give an understanding of the basic epistemological, existential, and ethical stakes involved for

any speaker in any situation of languaging. Furthermore, the study revealed concrete meanings the communicative resource of ELF assumes for speakers today based on its global status as *the* lingua franca. In this regard, the study gave insight into evaluative patterns of languaging behaviour and how these may integrate with neoliberal logics that tend to responsibilize individuals over AL problems that are in fact structural. The study and theory of the lived-ethical significance of languaging can thus counterbalance and serve as an anchor against interpretations of languaging via ELF communication that have located cooperativity and conviviality in the communicative resource itself.

Considering the foregrounding of issues of availability of communicative resources and the subject-centred perspective, the insights gained in this study corroborate and complement biographical (Busch 2017b; 2021a) and space-oriented (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji 2015) studies on the linguistic repertoire: they are *corroborated* by adding further insights into how meanings of the practice of languaging associated with biography and space manifest in speaking subjects' *Spracherleben*; they are *complemented* by adding new insight into how the plurality of meanings of languaging, which shapes the complex interactional spaces in which speaking subjects participate, is reflected in their *Spracherleben*, in experiences of ambiguity, and in the attempt of forming a coherent evaluative stance towards the self and others, i.e. body image.

The overview of the many meanings of languaging (sections 8.1), together with the data analysed in section 8.2, captured most clearly the plurality of meanings that the practice of 'languaging' assumes for speakers today. The study revealed in how far these meanings are lived-ethically relevant within and across individual biographies, and that these meanings and meaning weights often stand in ambiguous relationships with each other. These ambiguities showed to be part of the languaging experience. Section 8.1 provided an overview of the many meanings of 'languaging' that had lived-ethical significance in participants' accounts of *Spracherleben*. I clustered these meanings according to participants' construal of the constitution of '(in)felicitous languaging' (8.1.1), how they described its experience (8.1.2), and how they explained it (8.1.3). The three clusters gave a first glimpse into individual participants' lifeworlds and the social realities in which they were embedded. The first cluster, for example, put on display the relationships between the discursive constitution of 'felicitous languaging' and the meeting of institutional realities, moral standards, becoming the lingual self one envisions to be, and experiences of feeling connected with others. Agreeing with subject-centred research (Busch 2017a; Flubacher & Purkarthofer 2022), the meanings and

experiences identified do not just reflect different individual situations; instead, the meanings of 'languaging', their plurality and the ambiguities that showed in this study, need to be considered as reflections of patterns shaping and constructing the social reality in which participants are embedded.

In section 8.2, I then zoomed in on experiences of ambiguity and pinned down how institutionalized frameworks in the Austrian immigration context lay claim to determining the lived-ethical meaning and significance of 'languaging' in participants' lives who are immediately affected by these frameworks. The data gave insight into the specific situation of immigrants in Austria, but also into the more general dynamics of subject constitution and lived-ethical evaluation in situations where agency and voice of speakers are constrained by structural conditions. In the Austrian immigration context, speaking subjects are confronted with legal and language educational frameworks that enforce *one* clearly demarcated idea of 'good languaging'. This idea showed to be imposed upon those subjects and the public spaces in which immigrants participate by structural frameworks that force existential and lived-ethical weight upon it: in order to gain or sustain access to socio-economic resources, the "immigrant subject" needs to comply with the institutional idea of 'good languaging'. The enforced strategy of disambiguation, however, does not leave space for (voicing) the experiences of plurality and ambiguity languaging brings about in the complex lifeworlds of today. The lack of spaces in which such experiences can be articulated must be considered a structural condition in which it is most likely to experience languaging-related challenges of relocation as hardships, rather than as opportunities for reinventing the self. In section 8.2, I also investigated data provided by "immigrant mothers" in the Austrian immigration context. Revealing how institutionalized standards of 'good languaging' and more informal standards of caregiving featured in their accounts of *Spracherleben*, their data showed clearly how meanings of 'languaging', as well as the distribution of lived-ethical weight, are a matter of social constitution and position, rather than of individual and supposedly private choices alone.

Based on the empirical findings of my study, the extended philosophical interpretation of "dislocation" which I suggested with reference to Busch's (2017b) conceptualization of *Spracherleben* (chapter 5, 5.1.1) proved analytically relevant. Focusing on situations of relocation, Busch (2017b: 340–341) put forward that "the underlying experience that one's own linguistic repertoire no longer 'fits' is […] one that not only occurs in extreme situations but is shared (though often in a very attenuated form) by all speakers when experiencing dislocation." I argued that, while experiences of dislocation are more likely in situations of relocation, languaging itself constitutes a kind of human engagement which may imply experiences of dislocation in the sense of a philosophical problem. These are experiences where one does not

know one's way about, in a sense that one is seriously challenged in one's taken-for-granted outlook on the (languaging) world and/or the grounds based on which one *is* a lingual being in relation to others. The empirical insights of this study support this wider reading of "dislocation". Examples from the data reached from experiences of an unfit linguistic repertoire in situations of relocation (e.g. Excerpt 10, N5), to insights into processes of substantial reorientation in one's views of language (e.g. Excerpt 11, N7), and experiences of existential dependency on others to whom one considers oneself an absolute foreigner (e.g. Excerpt 13, N120). The empirical definition of *linguistic loneliness* I presented in section 8.4, can be considered a dislocation that concerns one's existential lingual relatedness with others and the world.

Additionally, following these insights, the degree to which speaking subjects are occupied with the exigency of mediating between different epistemologies, existential, and lived-ethical meanings of 'languaging' must be considered a relevant enabling and constraining factor in the availability of communicative resources. Furthermore, the distribution of agency and voice amongst biographical subjects, spaces of interaction, and structural conditions in determining existential, epistemological, and ethical meanings and their meaningfulness in speakers' lives, appears relevant for whether languaging-related challenges rather turn out as experiences of hardship or as opportunity from the subject point of view. These considerations are critical for addressing the favourability bias in ELF research. They emphasize that empirically observed phenomena in ELF communication like comity, cooperation, and the flexible use of linguistic resources available are enabled by interactional conditions rather than by the resource of ELF communication *per se*. While this study did not focus on ELF data exclusively, its findings call for a refreshing of Seidlhofer's (2004) considerations on the (still present) need for a more differentiated study of ELF. As she put it,

> further research might show some of the present findings [about ELF communication] to be a function of the type and purpose of the interactions investigated. Indeed, the differences in the analyses available to date would seem to underline the need for a far larger corpus and ideally, a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the same data from various angles, so that shared, generalizable features, and processes can be brought to light. (Seidlhofer 2004: 219)

In my study I could not rely on recordings of ELF communication participants described in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. The study thus does not close the still open research gap by analysis "of the same data from various angles", as suggested by Seidlhofer (2004: 219). In my thesis I am, however, putting forward which angles of research perspectives are relevant for closing this specific gap and how they can be integrated within an analytical framework (chapter 6). Furthermore, the empirical investigations of this study have performed an application of this framework in AL research practice, foregrounding the biographical and PP perspectives. Future

studies on ELF communication can build on this framework (and the methodological findings reported later in chapter 9)

What the study did is to contribute to closing the gap on the thick description of ELF-related languaging experience from the subject perspective. Some of the findings may even serve as counterbalances to naïve interpretations of a supposedly *per se* positive ELF experience. First, the great expectations participants showed towards ELF as a communicative resource and of their languaging "sELF" clearly exceeded what any linguistic resource and human can do alone in making language "franca". In section 8.3, I elaborated on how participants construed E(LF) as a kind of hyper-connective force which unfolds in relation with speaker confidence and brings about experiences of feeling connected with others and having no problem at all when it comes to handling everyday-life matters. These observations on the elementary discourse levels may hold up a mirror to the somewhat too enthusiastic interpretations of ELF communication in the specialized, academic discourses of the languaging dispositive: in the face of ELF as a global means of communication, we seem to have a tendency to ignore that the resource of using ELF has, like any other communicative means, limitations in what "it" can do, or speakers can do with it. Additionally, the study suggests that ELF researchers need to actively make space for voices and support speakers with articulating experiences with ELF communication outside the spheres of leisure, work, and travel. Despite the big proportion of data from participants with immigration and refugee experiences for whom ELF is likely to have played a role, ELF was mentioned predominantly by participants in relatively privileged situations. In this regard the study might have missed a chance for raising visibility of ELF experiences in unfavourable settings by a respectively focused enquiry with some of my study participants. At the same time, one reason for *not* focusing on, for example, persons with refugee experiences exclusively in this study was to avoid a construal of languaging as a philosophical problem as "their" problem alone. To better understand how these basic problems specifically turn out in ELF communication for speakers in unfavourable situations and settings, however, it is necessary to conduct studies which target such speakers exclusively.

What may also serve as a counterbalance and anchor against the favourability bias at the conceptual level is the phenomenon of linguistic loneliness the data revealed (8.4). I considered languaging-related experiences of loneliness as *relatable* experiences as they root in the ultimate situation of being lingual. It is a phenomenon in which we grow aware of this ultimate situation, as we realize that our capability for languaging existentially relates us to others, yet we can eventually not control the communicative outcome of our efforts in relating to the others as we language. Linguistic loneliness showed in accounts of *Spracherleben* in

which participants' languaging, i.e. the linguistic gesture towards the world and others, could not be enacted, remained without resonance, and/or was punished by reprimand. Most relevant for ELF research is that it showed not just in situations of relocation and communication amongst foreigners but also in interactions with people with whom participants had already established close relationships and habitual ways of languaging. This can have a corrective function regarding the idea that ELF communication would *per se* establish conviviality amongst speakers, as interactions may run relatively smoothly in getting "things" done but still leave speakers far apart as regards experiences of interpersonal connectedness. Moreover, the analysis of linguistic loneliness in the data helped identify some of the conditions which tend to enforce or resolve it. These included lived-ethical meanings and outlooks on the world. In this regard, it showed that both traditional views of the boundaries of languages and speech communities and ELF-oriented views may feature as enforcing factors when coupled with neoliberal thinking. This showed most clearly with the moral standards identified around language and languaging.

Looking into more informal definitions of 'good languaging' in section 8.5, the study gave insight into four "languaging commandments", i.e. norms and moral standards participants' ascribed to in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. These revealed strong connections between languaging-related evaluations of the self and others and evaluations of being a "good human" in general. In this regard the study corroborated the idea of body image (Busch 2021a) and how we form an evaluative stance towards our languaging selves as we interact and learn about (the ethics of) languaging. In these evaluations the neoliberal idea of success by individual effort played an important role in the data. Firstly, where participants followed the idea of a linear development of one's languaging skills in parallel with ideas about evolutionary progress of humans, making an effort with language learning and languaging more generally assumed the function of an indicator for sorting out "the good" and "the bad". This parallels the neoliberal logic of allocating resources based on supposedly individually earned "success", which ignores structural disadvantage. Moreover, within this logic and languaging-outlook on the world, the more general moral command "try to be better" turns into an indicator for whether one "lives up to the potentials of humans and language". Secondly, the languaging commandment "live up to the potential of humans and language" tied in with a frequent explanatory pattern of (in)felicitous languaging (8.6). This pattern implied that one has to struggle and work hard on one's languaging self in order to legitimately experience joy with languaging. The tricky thing for language advocacy is that neoliberal transformations which instrumentalize language for allocation purposes may refer to either, the initiation or the languaging view of the problem of lingual communication. The critical point through which

neoliberalism exercises governmentality is to present and materially enforce its own definition of 'good languaging' as the only available subject position. These dynamics were visible with the structural conditions in the Austrian immigration context which impose a disambiguation of meanings of 'languaging' upon the immigrant speaking subject (8.2).

In this final section of chapter 8, I have summarized the main conclusions and implications that can be drawn from the empirical insights into the lived-ethical significance of languaging gained by my study. When I referred to "insights" in this section I focused the analysis, interpretation, and discussion on *content* relevant for foregrounding issues of availability and subject-centred perspectives in the AL study of languaging, and for tackling the favourability bias in ELF research. In the following chapter 9, the focus will be on insights that concern the *methodology* of the combined approach of AL and PP developed in this thesis.

9. Methodological evaluation of the approach

The analyses and findings of this chapter address the second main objective of this research. This objective was to methodologically operationalize and explore the potential, as well as the limitations, of the combined approach of AL&PP enquiry in the context of academic empirical enquiry of languaging. The methodological aims of this study resulted from the theoretical investigations of this thesis (Part II). These identified analytical gaps around the favourability bias and suggested a multi-perspective analytical framework of the study of languaging that integrates perspectives from AL and PP. Designed to counterbalance the favourability bias in ELF study, the selected perspectives together foreground the question of availability of communicative resources and the experience of the languaging subject. Following from these theoretical investigations, the aim emerged to operationalize the developed multi-perspective framework for empirical research on languaging and to evaluate the implemented methodology of the combined AL&PP enquiry. The development of this methodology was described in chapter 7, which elaborated on the research design and conduct of the study on *Spracherleben* and languaging as a lived philosophical problem that was part of this research. Since the present research could not rely on previous studies that combine AL and PP in the study of languaging, the conduct of the study was as such exploratory and part of developing the approach. In this regard, the discussion of the methodological findings of this chapter continues the methodological considerations of chapter 7.

Taking a retrospective and evaluative view of the empirical study, the critical questions addressed in this chapter are whether the methods of data generation and analysis fulfilled the intended purposes, what strengths and weaknesses are revealed, and in how far the expansion of biographical approaches by a PP lens and methodology carry added value in studying lived experience of languaging. The insights are drawn from analyses that exploit the triangulation of the research design as regards the multiple perspectives of analysis, as well as of data generation methods—the accounts of *Spracherleben* were generated by the online survey, follow-up interviews, and PP groups. As elaborated before (chapter 7, 7.5), these analyses involved qualitative content analysis that involves summative means to calculate distributions of codes across the dataset and examine relationships between data generation methods, contexts, and the insights gained into languaging experience. There, I have also listed the relevant parameters that were used to create subsets of data based on which these analyses of distribution could be made (e.g. space of interaction: online, on site; degree of privacy: private, semi-public, semi-private). I have also discussed the limitations of quantifying the dataset of this study and pointed out that the summative means were used as indicators for deeper qualitative analysis (7.5.2). In this manner, the sections of this chapter present findings of

code-distributions as a starting point, provide detail on the type of calculations, and enquire into the methodological significance of the results. Concentrating on the relationships between methodological features and what participants shared as accounts of *Spracherleben* and how, the interactional lens of the four integrated foci of analysis (7.2.2) is most relevant. Where possible and appropriate, the analyses draw on respective passages from the research protocols and research journal, which include information about, for example, atmosphere, experienced irritations, interruptions, and challenges in the data generation process. As the approach of this study built on biographical approaches to studying *Spracherleben*, the findings are discussed with a particular focus on implications for these approaches and the expanded version by PP that ways implemented in this research.

Section 9.1 examines how kinds of situations and experiences the participants shared as accounts of *Spracherleben* were distributed across the dataset according to methods of data generation. Section 9.2 zooms in on relationships between interactional features related with the method and research setting, enquiring into the presence and absence of participants' reporting of negative experiences, emotions, and feelings in particular. Section 9.3 analyses and discusses examples from the data which show the intersubjective nature of the research process in all three methods used. Together with the data analysed in section 9.4, which focuses on the PP groups specifically, these analyses grant insight into how participants assumed agency over their own positioning and the research interaction in all the three methods used. Methodologically relevant, they did so to different degrees and dependent on the respective encouragement and room for negotiation and manoeuvre inherent to the respective methods and research settings. Section 9.4 identifies the added value of the deployed PP groups regarding the study of *Spracherleben* and the study of AL more generally. For these purposes, the notion of *spaces of vulnerability* (Stroud 2018: 18) is introduced. The conducted PP groups showed clear features of such spaces, which is relevant for describing their potential and limitation in AL research on languaging that engages with matters of voice and agency. Section 9.5 concludes the chapter by discussing the main findings with regard to the methodological evaluation of the developed approach that combined elements of AL and PP in the study of languaging.

9.1. Accounts of *Spracherleben* in the context of the method

For the methodological examinations in this section, the data were differentiated into subsets according to data generation methods (i.e. online survey, follow-up interviews, PP groups). Then they were analysed for the representation of the kinds of situations and experiences that

participants shared as an account of *Spracherleben*. These analyses targeted answers to three main questions:

1) Whether the online survey and follow-up interviews generated material suitable for analysis of languaging as a lived philosophical problem;
2) Whether the PP groups generated such material;
3) Whether the PP groups generated material suitable for analysis of *Spracherleben* through established lenses of phenomenological and poststructuralist strands of biographical research.

To categorize participants' contributions into "kinds" of accounts of *Spracherleben*, I reviewed codes generated through the interactional lens of analysis. Specifically, I focused on those which consider full contributions by individual participants under the question of what was (not) told as an account of *Spracherleben*[89]. Table 21 gives an overview of the eventual, inductively generated categories for the kinds of accounts participants provided. The four labels of the categories are provided in the first row (i.e. "realities", "comparisons", "confrontations", and "learnings"). The respective numbers give the absolute number of instances of respectively coded data segments within the three methodical subsets of data (i.e. 1 online survey, 2 follow-up interviews, 3 PP groups) and across the account categories and method subsets (i.e. respective sums).

Table 21: What is (not) told as *Spracherleben*: occurrences according to methodical subsets of data.

	realities	**comparisons**	**confrontations**	**learnings**	sum
1 Online survey	33	1	15	29	78
2 Follow-up interviews	31	0	9	26	66
3 PP groups	28	2	22	7	59
sum	92	3	46	62	203

The category "realities" consists of accounts of *Spracherleben* in which participants explicitly frame their experiences as related to a specific context and/or role they assume in their lives. It includes accounts inductively coded, for example, as *stories of mothers*, *language learner/user stories*, *war experience*, and *(short-term) relocation*. The category "comparisons" summarizes data where participants make comparisons between languages or between their own language-related perception of reality and those of others. The third category "confrontations" covers data where participants report on the experience of challenging situations. It comprises of codes like *discrimination based on language*, *turning points*,

[89] In the code system illustrated in chapter 7 (7.5.2, Figure 16), the relevant codes are subsumed under the category "2 RESEARCHING LIVED ETHICS AND EXPERIENCE OF LANGUAGE".

misunderstandings, and *high-stakes situations*. Accounts covered by the fourth category "learnings" differ from those covered by the third category in that participants focus more on what they took away from having confronted challenges related with languaging. In the following, I turn to interpreting these numbers regarding the research appropriacy of integrating biographical and PP approaches in the study of languaging.

Limitations of quantification in this study considered[90], the overall distribution of the kinds of *Spracherleben* accounted for by participants, confirms the observation that material from biographical research on *Spracherleben* typically centres on experiences which crystallize around moments of irritation, situations of liminality, and critical moments where the self-evident is put to question (Busch 2022: 297–298). The same experiential foci characterize three of the four kinds of *Spracherleben* accounted for by participants, i.e. "realities", "confrontations", and "learnings". Moreover, these three were those with the highest representations in the dataset in all three methodical subsets of data (n=92, 46, 62). Only few accounts of *Spracherleben* centred on comparisons (of languages) (n=3). The numbers suggest that all three methods encouraged participants to share first-person accounts of lived experience and thoughts that centre on biographical moments of irritation, liminality, and processes of subject constitution, rather than on procedural and personally more distanced analytical knowledge about languaging (as it is the case in comparisons of languages, the remaining category from Table 21). As a preliminary insight, it can be concluded that each of the three data generation methods independently provides material suitable for analysis through established biographical lenses *and* through the PP lens developed in this thesis.

Foregrounding the PP perspective on languaging, the numbers support the argument that first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* provide suitable material for investigating languaging as a lived philosophical problem. This is most evident from the quantitative representation of the categories "confrontations" and "learnings" in the dataset. These two categories occur frequently in all three methodical subsets (n=15, 9, 22; n=29, 26, 7) and, as elaborated above, they comprise data which centre on experiences and situations in which participants confronted (and overcame) challenges related to languaging. Capturing situations of liminality and transition, these kinds of account of *Spracherleben* involve experiences of languaging as a philosophical problem, e.g. where languaging required the unlearning of the self-evident. The content-focused analysis provided in chapter 8 already yielded insight into such experiences. While less evident from the label of the category, also data from the third most occurring one,

[90] I described these limitations and how they were considered in the analysis process in chapter 7 (7.5.2). In the given case, the interpretation of absolute numbers of code occurrences in the data required consideration of the fact that the three methodical subsets vary in the amount of data provided.

i.e. "realities", showed linkages with lived philosophical problems. Referring to interactional perspectives, if participants framed accounts of *Spracherleben* explicitly as a story or glimpse into a specific kind of reality, this reality must have gained a contour of "specificity" and markedness already before the research interaction. Such a contour can emerge when the biographical subject is "crossing from one stage of life to another, from one social space to another, from one language regime to another" (Busch 2022: 297–298). In other words, such a contour can emerge when self-evident or familiarized languaging realities change and languaging may bring about the experience of philosophical problems.

Finally, given that data from all the three methods show high representations of accounts of *Spracherleben* that tell us about biographically significant confrontations with languaging-related challenges and respective learnings (n=33, 31, 28), the findings demonstrate that the PP group method integrated well with the biographical approach to the study of lived language experience. Based on the methodological findings presented in this section, as well as the insights gained into *Spracherleben*, body image, and discursively constructed knowledge about languaging (chapter 8), it seems most fruitful to extend the repertoire of biographical approaches by the PP lens and participatory method of PP group enquiry.

9.2. Methodological features and foregrounded aspects

This section examines relationships between features of interaction and aspects of *Spracherleben* foreground by participants. Specifically, it focuses on the presence and absence of participants' reporting of *negative* emotions and feelings in the data. Data which carry the code label "negative feelings" in this study are instances where participants explicitly frame their experiences as negative and associate them, for example, with emotional pain, despair, and trauma (Table 22). This focus ensued from recognizing considerable differences in the representation of such content during the coding process. To systematically investigate how respectively coded data are distributed across the dataset, calculations were made for different groupings of data which consider the ten variable parameters of interaction that were defined in chapter 7 (7.5.2, Table 19)[91]. The fourth of these parameters (persons involved) encouraged

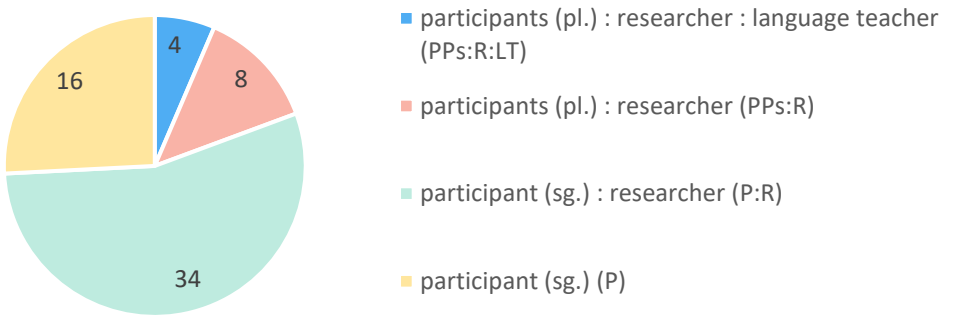
[91] For the reader's convenience: these parameters were defined to capture features of the research interaction during data generation. Of these parameters five were determined mainly by the method used (1 space of interaction, 2 degree of privacy, 3 occurrence of meetings, 4 persons involved, 5 main mode of interaction), one by the linguistic repertoires of the involved persons (6 main language), and four mainly by the context in which data generation was embedded (7 (im)migration link of setting, 8 participant with migration experience, 9 participants immigrating to Austria, 10 participants emigrating from Austria).

to dive deeper into relationships between data generation methods and reporting of negative feelings when working with first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*.

Table 22: Examples of data coded "negative feelings".

Nr.	Examples
i.	"ich weiß (-) dass es mir dann im endeffekt weh tun wird (xx) zu sagen (-) weil ich werde vielleicht die wörter nicht finden \ [*I know that eventually it will hurt me to say [unknown word] because maybe I will not find the words.*]" (Inna_N90: 396–397)
ii.	Das Gefühl dabei war eigentlich reine Verzweiflung gemischt mit dem Gefühl mich richtig fremd zu fühlen. [*The feeling I had was actually utter desperation mixed with the feeling of feeling truly foreign.*] (N120: 14–15)
iii.	Years have passed and I have worked through the emotional trauma of this experience but the memory has stuck with me as one of the most vivid memories that made me think about language and misunderstandings. (N48: 20–21)

Figure 23: Instances of coding "negative feelings", data grouped according to persons involved in data generation.



Calculating code distributions according to interactional features of the research setting, the number of persons involved proved to be a relevant factor regarding whether participants communicated negative experiences in their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Figure 23 provides the instances of respective coding across the dataset, counted per document group according to the interactional feature "persons involved". As illustrated, the highest numbers of reporting of negative feelings are counted in the research settings where participants gave account of their *Spracherleben* without the presence of other participants and the researcher ("P"; i.e. in the online survey), and in the one-on-one setting with the researcher ("P:R"; i.e. in the follow-up interviews). Interpreting these numbers, the fact that the P:R research setting has considerably more instances of reporting on negative feelings than all other constellations of persons, can be explained by the fact that the interviews allowed to dig deeper into participants' experiences

and provided more text for coding (i.e. allow more instances for coding). At the same time, the data subsets of the PP groups, which carry the interactional features PPs:R:LT and PPs:R, involved more persons in total (about 25 participants) while the follow-up interview data were provided by six persons only. The few instances of reporting on negative feelings in the PP groups may point to a correlation between the readiness of participants to share accounts of *Spracherleben* which centre on negative feelings and the number of persons involved in the research interaction. Making a preliminary methodological conclusion, it seems to be the case that methods which provide for a more intimate setting in the research interaction, like online surveys and one-on-one interviews, are more likely to yield insights into *Spracherleben* which relate to negative feelings than methods which involve several participants.

The numbers above provided reason to pursue the questions of what feelings were communicated by participants more generally, how, and in relation to which of the three methods used. In this regard, the three methods seem to have encouraged participants to different degrees to make an evaluation of experiences as negative or positive at all. This insight is revealed when taking a closer look into the distribution of the coded data for the kinds of accounts participants shared as *Spracherleben* (i.e. the categories introduced in section 9.1 above, Table 21). The high representation of "learnings" in the data subsets from P (i.e. online survey; n=29) and P:R (i.e. follow-up interview; n=26) research interactions, indicates that if negative feelings are reported, they are usually marked as past and overcome by learning whatever was necessary to take away from the situation. By contrast, in the PPs:R:LT and PPs:R settings (i.e. the PP groups), accounts are more frequently framed as (yet) unresolved "confrontations" (n=22). These accounts are typically related with the present. Moreover, data from PP groups are overall less explicit about the evaluation of experiences. In comparison to the online survey and follow-up interview data, accounts of *Spracherleben* rather include descriptions of undulating feelings which are often intertwined with the biographical situation and complexities of realities in which participants lived at present. For example, referring to data provided in chapter 8 (8.2), participants of the PP groups set within the Austrian immigration context shared present experiences of pressure with passing German language tests simultaneously with personal aspirations, wishes, and intrinsic motivations for learning the language. Undulating feelings about the present situation also characterize the examples given for experiences of ambiguity of mothers embedded in this immigration context (see 8.2.3). These observations suggest that the online survey and follow-up interviews encourage participants to look further into the past and share narratives of biographical continuity where challenges related with language have been overcome. The PP groups seem to evolve more around confrontations unresolved and often troublesome at present. Hence, the tendency of

participants towards explicit evaluations of their experiences as negative or positive seems to be related to the method's tendency for yielding accounts of *Spracherleben* associated more with the past or the present lives of participants.

Concluding this section, the analyses in this section have important implications for recognizing strengths and weaknesses of the three methods used. These implications are relevant for the study of *Spracherleben* and languaging through first-person accounts more generally. The triangulation of data generation methods in my study allowed for analysis and methodological considerations about the relationships between interactional features determined by the methods and the content provided by participants. The findings indicate that the number of persons involved in the research interaction relates with the participants' readiness of sharing negative experiences and making such evaluations at all. While the more intimate settings of the online survey and the one-on-one follow-up interview seem to encourage participants to share accounts from a more distanced past, data from the PP groups appear to rather evolve around complex and intertwined experiences from the present. These concrete insights cannot be generalized as such to other studies because the datasets for each method are small, and comparability is possible only to a limited degree. Still, the findings corroborate the significance of interactional perspectives in studies which build on first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* (cf. Busch 2017a; Platzgummer 2021). These perspectives pin down how interactional features determined by data generation methods, are relevant for what kind of aspects participants bring to the fore as they share their accounts. The findings of the following section add to this argument as investigations reveal how participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* must also be considered as responses to the research(er).

9.3. Data as a communicative response to the research(er)

The methodological investigations in this section focus on the question of *how* participants shared their accounts of *Spracherleben* in relation to the research setting and the researcher. For these purposes analyses of interactional processes in relevant data excerpts are made. Additionally, instances where participants explain and defend their behaviour in front of the researcher are considered. The findings frame first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* as responses to the whole research setting and support the argument, made in section 9.2, that interactional perspectives applied to the research process itself are of critical importance to studies which build on such data. Moreover, the results suggest that intersubjective meaning making, and interactional processes of communication are at work even with methods that do not involve direct conversation between participants and researchers.

The data reveal that participants shaped their accounts of *Spracherleben* according to their assumptions of what I, i.e. the researcher, already knew about the issues and realities they thematized. In the follow-up interviews, for example, when I asked participants about what it was like to share an account of *Spracherleben* in the online survey, they often reported about how they selected situations, experiences, and put together a narrative they assumed to be relevant to the research interest and understandable to me as a researcher. Excerpt 28 provides such a sequence from the interview with Tina.

Excerpt 28: Choosing a crystal-clear memory, impactful and important (Tina_N119: 14–25).

14	TIN:	so initially / choosing what event or events to write about was really
15		difficult \ (-) because i had so many different ones that i wanted to talk about and
16		choose from \ (--) you know (-) i had my study abroad experience i ended up writing about /
17		but then i had so many experiences as a teacher / working with you know english
18		language students\ (--) i had so many (-) even since moving to [place1] i have so many
19		examples that i could have really pulled from \ (--) so it took me quite a while to
20		narrow down what i wanted to talk about \ and so what i ended up going (--) how i
21		ended up choosing that one was (--) it was one that the memory was very / like
22		crystal clear for me \ (-) but also i need to provide a lot of context / for sort of the
23		last few years of my life / and so it felt (-) it felt more impactful / more important /
24		like (--) so i think that's why i ended up choosing that one \ (-) and then as you can
25		see i wrote a lot \
[…]		((…))
30		this is the core event i wanna talk about / but oh i have all these details
31		that i wanna make sure that i / (-) you know (-) add in / (--) so i wanted you to understand like
32		where i was at the age of twentytwo \

The considerations Tina shares in Excerpt 28 give insight into the relational nature of generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* even with the online survey method, which did not involve immediate conversation with participants. In lines 14–22 of the follow-up interview, Tina describes the process of selecting a memory for the online survey and how she eventually arrived at choosing one that was "crystal clear for [her]". Additionally, Tina explains why she "provide[d] a lot of context" (Tina_N119: 22), "wrote a lot" (Tina_N119: 23), and shared her experience in a way I, the researcher, would understand how it is "more impactful, more important" (Tina_N119: 23) than others. Tina makes explicit that she provided details to make sure I could understand "where [she] was at the age of twenty-two" (Tina_N119: 31–32). The example illustrates how participants invited to share a first-person account of *Spracherleben*, consider questions of relevance and of how to best communicate their experiences in a way that takes into account the explicit and assumed interests of the study and the knowledge of the researcher.

Table 23: Example data, participants' pragmatic flagging of significance.

Nr.	Examples from data
i.	I have to note that though Ukrainian is the official language in my country, there are many problems connected with this issues, mostly caused by the Russian-speaking population. I will not go into details here. In any case, people in Ukraine speak Ukrainian, Russian, many other languages, and frequently - a mix of Ukrainian and Russian, it is called [name of dialect]. (N90: 8–12)
ii.	I am an amateur writer. I speak Arabic, English and German. I usually write my texts in Arabic. Since I came to Austria as a refugee in late 2015, I started learning German. I got to know many good people in Austria and wanted to share with them part of my texts that I had written during the war, because I dreamed of translating my work one day and publishing it in a book and here begins the experience that I would like to share in the survey. (N106: 28–33)
iii.	"so (-) so for hochdeutsch i've noticed especially in [place1] / (-) maybe it's been clarified that my coworkers let (--) i should give more context to this \ (--) learning german right / (-) i think all the materials i ever found are like (-) just speak hochdeutsch / people will understand you 'cause it's the standard \ (--) i'm like okay well / great / (-) but it (--) the biggest lie is that everybody speaks hochdeutsch / (-) so i've had the problem \" (Carl_N108: 82–87)

The relational and communicative nature of processes of data generation was furthermore evident from participants' flagging of relevance and significance of information provided. Table 23 lists examples of such pragmatic flagging (underlined) from the online-survey narratives (i.; ii.) and the follow-up interviews (iii.). In the first example (i.), an extract from an online-survey narrative (N90), the participant provides sociopolitical context information which they regard necessary to understand the information they provide ("I have to note"), yet not important enough to go further into detail ("I will not go into details here."). The second example (ii.) is part of another online-survey contribution (N106), contributed by the interview partner Khaled. He describes his relationship with different languages as an amateur writer before introducing the experience he is about to share in the rest of the text ("and here begins the experience that I would like to share in the survey."). In the third example (iii.), taken from the follow-up interview with Carl, Carl interrupts his sentence, considering that I might need more context to understand what he wants to share regarding his experience ("I should give more context to this"). All three examples give evidence of how participants shaped their accounts of *Spracherleben* according to the assumed knowledge of the researcher and what they considered important to flag as significant for the researcher to understand.

Furthermore, participants flagged their accounts of *Spracherleben* as insights into specific and probably unknown lifeworlds. As already elaborated in section 9.1 (Table 21), "realities" is the most frequent kind of *Spracherleben* shared with all three data generation methods and comprises data in which participants explicitly frame their experiences as related to a specific context and/or role they assume in their lives. Like the flagging of relevance, the

framing of accounts as specific realities can be considered responses to the task of the research and to the assumed knowledge and person behind the research. Following the communicative setting of the research interaction, participants may assume that the researcher seeks to gain insights into experiences to which they do not have access themselves. Some participants even seem to have installed the framework of the specific reality as a means for negotiating power balances and frameworks of relevance in the research setting, as illustrated by Excerpt 29 below.

Excerpt 29: Doesn't interest you but (Khaled_N106: 103–124).

103	KHA:	und davon geh ich an dann mit meinem text (-) vielleicht weil ich hab fünf jahre
		And this is where I then move to my text. Maybe because I have five years
104		krieg erlebnis \ (-) ich war auf der front meiste zeit \ (--) das ist lange geschichte (-)
		experience in war. I was at the front lines most of the time. This is a long story
105		interessiert dich nicht aber ((…))
		doesn' t interest you but
[…]		((…))
109		wie gesagt ist lange geschichte / aber ich mach das kurz \ dann ((…))
		As I said this is long story. But I make it short. Then
[…]		((…))
120		und damals habe ich ein mittel
		And then I needed a means
121		gebraucht / um meine gefühle zu ausdrucken \ genau \ und dann (--) das war für mich dann
		for expressing my feelings. Yes. And then, this was for me then,
122		ja (-) schreiben \ (-) gedicht oder short stories schreiben / (-) malen / und ja (-) einfach
		yes, writing. Writing poem or short stories. Painting and yes, simply
123		reflektieren also einfach / (--) weil osten von [country] ist wüste also / (--) warst du
		reflecting just. Because East of [country] is desert so. Have you
124		schonmal in der wüste /
		ever been to the desert?

Excerpt 29 is taken from the follow-up interview with Khaled. In this sequence Khaled explicitly marks the context information he provides as something that would not be of interest to me (Khaled_N106: 104–105). Yet he keeps elaborating on precisely this kind of information without asking or waiting for response. In the given case this context information is about Khaled's experience in war. Khaled uses this information to eventually lead over to the account of *Spracherleben* he shared in the online survey. This account (N106) centres on his German speaking friends and their troubles in understanding and translating the poems Khaled has written about his experiences in war. Given the sensitive material, I do not provide full detail about these experiences here (omission between lines 109 and 120). The provided material still illustrates the participant's communicative agency and strategy for making sure the researcher gets the bigger picture of the account he shared in the online survey. Excerpt 29 proves that the

participant explicitly marks the context information as supposedly irrelevant to the researcher, to then take the opportunity of talking about his experiences in war and lead over to how these link with the account of *Spracherleben* he provided in the online survey (Khaled_N106: 104–105, 108–109). Khaled thereby pre-empts an assumed ignorance on the researcher's side as regards the relevance of provided context information about war for understanding his contributions.

Excerpt 29 furthermore suggests that Khaled considerately chose to share biographical insights about his war experience, legitimately assuming that such immediate insight would be rare for a researcher who is in the privileged position of not having made such experiences. Khaled makes sure this biographical difference emerges as he concludes his elaborations by addressing me with the question if I have ever been to the desert—the place where the biographical significance of war and writing grew immensely for Khaled (Khaled_N106: 123–124). As he elaborates in lines 120–124, writing became a therapeutical means as he was in the desert during war. By marking the relevance, specificity, and probable lack of insight into the shared experiences on the researcher's side, Khaled underlines the biographical and existential significance of the account of *Spracherleben* he provided in the online survey. Indeed, without this underlining by Khaled, this account (N106) would have appeared to me rather as a story about the challenges of translation. In sum, Excerpt 29 demonstrates the relational and communicative nature of generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*. In the given example, the participant shows considerable awareness of different frameworks of relevance and knowledge between the research(er) and himself. Furthermore, the participant builds on this awareness to negotiate these frameworks by the communicative means available to him.

With regard to the possibilities for negotiating frameworks of relevance in the research setting, Excerpt 29 also points to different degrees to which the three methods allowed for such negotiation. Simply by the facts that the online survey did not involve immediate and spontaneous conversation, and that it was focused on the written mode of communication, possibilities for thematizing and negotiating frameworks of relevance were reduced in comparison to the follow-up interview and PP groups. Data from the follow-up interviews show how participants exploited the immediacy of communicative interaction with the researcher to also negotiate participant and researcher roles. Table 24 gives examples of how participants

operated upon the imbalance of vulnerability and power in relation to the researcher by challenging me to share more personal information as well.

Table 24: Example data, participants negotiating distribution of vulnerability in interview setting.

Nr.	Examples from data
i.	"ich sag zum beispiel (-) ich lass mich nicht corona impfen weil / (--) ich hoff übrigens es ist voll okay dass wir herumfahren und in gewisse gebiete ausplantschen und wieder zurückkommen \ ((…)) zum Beispiel [*By the way I hope it is ok that we cruise around and wander out to certain areas [of content] and return again*]" (Peter_N48: 199–200)
ii.	"ich hoff übrigens vulgaritäten sind auch okay / (-) aber [*By the way I also hope vulgar expressions are okay, but*]" (Peter_N48: 279–280)
iii.	"hast du mal von friedrich nietzsche gelesen / [*Have you ever read Friedrich Nietzsche?*]" (Khaled_N106: 164)
iv.	"also jetzt sagst du mir / (-) also du hast den text gelesen nehm ich an oder / [*So now you tell me. You have read the text I assume right?*]" (Khaled_N106: 323)

In comparison to researchers, participants in an interview setting typically have a more vulnerable position as they give insight into their *Spracherleben* which necessarily includes personal information and often sensitive knowledge about themselves and their thoughts. The examples from the follow-up interviews in Table 24 grant insight into how participants challenged me to reveal more personal insights and positions as well. In the first example (i.), the participant (Peter) touches upon a hotly debated topic at the time—corona vaccinations. Leaving a longer pause after his rejecting position to those, he challenges me to reveal my own position. As I do not, he checks my agreement on how he proceeds his elaborations by pointing out that "by the way" it is hopefully o.k. to cruise around in some areas of discourse. In example 'ii.', Peter furthermore seeks to extend the assumed range of acceptable expressions, basically stating that he is going to use "vulgaritäten [vulgar expressions]". In example 'iii.', another participant (Khaled) tests my erudition, asking whether I have read Nietzsche, and in example 'iv.' he tests whether I have fulfilled my duties as a researcher by thoroughly reading his online survey contribution. Overall, the examples illustrate how participants challenged the distribution of vulnerability amongst participants and researchers in interview settings.

However, the data also reveal instances where participants' behaviour reaffirms power and vulnerability imbalances in relation to the researcher. The examples in Table 25 below contrast those provided in Table 24 above. The examples in Table 25 give instances where participants check for relevance of their contributions by expressing respective worries (v.) and ask me whether the information they provided fit in with the task set (vi.). Thereby participants confirm the power of the researcher role in determining what is relevant for enquiry. Slightly

different, the examples ‘vii.’ and ‘viii.’ provide instances where participants distance themselves from past versions of their selves and the behaviour they showed. This can be interpreted as a way to secure approval of the researcher towards the self that participants impersonated at present by pre-empting assumed judgment of the researcher. Both kinds of examples illustrate how first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* are always also responses to the (person conducting the) research.

Table 25: Example data, participants affirming researcher and participant roles.

Nr.	Examples from data
i.	“also ich fürchte mich jetzt / (-) dass das für dich nicht so (--) nicht wie du das vorgestellt hast (x) / nicht so nützlich für dein project / (-) weil ich hab viel geredet und sehr allgemein und sehr breit und sowas \ [*So I am afraid now that I have not, like you presented the project, not so useful for your project because I talked a lot and also very general and broad and so.*]” (Khaled_N106: 739–741)
ii.	Er fragt mich, ob es in Ordnung ist zu schreiben, dass er die Zertifikate bis B2 bereits hat [*He asks me, whether it is ok to write that he already has certificates for level B2*] (minutes from PP_LangLife)
iii.	“i'll be honest (-) i wasn't really sure what (i thought) there / but it was myself at that time” (Carl_N108, 219–221)
iv.	Coming from the United States as a native English speaker, I never thought much about how that impacted my life--the privileges and advantages that it gave me--until I lived in Europe in 2012 as part of a teaching exchange while at university. […] it made me realize how many of micro-interactions I took for granted every day at home in the States. (N119: 4–27)

Considering participants’ defensive behaviour towards the researcher, calculations of code distributions indicate a correlation with the one-on-one setting of the follow-up interview. Regarding participant vulnerability and assumed researcher judgement of their experiences, the analyses indicate that the one-on-one interview format is a research setting in which participants feel greater need, or see an opportunity to explicitly justify or distance themselves from past experiences and positions than in settings where the researcher is not immediately present, or when more participants are involved (see Figure 24 & Figure 25 below).

Figure 24: Distribution of "explanations" across the dataset per method.

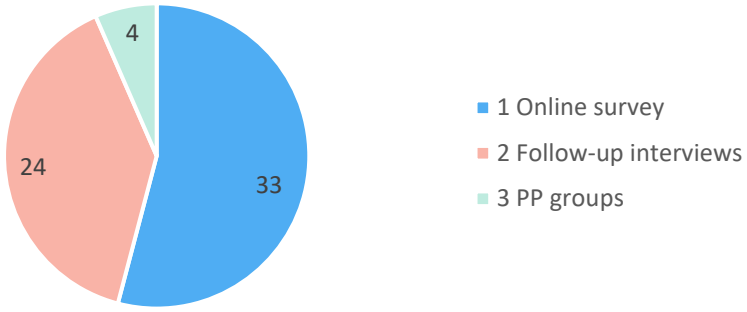
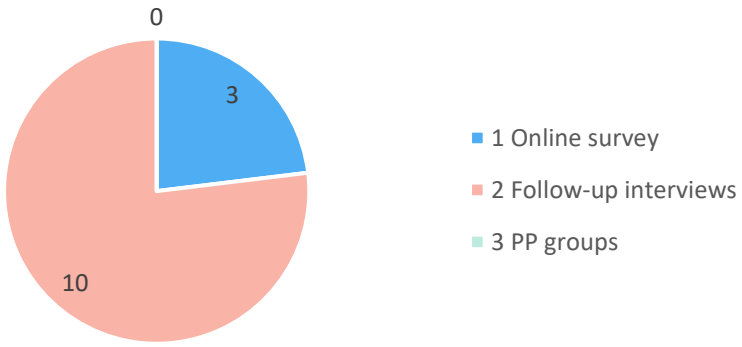


Figure 25: Distribution of "apologies/defending" across the dataset per method.



Representing the absolute numbers of instances of explanatory behaviour for past positions and attitudes, Figure 24 shows that these occur mostly with the online survey and follow-up interview data but hardly in the PP groups. While the researcher was not immediately present in the online survey, the online format implied a one-on-one channel of communication between the participants and me as a researcher. The introductory text to the online survey invited participants to contribute to my doctoral research project, included an introduction of myself, and used the personal pronouns "I" and "you"[92]. The numbers represented in Figure 25 add to the insight that participants are more likely to explain and distance themselves from past experiences and behaviour if the addressee is the researcher alone. It shows that instances of participants' apology for or defending of a position occur in the online survey data and the follow-up interviews but were completely absent in the PP groups. Limitations of quantification of my data considered, the stark contrast in participants' use of explanations, apologies, and

[92] The full online survey text and questions are provided in Appendix D.

defence for distancing themselves from past behaviour draws attention to the influence of the research setting on what participants share in their accounts of *Spracherleben* and how.

In sum, the findings discussed in this section emphasize the relevance of interactional perspectives in languaging research which builds on first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*. The analysed data illustrate that participants' accounts of *Spracherleben*, what they shared, and how, are situationally shaped responses to the communicative encounter of the research setting and the persons involved. Specifically, the findings demonstrate that participants were aware of potential differences in what they consider relevant to the research and what is relevant from the (assumed) researcher's position. Additionally, participants showed awareness of imbalances between themselves and the researcher in determining what is relevant for the research and who is to share personal information in this encounter. However, the data also proved that participants acted upon this awareness by making sure to conform to assumed frameworks of relevance and power, or by challenging and negotiating participant and researcher roles as they shared their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Zooming in on the PP groups, the following section examines the interactional and communicative nature of researching accounts of *Spracherleben* in this method specifically.

9.4. PP groups as spaces of vulnerability

This section provides and discusses methodological insights from the PP groups to identify the specific potential they have in the context of AL research. Examining interactional aspects of data generation and analysis, it will be argued that this potential lies in opening up "spaces of vulnerability" (Stroud 2018: 18). Subsection 9.4.1 outlines the theoretical framework and the significance of this notion for language advocacy in AL research. Subsection 9.4.2 provides analyses of data excerpts focusing on interactional features and processes from the PP groups which show clear characteristics of spaces of vulnerability. These analyses will reveal both chances and challenges of more participatory approaches and "real-world embeddedness" of doing AL. Finally, subsection 9.4.3 draws implications regarding the applicability of PP groups as a method in AL research and the provision of spaces of vulnerability by AL research more generally.

9.4.1. Spaces of vulnerability and language advocacy

As elaborated in chapter 2 (2.1), the AL association AILA (2022) has recently called for increasing the social commitment of AL research. To this end, the notion 'spaces of vulnerability' appears of great relevance. This notion was defined in the context of

multilingualism research, linguistic human rights, and citizenship studies to construe multilingualism as

> a space where speakers meet different others in disruptive and unsettling encounters that *interrupt* the status quo (Pinchevski 2005), and where senses of self may be juxtaposed and refashioned as part of the deconstruction of dominant voices and more equitable linguistic engagement with others. (Stroud 2018: 18, original emphasis)[93]

This notion and the provision of spaces of vulnerability are relevant to language advocacy. Following Flubacher and Busch (2022: 549)[94], language advocacy is characterized by the articulation of a particular understanding of language, the promotion of this understanding in taking position towards particular issues around language, and the mobilization of support for this position. As a *political* endeavour it targets governmental decision-making, as a *social* one it targets public opinion, private and political participation, and policies of institutions. The authors highlight that both, the political and the social, are elemental to language advocacy and may show in the forms of mobilizing support for others, as well as in mobilizing support from within communities. Finally, acknowledging language as a site of ongoing political and social struggle, Flubacher and Busch (2022: 549, original emphasis) put forward that "advocacy is a hotbed of negotiations and, with different and differing opinions, aims and goals, and ideologies striving for the undoing of the *status quo* and, eventually, the transformation of society according to a particular set of ideals". AL research which seeks to "participate in the construction of a globalized world in which respect for diversity as a basis for social cohesion requires individual and collective commitment" (AILA 2024), must be considered part of these negotiations.

The notion of spaces of vulnerability is embedded in a larger theoretical framework of language advocacy that is related to (socio)linguistic citizenship (Stroud 2018; Rampton et al. 2018a, 2018b). It is built to work towards *transformative* approaches to language advocacy and remedy as opposed to *affirmative* ones (Stroud 2001: 344–345; 2018: 19–20; cf. Fraser 1995)[95]. It has been observed that (e.g. mother-tongue and minority-speaker) programmes and policies

[93] It is worth noting that Pinchevski 2005, the reference on which Stroud (2018: 18) builds the notion of spaces of vulnerability, is a philosophical essay about the ethics of communication. In this essay, Pinchevsky in turn builds on the works of the philosopher Lévinas (1969, 1983, 1985, 1993) who develops a phenomenology of alterity and vulnerability. These works are frequently referred to in literature of PP when the dialogic relationship and positioning of the persons engaging in philosophical enquiries is described (e.g. Haas 2018a; Krauß 2022; Gahlings 2023).

[94] To define characteristics of language advocacy, Flubacher & Busch (2022) draw upon definitions from sociology (Jenkins 2006), language education (Faltis 2014), linguistic anthropology (Hill 2002; Hinton 2002), and critical language policy studies (van Avermaet & Shohamy 2022).

[95] Focusing on injustice in relation to gender and "race", Fraser (1995) investigates the conditions under which a politics of recognition can support a politics of redistribution. Fraser differentiates between *affirmative* and *transformative* approaches to remedies: "affirmative remedies for injustice [are] aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them. [… T]ransformative remedies, in contrast, [are] remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying framework" (Fraser 1995: 81). Stroud (2001, 2018) draws upon this distinction to identify problems of linguistic human rights programmes and contribute to the emergence of discourses around multilingualism and language advocacy that promote transformative remedies.

designed to protect the linguistic rights of specific groups and combat their marginalization often fail to deliver what they promise because they tend to affirm the status quo (Stroud 2001; Erling et al. 2022a). Taking mother-tongue education programmes in Africa as an example, Stroud (2001: 340–343) explains that the proposed solutions to remediation fail because they are based on the very same discourses and managerial logics that produce and maintain social inequities in relation to language, i.e. the same principles by which certain languages became economically and socially powerful are applied in the attempt to solve the power inequities they promoted in the first place[96]. Part of this problem is that language advocacy in so-called minority programmes reproduce "features of colonial social logics in contemporary 'postcolonial' societies" (Stroud 2018: 17; cf. Stroud & Guissemo 2017) by applying the traditional procedures of naming languages, "their" speakers, "their" territories for legitimization of recognition. In contemporary language advocacy of minority programmes, we still often find an affirmation of the traditional initiation view of the problem of lingual communication, which I described in chapter 1 (1.2).

A problematic consequence of language advocacy programmes which rely on the traditional and essentializing categorization of speakers and languages is that they tend to generate misrecognition (Stroud 2001: 345). This is because recognition in these terms depends upon diagnosis, selection, and allocation of resources by demarcation of linguistic boundaries amongst speakers of the supposedly clearly demarcated speech communities. Programmes which affirm the traditional conceptualizations of languages and speakers thus tend to ignore the complex linguistic realities and eventually leave untouched the more complex systems of processes and practices which advantage some groups of people and disadvantage others (Stroud 2001: 344–345; 2018: 19–20; cf. Fraser 1995: 72). To give a more concrete example based on Stroud (2001), speakers of so-called minority languages with little economic and social representation may identify with those languages yet experience them "as dead ends educationally and of little use in the official labour markets" (Stroud 2001: 341). Language advocacy programmes often invest in changing speakers' attitudes and in offering educational programmes in the "minority languages" (Stroud 2001: 341). By the end of the day, however, an already marginalized person who invests their limited time and resources in studying a marginalized but officially recognized minority language will not have increased their chances for social inclusion and economic success. In the light of these observations, it thus appears

[96] While Stroud's (2001) work focused on the African continent, affirmative language advocacy programmes can be found in Europe as well, for example, in the recognition of "minorities" by Austrian school laws. As Boeckmann (2022: 36–37) highlights, official recognition of languages in schools is based on historical definitions of „minorities", i.e. ethnic groups which are considered to be autochthonous to the Austrian geographical territory and speak another language than German. Languages considered as allochthonous only find recognition in optional offers by schools or find no official recognition at all. For a historical review of these policies, see Radinger and Wimmer (2024).

rather naïve to encourage speakers to simply adopt a languaging view of the problem of lingual communication[97].

In sum, what Stroud (2001, 2018) identified to be missing in linguistic human rights programmes are discourses and practices of engagement with one another which

- fundamentally reconsider the traditional ways by which we think about languages and 'their' speakers;
- operate at the levels of the systemic and public rather than on the particular and private (alone);
- consider language as a major site of political struggle;
- and take into account the experienced problems and actual language(ing) practices which speakers develop to find solutions to these problems.

These features theoretically characterize the transformative potential of "multilingualism" as it is envisioned by reference to the notion of spaces of vulnerability in the theory of linguistic citizenship (Stroud 2018; Rampton et al. 2018a, 2018b). Hence, the provision of such spaces is critical for language advocacy: subjects engaging with one another in such spaces may perform (linguistic) acts which, for the time and space of the engagement, allow them to constitute themselves differently—in a way to "be" different languaging subjects than they "are". In citizenship studies these acts are defined as acts of citizenship, i.e. "the deeds by which actors constitute themselves (and others) as subjects of rights" (Isin 2009: 371; cf. Stroud 2018) regardless of conventional terms of citizenship. Following Stroud (2018: 23), those acts which transcend the status quo are characterized by a "utopian surplus" as they foreshadow a better way of living[98] than the one realized already. By opening spaces of vulnerability through research, AL may thus assume a socially committed position of language advocacy. Making a transition to methodological learnings from this study, the excursus into theoretical frameworks around spaces of vulnerability and language advocacy has prepared the analyses of the interactional processes in the PP groups of this study.

9.4.2. Empirical observations

The PP groups revealed several of the characteristics that define spaces of vulnerability. This was particularly evident with the PP groups set in the Austrian immigration context, when

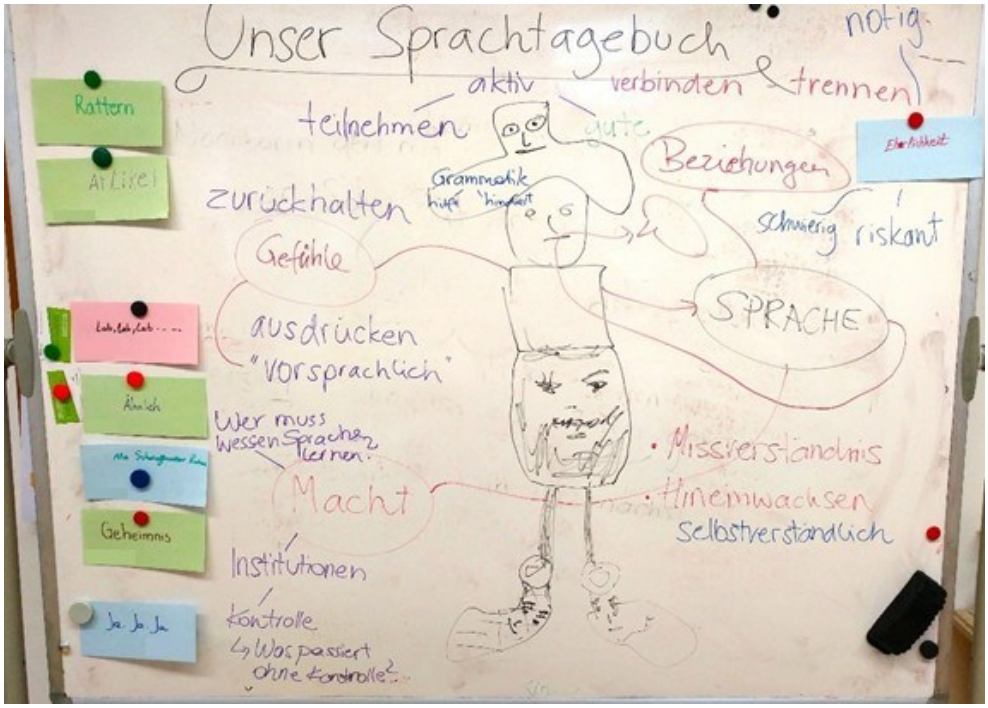
[97] It may be noted that these observations can explain part of the experience that motivated this research. As elaborated in chapter 1 (1.3), in my role as a language teacher, I made the experience that something about the knowledge I had from engagement with ELF research about languaging did not quite fit the lived realities of my students who reported on repeated and urgent challenges and hardships in "multilingual" language use.

[98] I agree with Stroud with the caveat that contestations that challenge the status quo may principally also imply worse ways of living. As this is assumedly undesirable from a subject point of view, however, speaking subjects are unlikely to perform such acts of citizenship.

participants assumed agency over determining the lived-ethical significance of 'languaging' in their lives and inhabited different subject positions than those assigned to by the societal and legal frameworks of language and immigration (for an analysis of these frameworks see chapter 8, 8.2). PP group enquiries may thus provide a new method for the kind of more socially engaged AL which AILA (2024) has recently called for. However, analysing the PP groups through the lens of spaces of vulnerability, the examinations also revealed challenges and limitations of doing AL through participatory and socially embedded approaches. The findings will emphasize the need for continuing debates on the early controversy about how AL should best approach the relationship between theory and practice (chapter 2, 2.1).

Looking into how participants responded to the PP group method, the data strongly suggest that the interactional spaces it opened can be described as spaces of vulnerability as defined in linguistic citizenship theory (Stroud 2018: 18). This means that in the PP group enquiry participants performed acts by which they put to question how they are positioned as languaging subjects in their everyday environments. Additionally, an important observation for AL research is that they exploited features of the PP group design in ways that challenge norms of distributions of power and vulnerability as regards researcher and participant roles. Where groups were embedded in language educational offers by grassroots movements in the Austrian immigration context, participant behaviour sometimes even put into question the positions they and the researcher inhabited outside the research context. As languaging subjects we had different status and roles in the Austrian immigration context: most obviously, I (the researcher) enjoyed official recognition as an Austrian citizen, native speaker of German and even language educator; participants, by contrast, did not have secured "citizenship" status and were in processes of asylum seeking and formal and informal integration procedures (related to German language learning). In this regard, data from the PP groups reveal acts of linguistic citizenship in which participants operated upon the distribution of recognition and power associated with the roles participants of the group inhabited inside and outside the research setting. The following analyses provide relevant insights from the data.

Excerpt 30: Mockery of the German language by participant, report and photo of shared whiteboard (PP_Peregrina2).



Following my invitation to share their accounts of *Spracherleben* a participant takes her sheet of paper with the word "Artikel [articles]", gets up from her seat and comes to the board. Using the space in front of the class as a kind of stage, she spells out that she will now talk about a strange oddity of the German language. As she talks, she draws illustrations onto our shared whiteboard (these eventually sum up to person with hat, skirt, and shoes, see middle of the photograph of the whiteboard above). The participant mentions that she recently discussed this with a friend on the phone: she explained to her friend that in their first language, nouns have no articles but they do in German – and they do so in very odd ways, in ways they determine the sex of the noun. To illustrate this to her friend on the phone she told her friend: imagine you wear a hat, this hat is called "der", so you are wearing a man as your hat. As the participant reports on this imagery from the phone call, she draws this illustration onto the whiteboard and adds a face to the hat. Turning towards the group she continues, I am myself a woman and last week I wore a tight skirt – and this skirt is a man too! And I was wearing casual shoes, and these are women because together they carry the article "die". So I am wearing a man on my head, a man on my hip, and two women on my feet - isn't that strange?!

Excerpt 30 is taken from one of the PP groups with Peregrina (PP_Peregrina1). In this sequence, a participant follows the invitation to share her account of *Spracherleben* yet in a (for me) unexpected manner: she rises from her seat in the German language classroom in which the PP group was set, comes forward to the board and performs a mockery of the German language right at the established place of the language teacher, with the tools of teachers, and in the awareness of the presence of German language teachers. By picking upon the declination of articles in the German language according to grammatical features like case, sex, singular/plural, and countability, the participant ridicules the language she and her fellow classmates were all more or less struggling to master with the support of the NGO Peregrina.

She points out that the language they all have to learn for integration purposes would indeed be rather odd. Doing so, the participant performs an act of linguistic citizenship as she challenges the omnipresent privilege and superiority of the German language in their everyday lives.

Furthermore, the participant interrupts the status quo of the German language classroom. To communicate her mockery, she makes use of the group setting of the PP group method, the physical space of the language classroom, and the taken-for-granted distributions of roles associated with it. Embedded in the German language course at Peregrina, the participant deconstructs the dominant language hierarchies right at the site where she and her colleagues are in fact supported to meet institutionalized language requirements of integration. Regarding communicative resources, she furthermore exploits means beyond the linguistic repertoire by deploying the physical setting for sharing, or rather *staging*, her account of *Spracherleben*. Intended or not, her performance also challenges established assumptions about who knows more about (the German) language in the language classroom: she performs her mockery of the German language right at the place in front of the board and with the board—a place and means of communication that is usually reserved for teachers' use. It is to be pointed out that the mockery was not performed "against" the present teachers. Rather, the atmosphere in the room was such that the participant felt secure enough to ridicule the German language in the social and physical space of the language classroom and in the presence of German language teachers. The observations point to the potential of grassroots movements in providing public spaces "for learning and socialisation that are at least partly sheltered from the cut and thrust of political struggle" (Rampton et al. 2018b: 73). In these spaces, speaking subjects who are struggling for voice may find time, resources, and others with and to whom they can articulate their everyday experiences and explore alternative positions.

Excerpt 31: The meaning of democracy, report and photo of shared flip chart/portrait, (PP_LangLife).

After we explained the function of the shared group portrait of favourite words to the new participants, one of them writes the word ديمقراطية (democracy) into the right corner of the flip chart, next to the lifted hand of the illustrated person. The participant tells the group that the word *democracy* is very important to them, upon which another participant adds that someone here (in Austria) would probably never write this word. Exploring why, the participants conclude that in Austria most people would not think of it, as they take democracy for granted.

The second example of acts of linguistic citizenship is taken from the PP group series with LangLife[99]. In the second meeting of the LangLife PP group, the scene reported in Excerpt 31 unfolds when a new participant adds one of their favourite words to our shared group portrait (see photo in Excerpt 31). We used this portrait as a means to introduce ourselves to each other and as a starting point for focusing conversation on the bodily experience of language. The two protagonists of Excerpt 31 are persons who fled Arabic speaking countries and have gone through asylum seeking processes and integration procedures in Austria. As they discuss the significance of the word "democracy", the participants position themselves as subjects with true understanding of democracy as they have experienced what it means to be deprived of it. In this regard they consider themselves as more knowledgeable than the citizens of Austria. Thereby the participants oppose discourses which position refugees and immigrants of Arabic speaking countries as subjects of poor democratic understanding and attitude. Consciously or not, the participants also ironically comment on the already described Integration Law in

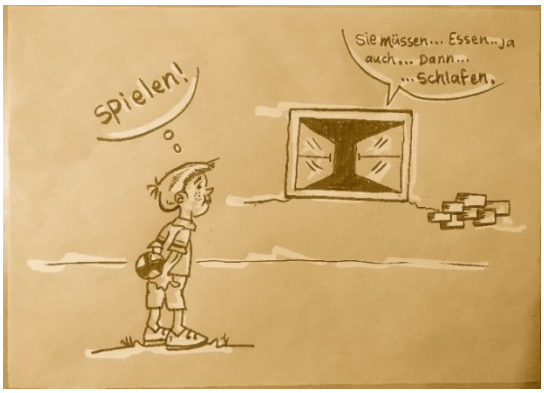
[99] The analysis of this example is an adapted version from a study already published (see Radinger 2023).

Austria (chapter 8, 8.2.1) which, besides language tests, includes an assessment of whether immigrants recognize the values of a democratically organized state of Europe (IntG 2019: §2, §7). In addition, the participants challenge the narrow definition of citizenship which they are confronting on a day-to-day basis: unlike Austrians with citizenship status, they cannot participate in democratic elections and must earn residence in Austria by completing language tests associated with the Integration Law.

Furthermore, like in the first example, the participants articulate their views and positions in the presence of listeners who are representatives of speakers/citizens who enjoy unquestioned recognition. In the given case, the engaged teacher participants and I, the researcher, were born into Austrian citizenship. This makes us representatives of those who supposedly have a naïve understanding of democracy, following the participants' elaborations. These observations indicate that the heterogeneity of participants, i.e. of languaging subjects from more and less privileged positions in context, may be critical for speakers to make the experience of *effective* claims to voice in these groups. Such constellations allow for the possibility of making the experience that one's languaging gesture to the world and others meets serious engagement and response by those "others" who inhabit different subject positions in everyday life than oneself. However, this possibility is covered only under the conditions that all participants engage with each other in these ways and are present and understood as principally vulnerable subjects whose privileges, positions, and outlooks on the world are not a given.

Turning to a third example, the text and comic provided by Excerpt 32 below were produced by one of the participants in the PP group with LangLife (the left column reproduces the original text; the right one gives my translation to English). It is the participant's contribution to the final brochure about our insights which we distributed amongst members of the organization. In comparison to the former examples of acts of citizenship in the PP groups, this third example is somewhat different. In this example, the participant effectuates an act of citizenship that draws less upon the immediately relevant context of the language classroom and the constellation of the PP group and more on an awareness of discourses about misunderstandings, problems, and who has the agency and willingness to resolve them in the context of refugee camps. It appears to work as an act of rewriting stories about refugees and a claim to have voice in shaping those stories.

Excerpt 32: “Alnuwim”, participant contribution to brochure, text and comic (PP_LangLife).



Original text (German)	*English translation*
نوم – alnuwim Als ich nach Österreich kam und Anfang 2015 einen Asylantrag stellte, wurde ich nur einen Tag später in ein Flüchtlingslager in [area] geschickt. Alle dort konnten nicht Deutsch sprechen – ich auch nicht! Am zweiten Morgen gab es aber eine Überraschung: Kinder, Frauen und Männer haben alle Deutsch gesprochen. Es war nur ein Wort! Schlafen. Die Kinder spielten und sagen schlafen. Sie waren so glücklich, aber die Leute, die im Camp arbeiteten, waren wütend. „Warum ist dieses Wort schlecht?“, fragte ich mich. Es gab kein Internet, um nach der Bedeutung dieses Wortes zu suchen. Dann fragte ich die Flüchtlinge. Was ist die Bedeutung von schlafen? - eine Frau sagte, schlafen ist „gut“ - ein Mann sagte, schlafen ist „Alles in Ordnung“ - ein Kind sagte, schlafen ist „spielen“. Am Abend kam jemand, er konnte Arabisch und Deutsch sprechen. Dann hat er alle Leute gefragt: „Habt ihr Schlafstörungen?“, die Leute sagten „Nein!“. „Braucht ihr etwas zum Schlafen – Decken, Polster?“ – „Nein!“. So fragte, er warum sagt ihr dann immer schlafen?! Schlafen ist نوم [alnuwim]?!“ Das war eine Überraschung! Alle haben dann viel gelacht und es wurde verkündet, nächste Woche gibt es einen Deutschkurs für alle.	نوم – alnuwim *When I first came to Austria and applied for asylum in early 2015, I was sent to a refugee camp in [area] only one day later. Noone there could speak German well – me neither! On the second morning there was a surprise: children, women and men all spoke German. It was only one word! Sleeping.* *The children were playing and said sleeping. They were so happy, but the people who worked in the camp were angry.* *“Why is this word bad?”, I asked myself. There was no internet to look up the meaning of the word. Then I asked the refugees. What is the meaning of Sleeping?* *- a woman said, sleeping is “good”* *- a man said, sleeping is “everything is allright”* *- a child said, sleeping is “playing”.* *In the evening someone came, he spoke Arabic and German. Then he asked people: “Are you having troubles with sleeping?”, the people said “No!”. “Do you need something for sleeping – blankets, pillows?” – “No!”. So he asked, why is it then that you say sleeping all the time?! Sleeping is نوم [alnuwim]?!”* *This was a surprise! Everyone was laughing and it was announced that next week there would be a German language course for everyone.*

In their narrative (Excerpt 32), the participant reports on a situation of a simple misunderstanding about the word "sleeping", i.e. "نوم – alnuwim", which grows into a bigger problem amongst refugees and the personnel in this camp. Contrary to deficit discourses about refugees, in the narrative it is *their* active problem-solving efforts by which the problem is eventually resolved: the refugee protagonist in the story describes themselves as an active seeker of problem resolution in a situation that is difficult for everyone involved. The protagonist recognizes these difficulties and assumes an attitude that takes it as more curious and humoristic than problematic (consider for example the beginning of the third paragraph: "'Why is this word bad?', I asked myself."). Listening in on how inhabitants of the refugee camp actively use and interpret the word "schlafen [sleeping]", the narrative underlines their languaging capabilities and the agency they assume in adopting German as a resource in their repertoires. In the narrative it is them and the refugee protagonist who eventually resolve the misunderstanding, while the people working in the refugee camp merely "contribute" anger to the problem (paragraph two, "but the people who worked in the camp were angry"). By mentioning this reaction, the narrative of the participant avoids trivializing how communicative challenges in refugee camps often need to be resolved with great effort by those who should in fact be at the receiving end of support. At the same time, the whole story evades a rehearsal of accusing discourses and the narrative of the refugee victim. With their contribution, the protagonist positions themselves as a subject who has the right and ability to tell stories from and changing discourses about a group of people, i.e. refugees, who have and assume agency in the challenging situations in which they find themselves.

Excerpt 33: LangLife participant feedback on effects of PP group, based on researcher minutes (PP_LangLife, third meeting).

A participant reports that in daily life interactions they noticed to be thinking about what people were actually doing with language. The participant explains that the PP group had encouraged them to reflect upon things to which one usually does not give much thought. Another participant, one of the German language teachers, adds an anecdote from their past week, they had started discussing questions and themes about *Spracherleben* we had in the PP group with people in their environment; their grandchild picked up one of these questions, raised it in the school classroom, and got the response "Well, you're asking questions!".

In addition to the observed acts of citizenship, participants' feedback about effects on their interactions outside the research context supports an interpretation of PP groups as spaces of vulnerability. Such feedback was given most explicitly with the LangLife PP group, which was the only one amongst the four that stretched across several meetings (six meetings within a time span of two months, as elaborated in chapter 7, 7.4.3). Excerpt 33 above provides an example with relevant minutes of the third meeting of the LangLife PP group. The feedback

points to ongoing processes of transformation in how participants think about language, encouraged by the participatory enquiries in the PP group. To give another example from the PP group with Peregrina (PP_Peregrina1), one of the teacher participants provided me with the feedback that it had been a long time since she had taken time to listen to her students so closely and hear them talk so much. She noticed that the participants were opening up in a way she had not seen before. Her observations indicate that the PP groups had interrupted the status quo of how the teacher has come to experience and interact with her students. Since this study did not systematically collect feedback, more research is necessary to examine potential intended and unintended effects of PP group enquiries. At this point, it can be said that the feedback that was received in the study strongly suggests that the method of PP group enquiries can have transformative effects on participants and the social environments in which they are embedded. The observation of transformative potential in turn supports the analysis of PP groups as spaces of vulnerability.

Continuing methodological considerations, a critical question is what about the PP group method has enabled participants to perform the observed acts of citizenship. Reviewing methodological features and interactional processes in comparison with the other methods used, the following answers can be given. First, the participatory character of the PP group balanced out some of the power differentials between researchers and participants when it comes to interpreting the data. Unlike the online survey and the follow-up interview, participants in the PP groups did not just select and share accounts of *Spracherleben* but engaged above all in processes of collaborative analysis and interpretation: individually and in pairs, participants identified general themes in their experiences and generated themes that link the experiences of different participants in the group (the concrete procedure was described in chapter 7, 7.4.3). While the power of selecting and interpreting data in the eventual research report remained with the researcher, the PP groups allowed for carrying participants' interpretations over into processes of data analysis: as to the participatory group setting, participants got to learn about other participants' *Spracherleben*, their interpretations, and had the chance of declaring significance of matters arisen, as well as to drop them. In this regard, the PP groups can be considered a participatory method in *Spracherleben* research which works towards more equitable forms of engagement as regards processes of analysis and interpretation (which is also a feature of spaces of vulnerability).

Second, the PP group method explicitly invited participants to shape the course of the research interaction and negotiate ways of documentation. As regards the potential of PP groups for opening spaces of vulnerability, the critical question is whether participants actually followed this invitation. As regards the appropriacy of deploying PP groups for AL research,

the question is whether insights gained were still relevant for the research. In the present study, most participants responded to the participatory design of the PP groups by accepting and appreciating it. There was no participant who stopped engagement during a PP group session, refused to share their account of *Spracherleben*, or did not engage in some basic forms of interpretation. Additionally, participants assumed agency over shaping the course of action in the enquiry by claiming more time, additional resources, or a shift in focus. For example, in the PP group with LangLife, I presented a visual outline of the imagined process of our "course" in the first session (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Visual outline of LangLife "course" presented in first meeting (PP_LangLife).

This course outline was written on flip chart paper and took the form of a path and symbols representing the different stages, intended foci, and possible material and prompts for use in the research process. I deliberately used a symbolic representation over concrete names and labels to make it more accessible to participants regardless of their German language skills. In the group, it was decided that we would revisit this outline in each session to welcome new participants. This allowed us to keep an overview of the process, rearrange foci according to what emerged as (more) relevant during the process, and adapt to emergent needs of time and resources. It resulted, for example, in the postponing of a writing activity and an addition of a sixth session to those five which were initially planned. These developments during the participatory data generation and interpretation processes suggest that participants took opportunities of shaping this process together with the group and researcher. As regards the question of whether the PP groups still yielded suitable data for the study of *Spracherleben* and lived-ethics of languaging, it was answered in the affirmative by the analyses and findings of chapter 8, as well as the methodological examinations in section 9.1 of this chapter.

Third, compared with the online survey and the follow-up interviews, the PP groups provided participants with a greater room for manoeuvre as regards the modes and resources by which they could articulate and document their accounts of *Spracherleben* and position themselves as languaging subjects. As demonstrated by the analysed examples of acts of citizenship in the PP groups further above in this section, the physical set-up, the group, and the embedding of the enquiry in interactional spaces that were already meaningful to participants in certain ways (e.g. the language classroom of the NGO) functioned as additional meaning making resources in the PP groups. As elaborated, the participant in the first example (Excerpt 30) performed her mockery of the German language by exploiting the concrete physical and social spaces of the German language classroom as a meaning making resource. Rather than simply sharing her thoughts, she additionally used the resource of the group to stage a humoristic performance that challenges the given status of German as the most important language to them. Considering a further example, the participant who produced a comic illustration along with a text about a misunderstanding in a refugee camp (Excerpt 32) made full use of the relatively flexible room for manoeuvre in documenting their accounts of *Spracherleben*. Originally, I had encouraged the participants to produce a symbol of plasticine that would illustrate the main theme of their account of *Spracherleben* (an example was provided in chapter 7, 7.4.3, Table 14). The participant instead produced a comic illustration.

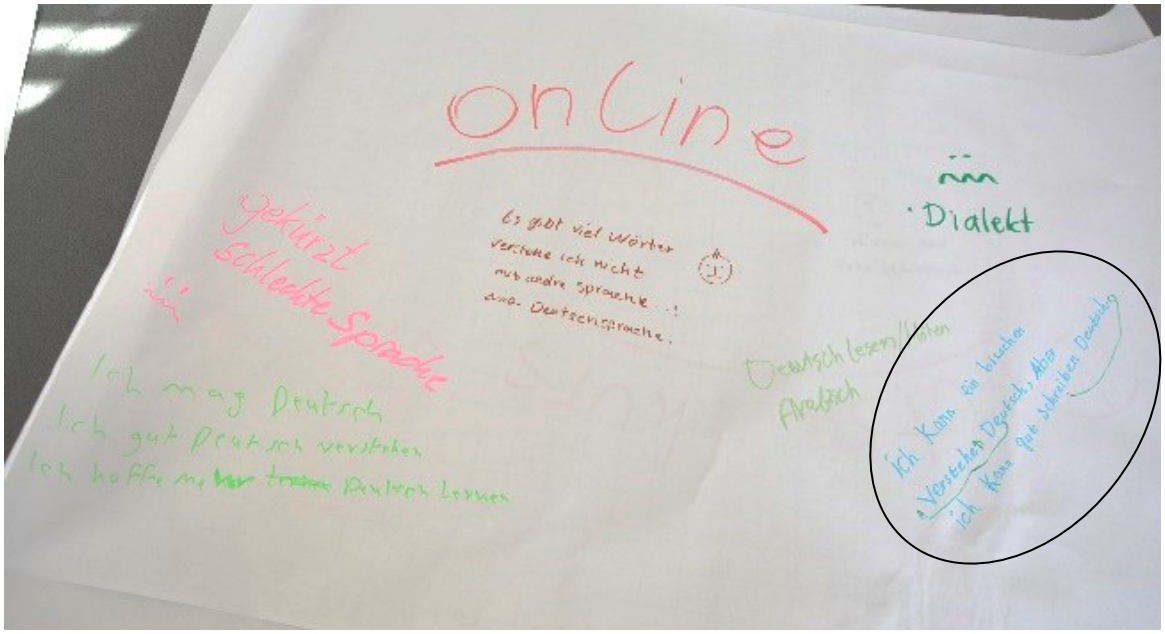
The relatively open design of the PP groups allowed flexibility in documentation of participants' accounts of *Spracherleben*. In comparison, the communicative room for manoeuvre as well as its negotiation was clearly more limited in the online survey, where participants communicated through an online form they filled with text and could, if wanted, upload additional text, audio, and image files. It provided hardly any room for manoeuvre as regards negotiating roles, frameworks of relevance, and the acceptability of expressions. The follow-up interviews allowed for a greater communicative room for manoeuvre than the online survey. Still, they were strongly focused on the spoken mode and limited to the linguistic resources of the participant and me. For the three follow-up interviews which took place via online video conferencing, communication was furthermore deprived of exploiting the shared physical space as a resource for meaning making. Considering linguistic repertoires, the PP groups also just simply provided a richer resource we could draw upon for communication. Participants had various linguacultural backgrounds and exploited these for communicating with each other and working out aspects which the used lingua franca did not cover yet.

Overall, the study suggests that amongst the methodical factors that enabled acts of citizenship in the PP groups were the social and linguistically diverse setup of the group, the embedding of the PP enquiry in familiar everyday-life contexts of participants, and the more

flexible room for manoeuvre in communicating and documenting accounts of *Spracherleben*. Given that biographical methods generally provide participants with the opportunity of articulating and sharing their *Spracherleben*, the possibility of functioning as a resource for the development of speaker voice is not unique to the PP group method. However, compared to the online survey and the follow-up interviews, this study showed that the PP groups provided a richer ground for performing acts of citizenship and claiming voice.

Precisely the embedding and the participatory design of the PP groups, however, also revealed challenges for research and interaction, which the following insights show. While participants' responses to the participatory design of the PP groups was overall positive, both participants and I had to find into our ways of working together this way. Moving through the research process included moments of hesitation, negotiation, and a continuing process of building rapport. It was challenging, for example, to step out of and not fall into established roles and routines associated with the context and interactional space in which most of the PP group were embedded—the interactional space of the German language classroom. Referring to a concrete scene in the research process, in the second meeting of the LangLife group a participant repeatedly requests reassurance from me on whether they have completed the task and used the German language correctly.

Excerpt 34: Shared flip chart, keywords for experiences in online spaces of interaction, (PP_LangLife, second meeting).



The participant had just added two sentences to the shared flip chart we used to collect keywords and experiences with language in online spaces of interaction: "ich kann ein bisschen verstehen Deutsch. Aber ich kann gut schreiben Deutsch [I can understand German a little bit.

But I can write well in German]" (Excerpt 34, blue writing, bottom right corner). This was one of four spaces participants recorded as relevant in their everyday lives besides the spaces of the "German language course", "at home", and "around town". The participant asks me whether their written sentences are grammatically correct and then rearranges the words of the sentence by adding arrows below the writing, as documented by Excerpt 34. In such moments participants addressed me as a German language teacher and native speaker of the language they were learning, which was challenging also for me to reject. In agreement with LangLife, we had integrated the PP group within its language educational offers. Additionally, most of the participants in the LangLife PP group were struggling with issues of immigration and sought support in German language matters. I could understand that participants did not want to present their words and narratives in language that may be judged upon by others as "incorrect".

Reflecting upon the participatory research process in the PP groups, the study suggests that such design requires participants and researchers to engage in the cultivation of a localized practice of AL and philosophical enquiry. This cultivation must happen in situ and requires all parties to negotiate roles and processes within the research design as well as those associated with the social space in which the PP group is embedded. Since the researcher is more involved and personally addressed (in potentially unexpected ways) than in non-participatory formats, critical reflection on this process appears a necessary part of conducting PP groups in AL research. In sum, the PP groups in this study showed clear indications of spaces of vulnerability. The method may thus add to the AL repertoire when approaching the study of languaging with aspirations for language advocacy. The methodological examinations, however, also pointed out challenges that come with a more participatory and socially embedded research. Considering chances and challenges, I discuss the implications of the gained insights for AL in the following subsection.

9.4.3. Summary and implications

The methodological insights into the PP groups in this study have revealed that these groups exhibited features of spaces of vulnerability as defined in linguistic citizenship theory: participants performed acts of linguistic citizenship by which they challenged and positioned themselves differently to established (traditional) discourses about language, languaging, and the social roles they inhabit in their daily lives. The findings suggest that the methodological characteristics which have enabled such acts were the participatory research design, the embedding of the groups in the public spaces in which participants were already engaged, and a relatively rich repertoire of resources for communicating one's *Spracherleben* and exploring positions and perspectives with others. By facilitating resources and space for participants to

articulate *Spracherleben* and subject positions, PP groups appear as a method of great potential for language advocacy through AL research.

In addition, the PP groups showed potential for a more equitable engagement with participants within research processes of AL itself: participants could take influence on processes of research interaction and documentation, and they were engaged in phases of data analysis and interpretation. PP groups enquiring into *Spracherleben* may serve as correctives for researcher perspectives and assumptions about the AL problems they seek to investigate (and potentially also to resolve). The method is thus of great relevance for AL research concerned with attending to matters of voice and agency within the research process itself. Conditions that the examinations suggested to be crucial for unfolding this potential are a participatory, relatively flexible, and negotiable research design; and the provision of possibilities for negotiating researcher and participant roles throughout the engagement. Considering limitations of the deployment of PP groups in AL research, the study revealed that the method depends upon the possibility and appropriacy of a relatively open research agenda and requires relatively high levels of engagement from both participants and the researcher.

Based on the methodological insights gained, implications can also be drawn regarding the chances and limitations of *combining* AL and PP (i.e. basic principles of academic vs. public audience orientation are considered) and of *integrating* them (i.e. one kind of enquiry is integrated as subordinate to the other). The examinations suggest that PP groups may have great potential for language advocacy independent from AL research. Unlike AL, PP may privilege concerns of participants and organizations independent from research agendas. As a reminder, one of the basic principles of PP is that its engagement is primarily oriented towards discourses of and with persons embedded in their contexts of everyday life (see chapter 2, 2.2). Positioning and conducting this research as an AL study drawing upon PP, the research design was limited in fully attending to this principle (as elaborated in 7, 7.3). Certainly, to be "philosophical", PP enquiries also need to follow principles and procedures which are not necessarily characteristic for everyday-life conversations and how participating persons would converse themselves (such as the principles defined by Romizi, 2025, in print: 53; see chapter 2, 2.2). Yet, in selecting relevant foci, experiences, and convictions for further enquiry, PP can more easily privilege what matters for the participants, over what matters for pre-defined research interests. Because the criteria for PP enquiry overlap considerably with basic principles of academic enquiries in general, they still lend themselves for research purposes. It can thus be concluded that in matters of language advocacy, AL and PP can fruitfully complement each other.

Theoretical and methodological implications furthermore arise about the transformative potential of spaces of vulnerability in AL research. As elaborated in subsection 9.4.1, spaces of

vulnerability were defined within frameworks of language advocacy (e.g. Stroud 2018) which seek social transformation as regards a shift from traditional, essentializing conceptualizations of language towards more inclusive, and fluid ways of thinking of it. Considering the findings, limitations show with regard to the encouragement and identification of transformative behaviour, as well as with regard to needs for defining the transformative and what or who is transforming.

First, the study revealed that besides acts of citizenship, participants also showed behaviour that reaffirmed and/or drew in established power distributions and positionings of speakers (e.g. the native speaker of German and the language learner in the Austrian immigration context). It thus seems necessary to underline that spaces of vulnerability can *invite* yet *not produce* acts of linguistic citizenship that are transformative (in the sense of transforming established traditional categorizations of "languages" and "their" speakers)[100]. Isin and Nielsen (2008: 11) have pointed out that acts of citizenship may also comply with established norms and practices; for example, speakers may constitute themselves as subjects of rights by making claims to ownership of a language based on territorial and cultural heritage. Moreover, they highlight that

> acts of citizenship may be cultivated by or may transgress practices and formal entitlement, as they emerge from the paradox between universal inclusion in the language of rights and cosmopolitanism, on the one hand, and inevitable exclusion in the language of community and particularity on the other. (Isin & Nielsen 2008: 11)

This paradox gives contour to the kind of freedom that is described by the central notion of voice in language advocacy: someone who is deprived of the "freedom to have one's voice heard, [and the] freedom to develop a voice worth hearing" (Hymes, 2003: 64) does not claim freedom to speak however they want and in social vacuum; what they claim is a place to speak from "within the here-&-now of specific events" (Rampton & Holmes, 2018: 72). Language advocacy thus also needs to consider, and to a certain degree recognize, the status quo even if the aim is to transcend it.

Second, from an analytical point of view the identification of the "transformative" is necessarily partial. Consider the following issue: if we look at acts of citizenship as embedded in the complex realities of superdiversity, they evade simple and absolute categorization as "transformative" and "affirmative". The analysis of the lived-ethical significance of languaging

[100] It is worth noting that the philosophical practitioner Lindseth (2014b) considers openness in methodology and outcome a necessary characteristic for procedures to generate results that emerge in accordance with the needs, talents, and situations of the humans involved. While technology proceeds in clearly defined ways and produces clearly defined outcomes by putting everything in its "right place", Lindseth (2014b: 76) elaborates, philosophical practice follows a *poiesis*-based approach that allows results to emerge from the situated interplay and inner potential of conditions, material, and actors. Considering the support of speaker voice in language advocacy programmes, the approach characteristics of openness in methodology and outcome may be equally important.

(chapter 8, especially 8.1 and 8.2) demonstrated that concrete languaging practices derive their social meanings in a complex interplay of interactional spaces that are structured in different ways. It appears unlikely that studies can fully capture this complexity (or superdiversity), whereby the identification of "the transformative" must be considered heavily dependent upon the interactional space(s) we consider and grasp. This does not invalidate the attempt of identifying the transformative in acts of linguistic citizenship, but it draws attention to the partiality of what we may grasp by analysis of it.

A further analytical issue about the identification of "transformative" languaging behaviour is that we must decide on an object that undergoes transformation and a point of reference for "measuring" this objects' transformation. In the literature on linguistic citizenship (Stroud 2018; Rampton et al. 2018a, 2018b) the "transformative" about acts of linguistic citizenship is primarily defined with regard to whether these contribute to changing traditional, colonial discourses about languages and their speakers into discourses that promote more inclusive and fluid concepts of languaging. If this definition is applied to analysis, one looks for such transformation and at discourses and practices related to language/languaging as the object of transformation. When we accept that acts of citizenship (i.e. acts by which participants constitute themselves as subjects of rights) may be *affirming* as well as *transcending* traditional discourses about language/languaging, research ethics demands that social engagement of AL still needs to keep in mind that AL frameworks of transformation and remedy may not necessarily overlap with the interests, causes, and frameworks relevant from participants' points of view. For example, the participant Mubashir in my study, who had fulfilled all language requirements in the Austrian immigration context and "even [has] the Austrian driving licence for forklifts", positioned himself as a person who seeks access to the job market like any other not so much because he sought to question discourses about language and immigrants, but because he desperately wanted to get a job (see chapter 8, 8.2.2, Excerpt 4). Furthermore, from his point of view, he had undergone considerable transformation as a person for claiming this position that way.

From a subject-centred perspective, the "transformative" potential of spaces of vulnerability may be less concerned with discourses about language but with the transformation of the subject itself. This view is more implicit in the literature yet is critical for considerate engagement with languaging subjects, their *Spracherleben*, and AL claims for language advocacy through research practices. As the examples of acts of citizenship in the PP groups showed, participants did not just reason differently about their subject positions but literally embodied and experienced positions that challenged the status quo, for example, in the language classroom (see 9.4.2, Excerpt 30, the mock-performance of German language by participant in

the PP group with Peregrina). Additionally, participants noticed that the PP group enquiry affected their thinking about language and languaging also outside the research context, which in turn affected their behaviour (e.g. the participants who gave feedback on noticing how the PP group LangLife impacted upon their everyday thoughts about language and encouraged them to start conversations about it, see 9.4.2). From a subject-centred definition of "transformation", (PP groups as) spaces of vulnerability may thus indeed provide spaces for personal development and transformation. Opening to vulnerability in fact emerges as an enabling condition for such transformation, since only then do the involved persons engage with each other in an attitude of intellectual and personal openness that makes true encounter possible. This vulnerability has important implications for the research ethics of a socially engaged AL: it must make sure to respect personal integrity of those involved by facilitating enquiries in a way that is open in outcome and procedure; it must refrain from pushing participants towards pre-defined idea(l)s.

These considerations about the "transformative" potential of spaces of vulnerability and acts of linguistic citizenship reveal a dilemma about AL and language advocacy. To genuinely support speaker voice, researchers who are opening spaces of vulnerability must refrain from defining towards what kind of transformation participants engaging in these spaces should strive and, indeed whether they should do so at all. Otherwise, they would eventually impose their own frameworks of relevance on the lived experiences and realities of those they set out to support in the first place. At the same time, if organized in the context of AL research, researchers necessarily have their own agendas and frameworks of relevance they need to adhere to when engaging in spaces of vulnerability. This underlines the importance and ethical relevance of the "old" controversy about how AL should best approach the relationship between theory and practice, or rather social engagement (see chapter 2, 2.1). As regards the identification of the "transformative", the dilemma seems irresolvable and applied linguists, because of their concern with real-world issues, must necessarily "wrestle with the difficult issues of partiality and practicality" (Widdowson 1998: 138).

Moreover, set in the context of language advocacy, it emerges as an integral part of AL research ethics to involve practices of enquiry which iterate between individuals with access to understanding from the inside and those from the outside (cf. Brumfit 1997: 92). This ethical demand remains if PP group enquiries as spaces of vulnerability are set outside the research context. Defining what makes philosophical dialogue "philosophical", Romizi (2025, in print: 54) points out that philosophical practitioners must "maintai[n] a non-dogmatic attitude towards the philosophical contents they refer to" and refrain from teaching "the right way to understand [e.g.] what it means to be hurt, how to deal with emotions etc.". Considering collaborations

between AL and PP in matters of language advocacy, PP groups outside the research context are, however, still less constrained by academic interests and can thus support AL research in fulfilling its mediatory role between understanding from the inside and the outside of real-world problems in which language is a major issue.

Finally, despite all efforts for equal engagement amongst persons in (PP groups as) spaces of vulnerability, it is the researchers/philosophical practitioners' responsibility to design the interactional space in a way it can truly unfold as such a space. Leaning towards PP terminology, the researcher/practitioner is in the position of the *host*[101] who, however, still enjoys a power privilege: they determine much of the physical and social space of the engagement, and they inhabit social roles which are associated with credibility, trustworthiness, and knowledge. In sum thus, a more participatory and socially engaged AL research brings with it an increased methodological and ethical demand for considerations about potential intended and unintended effects of such engagement.

9.5. Discussion: the potential of PP (group) enquiry in AL

In this chapter I have presented the main methodological insights and already discussed some implications for the operationalized combined approach of AL research and PP enquiry. To address methodology as an object of empirical research itself was an integral part of fulfilling the research objectives of this study. Besides generating insight into the lived-ethical significance of languaging, the research design was geared towards exploring and evaluating the appropriacy of combining AL and PP in empirical research on languaging (see chapter 7, 7.1). Thus, more established biographical methods of text- and interview-based enquiries into *Spracherleben* were deployed in addition to PP groups as developed for this study. It is to be considered that this concrete operationalization of combining AL and PP did not exhaust the possibilities of such combination. In the previous section (9.4, 9.4.3), for example, possibilities and advantages of collaborative engagement in matters of language advocacy were outlined. The present study realized a combinatory and partly integrated approach of AL and PP enquiries for the purposes of research and the research objectives already mentioned above. This approach built on biographical and subject-centred approaches and extended them by the analytical lens of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and the method of philosophizing in groups in particular (see chapters 6 and 7).

[101] Many philosophical practitioners who offer philosophical consultancy in one-on-one settings speak of their clients as "guests" (e.g. Achenbach 2010i; Lindseth 2014b). Leaning towards this notion, I here use the dialogical counterpart, i.e. the *host*, as a metaphor for the researcher who invites to participate in a PP group.

The insights gained by the methodological examinations in this chapter were enabled by triangulation in data generation and in the analytical perspectives from which these were interpreted. The analyses included basic calculations of code-distributions across different contexts, methodologies of data generation, and features of the research interaction. Making transparent the limitations of quantifying data in this study, analyses of data excerpts were added to examine relationships between the research process, what kind of content was generated by which data generation method, in which contexts, and how participants made use of the communicative resources provided for sharing their accounts of *Spracherleben*. These analyses were extended by continued methodological considerations, referring to literature from biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* and from language advocacy.

Concluding the methodological examinations, this section summarizes and discusses the respective findings. Attending to the desideratum for evaluating the operationalized approach of AL&PP enquiry in the empirical study of languaging, I will focus on the question in how far PP genuinely complemented the biographical approaches analytically and methodologically. Where insights allow, I will also consider the potential and limitations for the AL study of languaging more generally. The two main conclusions this section will put forward are:

(1) The operationalized combination of AL and PP holds both analytical and methodological potential for languaging research:

Based on the findings, the developed combination of biographical, subject-centred approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* and PP enquiry proved to be analytically and methodologically fruitful. Moreover, it served the triangulation of methods and perspectives which helped to make the research more transparent and gauge some of the issues of relying on first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*.

(2) PP groups can complement AL research in matters of language advocacy:

The specific method and methodology of the PP group demonstrated great potential for opening spaces of vulnerability (through AL research) in contexts where speaking subjects face considerable constraints in claiming voice. This potential showed with challenges of more participatory and socially embedded research practices, which has important implications for contemporary developments in AL that work towards a more socially engaged research. In both regards, PP groups may complement AL research practices.

The findings discussed in 9.1 revealed that the combination of biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* with PP was analytically and methodologically fruitful. It was analytically appropriate, since the data generated by the more established methodology I drew upon for the online survey and the follow-up interviews yielded insight into the experience of languaging as a philosophical problem. It was methodologically appropriate as all three methods used in this study, i.e. the online survey, the follow-up interviews, and the PP groups, yielded accounts of *Spracherleben* that gave insight into matters of body image, subjectification, and moments of liminality in which the taken for granted is put to question and the relational, existential, and (lived) ethical significance of languaging comes to the fore.

Section 9.2 zoomed in on relationships between specific features of the data generation setting and the kind of aspects of *Spracherleben* participants (did not) share. The examinations focused on the question of whether participants framed experiences as negative and explicitly mentioned negative feelings such as loneliness, frustration, and disappointment. In this study it showed that such feelings were shared almost exclusively in the more intimate settings of data generation, i.e. the online survey and the follow-up interview. At the same time, these methods seemed to have encouraged participants more generally to report on past experiences and assume an evaluative stance towards them. In the PP groups participants' accounts centred more on their current situation and showed indications for undulating feelings as regards evaluation into "negative" and "positive" experiences. Further research is needed to assess if these tendencies were specific to this study or are more directly related with the examined interactional features of the research setting. An important implication for biographical approaches, and for the study of *Spracherleben* more generally, is that *what* participants share in their first-person accounts is not just dependent upon researchers' formulation of questions and tasks but also upon interactional features of data generation. In this regard, the findings support argumentation for more biographical studies which apply interactional perspectives to the research process itself (Busch 2017a; Platzgummer 2021).

That participants' accounts of *Spracherleben* should be considered a product of interaction with the setting and persons of the research was also supported by the analyses in section 9.3. In this section analysis focused on data which documented interactional processes of data generation between the researcher and the participants. The data revealed that even in the online survey, where the researcher was neither physically present with the participants nor involved in immediate conversation with them, participants prepared their accounts of *Spracherleben* according to the assumed knowledge and interests of the (imagined) dialogic research partners of enquiry. Comparing the three methods, it showed, for example, that participants frequently alluded to explanations, apologies, and defences of past behaviour in the

online survey and the follow-up interview. What can be generalized to biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* is thus that data and positionings participants share in their accounts are not mere products of the world "outside" the research encounter but also responses to the research(er). The study confirms the value of triangulation in biographical research. As regards analytical perspectives, such triangulation is implied in Busch's (2017a) combination of different epistemological perspectives in biographical research. Methodologically, the PP group proved to be an appropriate method for operationalizing such triangulation in the process of data generation.

Zooming in on the PP groups, section 9.4 examined the specific contribution of the PP groups to the AL repertoire of researching *Spracherleben* and languaging more generally. These examinations drew upon the notion of spaces of vulnerability (Stroud 2018), which defines a space of interaction in which the taken-for-granted is put to question, where interactional processes may lead to deconstruction of dominant voices, and where those involved may refashion their social positionings and senses of self. The specific contribution to AL research that showed with the PP groups was that they revealed great potential for opening such spaces with regard to more equitable linguistic engagement on a social scale but also within the scale of AL research processes themselves. A root of this potential may lie in the very fact that PP group enquiries thematize individual experiences that challenge the status quo as a general phenomenon of human life. Compared to the other methods, participants were more involved in processes of data interpretation and invited to have their say in shaping the process of enquiry itself. Moreover, the physical togetherness of the group and its embedding in already established spaces of interaction of participants' everyday lifeworlds, showed to provide a communicative resource and a resource for articulating voice in a space that is already "political", or "public", rather than "private" or "academic" *per se*. At the same time, challenges during data generation and participatory phases of analysis revealed that PP groups raise high demands towards cognitive and social engagement by both participants and researchers. Additionally, it showed that this very engagement brings about increased relevance of dealing with questions about the real-world embeddedness and positioning of AL research. In this regard considerations were raised about the definition, identification, and applicability of the "transformative" of spaces of vulnerability. The findings put "the old" controversy about how AL should approach the relationship between theory and practice back on the map. Moreover, they urge researchers to consider engaging with it as a matter of research ethics.

Addressing the added value of the PP group enquiries, limitations in the scope of this study need to be considered. The PP groups were analysed in relation to the online survey and the follow-up interview, which built on established methodology from biographical research.

The study did not empirically assess differences and parallels of the implemented PP method with other well-established methods used in AL, for example, with focus groups. From a cursory view into the matter, the PP group distributes agency more evenly amongst participants and researchers than focus groups. According to Galloway (2019) focus groups are designed in various formats, yet their main purpose remains widely on collecting data to observe group dynamics, identify attitudes towards a specific phenomenon or topic, and generally learn about how participants "think" about these. While these are aspects which can also be investigated with data from PP groups, the participatory format during the data generation process gives more credit to participants as critical thinkers and enquirers of knowledge themselves. To validate these considerations empirically, however, studies are needed which compare the methods.

Finally, the study left open the desideratum of providing and analysing recorded material of PP group enquiries. For pragmatic reasons and for reasons of research ethics (e.g. need to build rapport with partner organizations; attend to vulnerability of participants involved in immigration procedures in Austria), the chosen means of documentation were protocols including material produced in the PP groups and notes taken during and after the engagement. For full methodological description recordings and further research are needed. Such research could also unveil the black box of what happens in PP more generally. While philosophical practitioners have provided protocols of cases of philosophical consultancy (e.g. Achenbach 2018b, 2018a; Amir 2003) and described PP methodologies and methods (e.g. Raabe 2001; Marinoff 2002; Staude 2014; Weiss 2015b), there are, to my knowledge, no available empirical studies on the exact (languaging) proceedings in formats of PP like philosophical consultancy in one-on-one as well as in group settings (including, for example, philosophical cafés and walks). A recent publication (Schuchter et al. 2024) describes some of the philosophical conversational styles that find application in philosophizing with groups, but again, based on protocols. Furthermore, a recent study (Barrientos Rastrojo et al. 2024) investigates the effects of philosophical workshops which, different from open-ended forms of PP, train prison inmates in concrete skills and aim at governance of emotions, refinement of ethical virtues, critical thinking, and transformation of identity (Barrientos Rastrojo et al. 2024: 4). What is still missing however, are empirical descriptions of the exact procedures of PP, especially of the open-ended formats. The conclusion of the methodological examinations on the operationalized AL&PP enquiry in the AL study of languaging is thus that AL may not just *benefit from* drawing upon PP but also *contribute to* PP. Such contribution can be made, for example, by studying the dialogic processes of philosophizing through the process-oriented lens on languaging from

ELF research (see chapter 3; and chapter 6, 6.1, 6.2). Thereby, researchers could pin down the characteristics of languaging in philosophical dialogues of PP.

Part IV
Summary and conclusion

10. Conclusion

This thesis begins with noting the favourability bias in ELF study, and sets in train an enquiry into its consequences, involving a conceptual analysis of aspects of ELF communication which have been left out of account. For example, assumptions about the availability of a user's lingual repertoire, disregard of limitations and different conditions which inhibit access to it in actual communicative interaction, how these necessarily involve the engagement of the individuals' *Spracherleben* (i.e. lived experience of language), their ways of having become and being lingual, and how in exploiting this for communication they need to reconcile it with the communicative demands made upon them in particular contexts of interaction. Consideration of such factors puts research on ELF squarely into the applied linguistic field of enquiry, where the issues are not how the language that people produce can be described, but how language is used to cope with the non-linguistic problems of the real world, and this requires the reconceptualization of language use as essentially a languaging process. The research that embodies this understanding of languaging is emergent and in need of further development, as this thesis has demonstrated. The investigations have revealed that there are analytical and methodological gaps maintaining the favourability bias in the study of ELF, and that closing these gaps is crucial to better understand the role of language in (resolving) the kinds of problems and experiences speakers confront in the socially complex and fluid spaces of interaction in globalized lifeworlds. Reference to literature from multilingualism and translanguaging research has indicated that some of the identified issues are not unique to ELF study. While it was, within the scope of this thesis, not possible to further explore these in the context of other fields of languaging research, the investigations made clear that perspectives are needed which explore the validity of currently accepted ideas about language and communication and their relationship, and which open up lines of research more directly relevant to the realities of the contemporary globalized world.

The perspective this thesis has taken to respond to this desideratum in the context of the study of ELF is one that integrates AL and PP. Acknowledging that all research is necessarily partial by the frameworks of relevance to which it attends, this perspective was followed trough by pursuit of two main and interrelated objectives:

A) To correct the favourability bias in ELF research;
B) To develop and operationalize a combined approach of applied linguistic and philosophical enquiries in the study of languaging.

The line of enquiry this research has taken to meet these objectives started with theoretical investigations (Part II). These addressed the favourability bias in ELF research, identified

neglected notions and approaches significant to the AL study of languaging, and proposed a multi-perspective framework of the study of languaging. This framework draws upon biographical- and space-oriented concepts of the linguistic repertoire. Additionally, it includes the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem that was developed in this thesis. It conceptualizes challenging experiences that are inherent to languaging, and which may take up considerable resource and hence constrain communicative room for manoeuvre, especially if urged by unfavourable communicative conditions. These challenges are of an *epistemological* kind if once basic outlooks on what language/languaging is are put to question, *existential* if one's ways of relating to others and the world by language challenge one's ways of being (lingual), and *ethical* where languaging assumes significance as a social practice which can be felicitous, or infelicitous, in terms relevant to the notion and experience of living a good life. Additionally, the PP perspective was drawn upon to conceptualize the relationship between AL research on languaging and the construction and positioning of the 'languaging subject' in the context of ongoing social changes like neoliberalization.

The theoretical investigations led to empirical investigations which explored the operationalization of the integrated approach of AL and PP and the insights it would grant into languaging experience (Part III). The research built on biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* and expanded it analytically and methodologically by PP enquiry. Besides insights into languaging experience, the study aimed to explore the chances and challenges of the developed approach in the context of AL research. To enable such evaluation, triangulation of perspectives and methods was an important characteristic of the research design. First-person accounts of *Spracherleben* were generated by a text-based online survey format, follow-up interviews, and participatory philosophical group enquiries—a method appropriated from PP for the purposes of this study. The study generated first-person accounts of languaging experience without explicit focus on ELF encounters. Participants were adult, had some biographical relationship with the Austrian context, and many of the participants had migration, several refugee experiences. Data analysis followed a qualitative approach, operated mainly inductively, and focused on four sets of questions formulated from phenomenological, poststructuralist, interactional, and lived-ethical perspectives.

Concluding this thesis, the following sections summarize the theoretical and empirical insights of this research, its implications, and discuss outlooks as relevant to the main frameworks and approaches it involved, i.e. ELF research, biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben*, a socially engaged AL, and the field of PP. The respectively dedicated sections are intended to give a concluding overview of the feedback this research has to offer

the frameworks that have informed it, while it is the principle of mediation between these that characterizes the enquiry of this thesis as such.

10.1. Towards an integration of AL and PP in the study of English as a lingua franca communication

(1) Addressing the favourability bias

In ELF research few have addressed and dedicated investigations to correcting the favourability bias before. A contribution of this thesis thus lies in closing this gap and in making efforts to understand and delineate the scope of the bias. As a first step, the literature review (chapter 3) gave insight into the contributions of the study of ELF communication to counteracting deficit perspectives on the language use of learners and to developing an AL study of language as a social process, i.e. as languaging. The literature review also revealed, however, that until today, descriptions of languaging via use of ELF mostly rely on data from encounters characterized by relatively favourable conditions for communication. "Favourable" in this context refers to conditions of interaction that are characterized by a relatively equal power dynamic between interlocutors, a willingness to cooperate in the co-construction of meaning, a shared interest in understanding each other, a low level of stakes regarding the outcome of the interaction. Additionally, a socioeconomically privileged background of speakers can be considered a "favourability" factor.

Where scholars have drawn attention to the favourability bias before (e.g. Seidlhofer 2020b), it was mainly problematized as a matter of unbalanced database causing an empirical bias towards the description of ELF research in relatively favourable conditions of communication. The literature review of empirical studies on ELF communication in this thesis confirmed this observation. Moreover, looking into the main corpora used in the field (VOICE 2021; ELFA 2008; ACE 2024), available databases proved to be indeed biased towards the more favourable conditions of communicative interaction. Earlier consideration of the favourability bias (Seidlhofer 2004, 2020b) has also pointed to conceptual consequences of neglecting the role of communicative conditions in shaping what ELF users may do with language and how: it invites a conceptual bias and the tendency to think of ELF communication as an essentially "cooperative" and "nice" languaging engagement. Some researchers, for example, have come to see observed cooperative features of language use as part of the "natural" essence of ELF use (e.g. Meierkord 2000; Mauranen 2010). Thus, a first conclusion from the literature review in this thesis was that there is still a considerable research gap in ELF research that concerns the understanding of languaging in unfavourable conditions of

communicative interaction. Since the favourability bias manifests itself in the form of unbalanced databases and an overrepresentation of studies on "cooperative" and "nice" ELF communication, balancing out these databases constitutes an important measure for correcting it (cf. Radinger 2016b).

Expanding on the earlier observations, however, a second conclusion was drawn following which this research explored alternative ways of correcting the favourability bias in ELF research. I pointed out that fulfilling the empirical desideratum for a more balanced database on ELF communication poses considerable pragmatic challenges. Amongst the reasons named were the difficulties that remain in accessing communicative encounters in rather unfavourable conditions. Reaching true balance of databases will thus take considerable time. Moreover, given that few have addressed the favourability bias at all, conceptual tools and directions for research practice are needed now to avoid the bias in future research. This thesis embarked on finding additional ways of correcting the availability bias in ELF research. To this end, the nature of the favourability bias in ELF research was further explored and delineated.

(2) Identifying analytical gaps that maintain the bias

The investigations into the nature of the favourability bias in ELF research (chapter 4) highlighted that the favourability bias cannot be corrected by a more diversified database alone. Zooming in on the ubiquitous yet taken-for-granted notion of 'availability of linguistic resources' in ELF research, I identified a need to complement the analytical lenses on the linguistic repertoire by biographical- and space-oriented perspectives.

Looking at different references to the availability of linguistic resources in definitions and descriptions of ELF communication, a fuzziness was revealed that concerned the questions of what makes linguistic resources available in the first place and for what purposes in the social process of languaging. In the literature, English is considered available for lingua franca use if it is part of the linguistic repertoire of all individuals participating in a communicative encounter (e.g. Mortensen 2013; Pitzl 2018b). However, if one participant does not have English "in" their repertoire, does this mean that the other cannot draw upon it as a resource for meaning making? This would in fact run counter to most conceptualizations and observations of ELF communication, since speakers are widely considered to be "using whatever resources available in their multilingual repertoire and transforming them to make them accessible and understandable in context" (Cogo 2016: 10). In the course of these investigations, two interchangeably used but in fact different lenses on the linguistic repertoire emerged as

dominant in ELF research: one that considers linguistic resources available because of individual repertoires, and one that considers linguistic resources available because of overlaps in "multilingual" repertoires. A third lens is explicit in Pitzl (2018a, 2018b), who systematically differentiates between the former two and between what becomes available, or "shared" during the languaging process. Furthermore, the close analysis of Guido's (2012) study on ELF in the immigration domains—one of the few focusing on ELF use in unfavourable conditions for communication—demonstrated that a languaging take on ELF communication cannot explain why speakers fail to "make language franca", i.e. use it as a "free" (Seidlhofer 2011b: 81) "open-source" (Seidlhofer 2012: 403; House 2013: 281). While traditional views of solving the problem of lingual communication put explanatory weight on the (non-)native status of speakers, the focus on individual languaging capability and linguistic variability creates the impression that speakers can and should reach their communicative aims if they are just willing and cooperative.

Drawing upon biographical- and space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire, my investigations demonstrated that the dominant lenses on the linguistic repertoire in ELF research imply the same neglect that is implied in the favourability bias: the neglect of how conditions of interaction impact upon the availability of linguistic resources in situ. The lenses focus on the speaker as a relatively independent kind of container of linguistic resources who acts upon these resources in response to the communicative needs of the encounter. Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire by phenomenological perspectives, however, Busch (2017b) points out that our social and biographical situatedness, and our familiarity with the respective linguistic environment impacts on how we can make these responses and whether we experience them as hardships or positive challenges for inventing our languaging selves. Adding the concept of body image, Busch (2021a) furthermore highlights that experiences with languaging are embodied by speaking subjects and allow them to build a continued and coherent, yet fluid image of their biographical selves. In concrete situations, these embodied experiences can assume meanings which impact upon the availability of linguistic resources and ways of using them. Additionally, I drew upon the concept of spatial repertoires (Pennycook & Otsuji 2014; 2015), which complemented the speaker-centred lenses on the linguistic repertoire. It highlights that speakers navigate social and physical spaces which are linguistically structured already before they enter these spaces. What is needed, accepted, and available (or has to become so yet) is hence also a matter of the languaging patterns "embodied" in space.

My investigations identified the neglects around the notion of availability of linguistic resources as important analytical gaps that maintains the favourability bias in ELF research. Thes gaps may be closed by complementary perspectives on the linguistic repertoire which consider *Spracherleben*, body image, and spatial repertoires as players in what is and may become available for languaging in terms of linguistic resources and how. Moreover, taking these perspectives to a macro-level of social space and reality, I argued that the favourability bias in ELF research constitutes an AL problem of contemporary significance.

(3) Understanding the real-world consequences of the bias

Following this research, the favourability bias in ELF research (and in languaging research beyond) poses an AL problem relevant both from an academic as well as from a social point of view (chapter 3, 3.4; chapter 4, 4.3). First, the favourability bias constitutes a blind spot where AL actually seeks to be strong because it implies a failure to recognize the experiences of those who struggle with languaging in conditions of a less favourable kind—conditions which are often systemically anchored in sociopolitical and economic inequities (Fraser 1995; Flubacher & Busch 2022). Due to the lack of descriptions of ELF communication in situations where speakers face constraints on linguistic room for manoeuvre, voice, and agency, the study of ELF has unexploited potential for understanding and contributing to resolving real-world problems in which language is a major issue. Considering that ELF is *the* globally used lingua franca, it has been pointed out that ELF research can contribute to understanding AL problems and social inequities related to globalization (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247). To make this contribution, however, researchers need to invest more in looking also into ELF languaging that occurs with the "social, economic and political problems that globalisation has set in train, [problems] that have to do with exploitation, oppression, human rights, and social and individual identity" (Widdowson 2020b: 26). In this first sense thus, the favourability bias constitutes a problem *for* AL—it poses a problem for ELF research to serve the causes of doing AL.

Second, the AL significance of correcting the favourability bias showed in the light of contemporary neoliberal transformations which speak of individual freedom of the (languaging) subject where there are in fact socio-economic and political structures that enable and constrain this freedom. Recent research highlighted that neoliberal logics are implemented in (former) welfare states which increasingly responsibilize individuals for resolving problems of structural origin and instrumentalize (discourses about) language for these purposes (Del Percio & Flubacher 2017; Flubacher & Busch 2022). These transformations are implemented

to allocate financial and social resources, which however entail a social divide between those who already *have* and those who supposedly *have not* deserved to have (Peck 2001; Harvey 2007; Del Percio & Flubacher 2017; Flubacher & Busch 2022). Research which neglects the role of these systemic dimensions in shaping what it means to language in contemporary spaces of interaction, biographies, and situated encounters may in fact re-enforce the hardships of speaking subjects affected by structural constraints. Considering the widely unaddressed favourability bias in ELF research, scholars who propagate overly positive effects on speakers or, for example, push an "ELF agenda" (Costa 2022; Sifakis 2014; Sifakis et al. 2018) in language education, need to engage considerately with the concrete individuals they seek to support and the contexts they seek to transform. Because ELF research has focused somewhat too narrowly on *individual* capability, agency, and willingness for languaging, measures of remedy may easily couple with ongoing neoliberal transformations of contemporary societies. In this second sense thus, the favourability bias constitutes an AL problem in the proper sense—it is a real-world problem in which (knowledge about) languaging is a major issue.

Understanding the favourability bias in ELF research as an AL problem in these two senses of contemporary significance, it emerged that avoiding and working against the bias needs to involve the consideration of what it means to language for speaking subjects who are embedded in the globalized and neoliberal societies of today. Moreover, a perspective is needed which takes into account how AL research is itself embedded in these realities. For these purposes I reached out to PP.

(4) A theoretical model of the basic epistemological, existential, and lived-ethical weight of languaging

This thesis provided theoretical and empirical insights into languaging as a lived philosophical problem which can serve as "tools" or counterbalances against falling into the bias again. One of these counterbalances is the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem I developed in chapter 5. Approaching languaging from the PP focus on everyday philosophical problems, it takes into view how any languaging involves epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical stakes for the languaging subject. Thereby, the model provides an understanding of what it means to language in the most fundamental terms of being lingual (section 5.1): engagement in languaging can challenge our basic outlooks on the world, make us aware of the ultimate situation of being lingual (and thus of one's existential relatedness with and dependency on others and the world by language/languaging), and confront us with difficult

decisions and judgments about whether we and our languaging practices are "good" and felicitous in being human as such.

The theoretical model added to the already introduced expanded notions of the linguistic repertoire that are focused on biography and space. The model underlines that regardless of whether we find ourselves in situations of relocation and in whatever spaces of interaction, languaging is always a social process and practice by which we may be at stake as full human beings. Certainly, 'languaging' is not the only practice relevant for subject constitution, and in certain situations, such as relocation, we will more likely grow aware of these fundamental stakes. In times of globalization, linguistic diversity, neoliberal transformation, and the commodification of languaging skills, however, how we perform as languaging beings has considerable significance in how we may constitute ourselves as subjects of this world (see also my elaborations on the languaging dispositive in section 5.2)—and this world may distribute agency over determining this significance more or less unevenly across certain groups of speakers. Focusing on the Austrian immigration context, for example, the empirical investigations of this research revealed that speakers who are affected by frameworks related to the Austrian Integration agreement (IntG 2019: §7) confront an environment of disambiguation around *who* they should be as "good" languaging subjects and *how*. Moreover, the study showed how languaging assumes a plurality of meanings and is structured differently by the many interactional spaces speakers navigate today (chapter 8, 8.1 and 8.2). Thus, also within individual's subjective *Spracherleben,* languaging may imply experiences of ambiguity. Both, experiences of plurality and ambiguity of meanings associated with languaging are not unique to persons in situations of immigration (in Austria). It is the structural conditions (of communicative interaction), however, which enable and constrain us in how we may articulate our experiences, claim voice, and can rely on epistemological, existential, and ethically secure grounds for doing so.

Based on the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem thus, correcting the favourability bias implies looking at "availability" not just in terms of linguistic resources but also in terms of the epistemological, existential, and ethical grounds we may rely on as languaging subjects as relatively secure. The theory of languaging as a philosophical problem, specifically the recognition of the epistemological, existential, and ethical weight that lies in languaging, can serve as a counterbalance against the favourability bias. It allows us to investigate how the fundamental meanings take shape and assume meaning for languaging subjects in concrete contexts of interaction, and embedded in the social frameworks of reality

and knowledge that co-determine what constitutes "good" languaging for whom and how agency over such determination is distributed amongst human actors, means, and discourses.

(5) The languaging dispositive as a map for locating the (inevitable) social embedding of AL research

The second counterbalance against the favourability bias is the conceptualization of languaging as a dispositive and the delineation of AL research in it (chapter 5, 5.2). By conceptualizing the languaging dispositive, I drew attention to how important (knowledge about) the social practice of languaging has become for processes of subjectification since the advance of globalization and technical innovations in mass communication. Moreover, the languaging dispositive provided a map for locating the already always inevitably socially embedded position of AL research. It pins down the relationships between AL knowledge generation about languaging, its embedding in a network of discourses that react to social changes, and how discursive engagement can lead to both *intended* and *unintended* effects (e.g. liberating the speaking subject from traditional native speaker ideals, vs. offering it to the narrative of individual agency and freedom of neoliberalism). Certainly, there is no way for ELF researchers to foresee (all) the concrete discursive effects of the knowledge they generate. The critical point for socially engaged versions of AL is that claims for remedy need to be thoroughly checked and considered within the complexity of meanings, contexts, and subject positions with which it engages. Moreover, in the light of potential coupling effects with neoliberal transformations which are likely to increase hardships experienced by speakers in relation to languaging, avoiding and tackling the favourability bias in ELF research that seeks to have an impact on, e.g. language education, poses an ethical demand. The conceptualization of languaging as a dispositive can serve researchers to locate their studies within the languaging dispositive and consider potential (un)intended coupling effects with other discourse formations (e.g. politics, media), and implications for the offers they make as regards subject constitution.

(6) A multi-perspective lens on languaging

A critical question this research sought to answer was how the theoretical complements to ELF research (i.e. the biographical- and space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire, and the theory of languaging as a lived philosophical problem) could be operationalized for research practice. To make the introduced perspectives fruitful for these purposes, I delineated the strengths and weaknesses of each perspective and integrated them into one analytical framework and lens of the study of languaging (chapter 6): (1) the process-

oriented study on languaging from established ELF research grasps how speaking subjects situationally act upon language and put the linguistic resources into communicative use; (2) the biographical framework sheds light onto how these linguistic resources become or remain (un)available as a result of embodied experiences that become relevant for interaction in situ; (3) the space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire adds to this by allowing for the investigation of patterns of language use "embodied" in social and physical spaces of interaction; these three perspectives allow us to grasp how issues of availability in languaging unfold at the intersection of speaking subjects, interactional space, and situated communicative needs and purposes; (4) this lens is complemented in turn by the theory of languaging as a philosophical problem, which takes into view how the basic epistemological, existential, and (lived) ethical significance of languaging is formed into concrete shape by social realities and assumes concrete meanings in *Spracherleben*; finally (5) the theoretical framework of the languaging dispositive supports researchers in assuming a self-reflexive stance towards how their research (practices) are part of shaping these realities.

The integrated analytical lens can be deployed for the study of languaging beyond ELF research. What I summarize here are the three main potentials I see regarding tackling the favourability bias in ELF research. (A) The integrated analytical lens can be used to review published studies so as to harvest insights relevant for tackling the bias, discover blind spots, and identify where and how analytical and empirical gaps can be closed. (B) The integrated framework can be a starting point for designing studies which embark on closing these gaps. In chapter 6 (6.2), I have outlined examples of such studies (e.g. a comparison of ELF communication and other forms of languaging across comparable spaces of interaction, to identify constraining and enabling factors of space that are independent of "the languages" used). Considering limitations, I highlighted that empirical studies will not be able to equally address all the five perspectives since they partly require different kinds of data (generation). It must also be kept in mind that despite the mutually complementing perspectives, the integrated framework cannot lay claim to a comprehensive analysis of languaging. The critical potential that lies in integrating the five perspectives introduced into one analytical framework is that researchers can delineate the contributions and limitations of their research in a systematic manner. Such delineation may in turn help to avoid tendencies of over-generalization such as those we have seen about the "cooperativeness" of ELF communication. (C) The integrated analytical framework can help to make the approaches of studies more transparent and relate findings to discourses from related fields of languaging research. Such transparency is needed since, as revealed in chapter 3 (3.2), studies within ELF research often operate upon the same

labels but are grounded in very different analytical frameworks, while at the same time studies on phenomena of languaging outside the field of ELF research often operate upon different labels but share analytical bases. AL research would benefit from such transparency and mediatory efforts as it could then draw upon a richer body of studies on languaging to understand and potentially resolve real-world problems in which it is a major issue.

(7) Empirical counterbalances and directions to realize the AL potential of the study of ELF communication

Finally, the empirical study of languaging as a lived philosophical problem provided insights which may serve as empirical counterbalances against the favourability bias, and suggest research directions to unlock unexploited AL potential of ELF research. As regards empirical counterbalances, the study demonstrated that what constitutes "successful" and rather felicitous languaging (via ELF communication) in speakers' lives is determined at the crossings of biographies, social frameworks, and concrete situated practices, conditions, and purposes of interaction (chapter 8). Participating in various and fluid spaces of interaction, speakers face enabling and constraining conditions for languaging, as well as a plurality, and often an ambiguity around what constitutes (morally) "good" languaging and "successful" outcomes of communication (see in particular sections 8.1, 8.2, and 8.5).

The gained insights into how this complexity manifests concretely in the *Spracherleben* of the participants of this study can counteract the simplifying conceptual consequences of the favourability bias, i.e. the overly positive assumptions about effects of (knowledge of) ELF communication and generalization of e.g. "cooperativeness" as its natural characteristic. Moreover, communicating and exploring the complexity of what constrains and enables the availability of communicative resources may support individuals who find themselves in challenging biographical situations that involve language. The study granted insight into how overly positive assumptions about ELF communication held by speakers imply unrealistic and high expectations towards reaching aims associated with work and relating to others in a globalized world (section 8.3). Participants believed in a kind of hyper-connective force that lies in ELF as a resource of communication, if coupled with confidence for ELF use. As one of the participants worded it, "English gave me the power to connect to others, make friends around the globe, learn and understand other cultures and work in a company which operates worldwide." (N7, 14–32). Where these effects could not be reached, and where ELF was not available as a communicative resource, selves and others (rather than, e.g. challenging conditions) were blamed in lack of language skills and willingness to make an effort. The data

revealed instances where such explanations construed feelings of loneliness as self-inflicted based on language (section 8.4). In this regard, a promising AL research strand of ELF research emerges, which can help better understand issues of availability. This strand investigates the fluidity and complexity of linguistic repertoires in situ, under consideration of biographical moments of liminality and transition and the situationally relevant frameworks of "good" languaging that shape ELF communication in situ. If it avoids and corrects the favourability bias, it can be agreed that the study of *the* globally used lingua franca, i.e. ELF, may serve as an important lens for understanding the more challenging languaging experiences—and AL problems—that characterize human interaction in globalized and vuca lifeworlds (Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2019: 247; Seidlhofer 2020b, 2020a). Revealing linguistic dimensions of loneliness, this study strongly suggests AL potential of research in that direction.

Based on the insights gained into experiences of "hyper-connectedness" yet also of loneliness around ELF communication (section 8.4), studies on *Spracherleben* and experiences of linguistic connectedness/loneliness in ELF encounters could promote an understanding of the kind of structural patterns that promote/hinder building social relationships with others in linguaculturally diverse and fluid social setups. Such research would not only serve to correct the favourability bias in ELF research; such research could contribute to understanding the linguistic dimension of one of the most pressing issues of contemporary societies: the World Health Organization (2021a, 2021b) has recently declared loneliness as one of the major public health issues of our times. Concluding the most relevant conclusions of this thesis for ELF research, the following section turns to those feeding back into biographical approaches to the study of *Spracherleben*.

10.2. Methodological expansion of the study of lived language experience

(1) The value of insights into experiences of liminality and irritation in languaging

Investigating *Spracherleben* and the lived-ethical significance of languaging, this study operationalized the analytical framework of five research perspectives on languaging introduced in chapter 6, with a focus on biographical approaches to lived experience and the theory of languaging as a lived philosophical problem. This study did not exhaust the possibilities for deploying this integrated analytical lens. Rather, building on established multi-perspective approaches to the study of *Spracherleben* (Busch 2017a, 2017b; Purkarthofer & Flubacher 2022), it demonstrated how the PP approach can contribute to such research analytically and methodologically. Methodological findings were elaborated and discussed in chapter 9.

Analytically, the PP perspective proved to expand and deepen the focus on the liminal in biographical material. Busch (2017a) observed that biographical data on *Spracherleben* often centre on situations of liminality, transition, and moments of irritation. While these are in essence particular and subjective experiences from individual speakers, they carry considerable potential for deeper and more general understanding of languaging because these are situations when the development of strategies of communication become vital (Busch 2017a: 55). The concept and study of *Spracherleben* (Busch 2017b) avoids a re-construction of the investigated subject experience as "marginal" and instead makes visible the more general dimensions of languaging and languaging experience it demonstrates. As Busch (2017b: 340) highlights, the experience that one's own linguistic repertoire does not quite fit may be experienced by any speaking subject in situations of re- and dislocation. Drawing attention to the underlying language-related experience in such situations, the biographical notion of the linguistic repertoire here already points to more fundamental kinds of experiences languaging may bring about.

Expanding this notion of *Spracherleben* from a PP point of view, the theoretical model of languaging as a philosophical problem deepens the biographical analysis by zooming in on experiences of dislocation that take the form of liminality and irritation of speakers' basic epistemological outlooks, their existential relatedness with others, and their ethical convictions about languaging. By focusing on these basic, philosophical dimensions of experiences of liminality and irritation of languaging, the model can help to better understand which biographical situations and conditions of communicative interaction encourage speakers to explore untapped ground in languaging and which increase their risks and stakes in doing so. As pointed out by *Spracherleben* research before, these conditions make a critical difference if the experience of the "unfit" linguistic repertoire turns into continuous hardship and stress or into an opportunity for personal transformation for speakers (cf. Busch 2017b: 340–341). This was supported by the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem and confirmed by the empirical investigations of this study.

Whether we develop positive views of languaging and whether we may follow them through in our outlooks on the world, for example, depends upon whether such a view is an option at all in the sociopolitical environment in which one is embedded and what living out this possibility would mean for subjectification in this environment. The clearest example was the case of the participant who considered herself as "somewhat binary" as she struggled with finding a clear position on whether it is "good" or "bad" to mix languages (see 8.5, 8.5.3, Excerpt 23). The data suggested that these struggles were linked with sociopolitical meanings

"mixing languages" carries in the contexts of the participants' past life in Ukraine and her contemporary life in Austria. Giving insight into experiences of ambiguity, the study added to understanding how body image can play an important role as regards to whether and which personal resources can be activated for communication in situ (cf. Busch 2021a: 201). In sum, the theoretical model of languaging as a lived philosophical problem provides a sense for how fundamental challenges related to languaging question our senses of self, i.e. our body image, and that this questioning consumes personal resources in communicative encounters in which we may urgently need those resources for claiming voice. Additionally, both theoretical and empirical investigations of this research underline the relevance of subject-centred, biographical approaches to languaging research for understanding issues of availability of communicative resources.

(2) Biographical approaches and philosophical group enquiries as participatory research

In the empirical investigations of *Spracherleben* and the lived-ethical significance of languaging, I deployed three different methods of data generation: text- and interview-based methods of generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* (i.e. online survey, and follow-up interview) and philosophical group enquiries operationalized for the purposes of this study (i.e. PP groups). This methodological triangulation allowed for the identification of relationships between methodological features and insights gained into the experience of languaging (chapter 9). Based on these findings, methodological conclusions about working with first-person accounts of *Spracherleben* could be drawn, specifically also about how the participatory method of the PP groups can complement the more established ones.

First, I could identify relationships between what participants shared as accounts of *Spracherleben*, how, and in relation to which interactional features of the data generation process. In the conducted study, participants shared negative experiences about languaging rather in the methods of the online survey and the follow-up interviews. Moreover, apologies, defence, and explanations for past behaviour and positions were more prominent with these methodological settings. The investigations suggested a relationship of these tendencies with the number of persons involved—in the given cases, P (participants alone) and P:R (one participant and one researcher). The PP groups in turn seemed to be stronger with encouraging participants to enquire into experiences that troubled them at the present and were related to undulating, rather than negative or positive feelings. More research would be needed to confirm these tendencies. In any case, the findings induce the consideration of strengths and weaknesses of data generation methods in *Spracherleben* research with regard to the kind of insights they

yield. Additionally, they demonstrate that triangulation in data generation can strengthen transparency and validity of research building on first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*.

Second, building on text- and interview-based methodologies for generating first-person accounts of *Spracherleben*, this study explored the applicability of PP group enquiries in the context of AL research on languaging. The findings demonstrated that PP groups can extend and complement the methodological range of biographical approaches by its participatory elements. In comparison to the text- and interview-based methods of data generation in this study (i.e. online survey, and follow-up interviews), the PP groups involved participants in a more collaborative process that also involved phases of interpreting the data. As elaborated in chapter 7 (7.2.3, 7.4.3), the PP groups proceeded in three phases (1 individually generating accounts of *Spracherleben*, 2 sharing accounts with a partner, 3 sharing and enquiring *Spracherleben* with the whole group). Thereby, participants' views and voices expanded into phases of the data analysis process.

Third, opening a participatory space of enquiry, the PP groups proved potential in functioning as a corrective to prior assumptions of both researchers and participants. The methodological investigations focusing on interactional processes in the PP groups revealed that participants showed unexpected behaviour in how they presented their accounts of *Spracherleben* (chapter 9, 9.4, 9.4.2, e.g. the mock-performance of the German language, Excerpt 30). Additionally, participants exploited the physical and social setting as a meaning making resource and used the group as an interactional space of "caring minds" (cf. Weiss 2017b) to make sense of their experiences by relating to the respective others. This was possible in the PP groups because of their participatory nature and the more open and flexible methodological proceedings in comparison to the online survey and the follow-up interviews. Furthermore, participants were explicitly invited to shape the course of action. Considering limitations in reference to the notion of spaces of vulnerability (9.4), I pointed out that the method of the PP group *per se* cannot guarantee such engagement. Both participants and researchers need to be present in a kind of principled vulnerability, or openness for being "touched" by the languaging gesture of the other. These considerations involved conclusions about implications for doing AL more generally, and through research involving PP groups specifically. At this point thus, I turn to conclusions of this study relevant within the broader framework of AL.

10.3. Implications for AL research(ers) and its social embedding

(1) The real-word relevance of the controversy on the nature of AL

Taking ELF research as an instantiation of languaging research, this thesis highlighted that at the same time as we see increased efforts in AL to increase "participat[ion] in the construction of a globalized world in which respect for diversity as a basis for social cohesion requires individual and collective commitment" (AILA 2024), we see research gaps and bias which need overcoming to understand and tackle issues of social divide and inequities in which languaging plays a major role. To a certain degree, gaps of understanding such problems are the constitutional motor of AL because it is per definition a field of enquiry that responds to the lingual in real-world problems. These problems underly the dynamics of everyday life and social developments—in this sense AL does so too; looking at the history of AL, Kaplan (2012: 26) notes that "[a]lthough the history of applied linguistics is dynamic—is in a constant state of development—that history demonstrates that applied linguistic has sprung up in response to the recognition of real-world language-related problems." Others have pointed out that the inherent "dynamism and openness [of AL enquiry] entail an associated drive towards simplification, as though the complexity of language is too much to bear" (Cook & Seidlhofer 1995: 7). The favourability bias in ELF research and the related overgeneralizations of ELF communication as a *per se* "cooperative" languaging engagement may be read as instances of such simplification. Pursued with academic interest within academic discourses, they constitute research gaps that warrant further enquiry. If academic practice, however, seeks to actively impact upon real-world contexts and individuals, ignorance and neglect of the partiality of available AL knowledge about languaging turn into problems of ethical and real-world significance themselves—this is one of the central points this thesis has made.

This research has emphasized the contemporary relevance of the "old" controversy about how AL should best approach its concern for actual experience and real-world problems in which language is a major issue (Seidlhofer 2003b: 269–324; chapter 2, 2.1). By example of the favourability bias in ELF research, I have delineated potentially harmful effects on speakers if researchers impose rather than mediate (biased) knowledge about ELF communication onto real world contexts. In the given case, the overly positive view of "cooperative ELF" invites (neoliberal) responsibilization of individuals over languaging problems that are rooted in systemic inequities (chapter 4, 4.2, 4.2.4, and 4.3). Furthermore, by providing the conceptual map of the languaging dispositive, I have located AL knowledge generation about languaging as a discourse formation which reacts to social changes brought about by globalization, technical advance and mass communication. Researchers have long recognized this reactive

function of the study of languaging (e.g. Seidlhofer 2003a; 2005b, 2011b; Blommaert et al. 2005). What the conceptualization of the languaging dispositive encourages us to consider is that AL is *one* specialized (academic) discourse and *one* discourse formation next to interdiscursive (e.g. politics, media) and elementary (e.g. everyday knowledge) discourse formations, which are interrelated and generate knowledge relevant for constituting the languaging subject in relation to these social changes. This brings with it an ethical responsibility that lies in engaging with subject views and in taking the mediatory role of AL seriously.

An implication for AL is thus that, especially where AL seeks to actively change subject positions and/or language policies, assuming a mediatory role between theory and concrete practice and realities is necessary to avoid a lapse into "Linguistics Applied" (Widdowson 1980; 2000), i.e. a version of AL which eventually imposes its own frameworks of relevance on subjects and problems outside the academic context. "Application" cannot take unmediated forms if it should truly serve purposes of language advocacy. In the light of increased efforts for a more socially engaged AL (cf. AILA 2024), engaging with the "old" controversy about the nature of AL appears of considerable significance for fulfilling the intended causes. At this point, it seems relevant to add some conclusions in reference to my introductory notes on researcher positionality.

(2) Concluding notes on researcher positionality

On a more personal note, for me as a researcher who was motivated to conduct this project also by experiences made as a practitioner in language education, it is the mediatory role, and the possibility of stepping out of the immediacy of the experienced problem by academic enquiry, which emerged as the most valuable asset of doing AL. As outlined in chapter 1 (1.3), a motivation for this research was being confronted with a kind of ethical unease about knowledge from ELF research in my role as a language educator (in the Austrian immigration context). I formulated this unease in the question, *how could I tell individuals in challenging communicative situations to "just language"!?*. This experiential motivation was increased by academic motivations as I engaged deeper with literature on ELF communication, and it inspired the conceptualization of languaging as a lived philosophical problem.

Looking at researcher positionality throughout the research process, I would say that including in a single researcher's agenda orientations to both understanding from the inside and the outside as Brumfit (1997: 92) put forward, and to do this in more socially embedded kinds of enquiry brought about different aspects of "wrestl[ing] with the difficult issues of partiality

and practicality" (Widdowson 1998: 138). From the perspective of a practitioner, I considered it a privilege that I could dedicate time and resources to these investigations in the role of the researcher. As a researcher, I considered it a privilege of practitioners like language educators to be immediately engaged with the lives, stories, minds, needs, and languaging practices of concrete individuals and with the kind of real-world contexts in which language is a central concern. I could not have pursued this research, however, had it not been possible to assume a position where I was not in charge of responding to these contexts and individuals in the role of the embedded practitioner. Challenges of embedding showed in the participatory settings of data generation in this study. Embedded in the German language classrooms of NGOs in the Austrian immigration context, it was sometimes tricky for both participants and me to avoid familiar roles and routines associated with this space of interaction (see chapter 9, 9.4, 9.4.2). Moreover, I highlighted that needs and purposes of the partner NGOs and the participants had to be considered and, of course, I was also more exposed to feeling the urgency of those needs by direct interaction with the people involved. In this regard, I sometimes had to refrain from assuming responsibility over fulfilling, for example, needs related to language learning.

Academically, a challenge of mediating between different theoretical perspectives was the awareness that it would only be possible to step into the respective discourses to the degrees allowed for by the scope of time and resources for this research project. In other words, it was clear that the involved fields, i.e. ELF research, PP, biographical approaches, space-oriented conceptualizations of the linguistic repertoire, and even AL itself could only be dealt with partially. Considering the described challenges of researcher positionality, the available literature on the controversy about the nature of AL (e.g. Seidlhofer 2003b: 269–324) assumed important functions for me in better understanding the experiences I made during the research process and in considering matters of research approach. Including a third perspective in these considerations, i.e. the positionality as a philosophical practitioner, also aided this process. Beyond these reflective aspects, the research revealed collaborative potential of AL and PP in matters of language advocacy.

(3) AL and PP—future partners in matters of language advocacy (?)

This research demonstrated that PP can contribute to and complement AL research in the study of languaging. Moreover, it strongly suggested a potential for future collaborations in matters of language advocacy. In chapter 2 (especially section 2.3) of this thesis, I outlined parallels and differences in the basic principles of both fields which already indicated why they lend themselves to collaboration in enquiries on languaging. Both fields take an interest in the

everyday-life experience of problems yet are different as regards the linguistic (AL) and the philosophical (PP) focus, and as regards their operative location within academia (AL) and outside of universities as a form consultancy and education engaging directly with the persons concerned (PP). Combining AL and PP, this research demonstrated that a combination of both brings about the opportunity of approaching the formulation of AL problems and enquiries from both academic and elementary levels of discourse formation. In particular, the method of PP group enquiries appropriated for the purposes of AL enquiry proved to serve the mediatory role of AL and the cause of language advocacy.

The PP groups conducted in this study showed features of spaces of vulnerability as envisioned in AL research on linguistic citizenship and language advocacy. In such spaces participants seriously engage with one another and may challenge established discourses about them and the subject positions they inhabit in their daily lives (Stroud 2018: 18). Data on the research process proved that participants exploited the interactional space of the PP group as an opportunity for acts of citizenship, for re-claiming voice, and for publicly communicating positions towards established structural conditions. The PP groups conducted with organizations in the Austrian immigration context revealed a particular sociopolitical significance as regards matters of language advocacy: as immigrants confront an environment which enforces disambiguation of the meanings of "felicitous" languaging, which constrains immigrants' communicative room for manoeuvre, and diminishes the number of public spaces in which they can articulate their views and experiences (see chapter 8, 8.2), the PP groups functioned as a public space for developing and claiming voice embedded in participants' everyday contexts of interaction (i.e. the German language course).

In addition, the PP groups served the mediatory role of AL research by engaging participants and researchers into a participatory enquiry into AL problems. This way I could learn about and witness processes of articulation of such problems through participants' points of view. For AL research this means that engagement with PP groups on matters of languaging could help change between first-person and third-person perspectives. Iteration may also be encouraged between an AL perspective and a meta-perspective on it. In an ambitious version of collaboration, PP groups could be installed as a regular forum inspiring formulation of AL problems in interaction with people concerned. Future research, however, needs to explore how this can be implemented. An important question is, for example, if such PP groups should be led by independent philosophical practitioners. In the previous section I already drew attention to the challenges of inhabiting both roles of the facilitator of the PP group enquiry and researcher (e.g. balancing out participants expectations, needs, and research interests). To

include PP groups in empirical studies, another question needs further exploration: whether and to what degrees forming PP groups for AL research purposes depends upon educational background in PP. Since I was educated and experienced in both fields, I could take on both roles in the research process. A desideratum for such considerations is to conduct analyses of the interactive processes in PP groups based on recorded material. For reasons of research ethics, building rapport with the partner organizations and the people involved, I did not record the PP groups whereby this study could not fulfil this desideratum. In this regard, AL could in fact contribute to PP. Until today, there is no systematic research that describes the concrete conversational proceedings of PP empirically. The process-oriented study of languaging, as deployed in ELF research, could unveil the black box of the PP dialogue and describe the general and specific philosophical proceedings of such interactions.

Importantly for future collaboration of AL and PP, this study also delineated limitations of combining AL and PP in ways that attend to the basic principles of both fields of enquiry. It was highlighted that, if PP is deployed by AL research as a means to an end and/or reduced to a method alone, it is not possible to maintain the basic principle of PP that lies in an open-ended enquiry that takes its origin in the everyday-life experience of philosophical problems (see chapter 7, 7.3). Future research in AL may build on the considerations I raised in this study about possible collaboration, integration, and combination with PP for matters of academic enquiry and language advocacy. Moreover, from the perspective of PP the thesis put a new field on the map of engagement, i.e. AL and language advocacy, which leads over to conclusions about the contributions of this study to the field of PP.

10.4. Contributions to PP as a field of enquiry

(1) A fruitful re-approximation with academia

Positioned as an AL research project, this research foregrounded the question of how PP may contribute to the AL study of languaging. Approaching languaging as a lived philosophical problem, however, the investigations in this thesis also have implications for PP. These final conclusions thus reverse the initial question, giving answers to how this research contributed to the field of PP.

One of these contributions lies in giving contour to the position of PP in relation to its relative of the academic discipline of Philosophy. When I introduced PP in this thesis (chapter 2, 2.2), I explained that its relationship with the discipline of Philosophy has been rather complicated—PP constituted itself by separation from its academic counterpart because academic Philosophy was considered too detached from everyday-life experience and

discourse (Marinoff 2002: 4; Achenbach 2010j). PP positioned itself as a discursive practice within the realms of everyday life that draws upon the contents and methods of Philosophy as relevant for understanding lived experience. Bringing together the discourses about the nature of PP and AL, in this thesis I pointed out that PP assumes a mediatory position that is comparable with AL as a mediation between Linguistics and lived experience of real-world problems. In this thesis, I followed an understanding of AL which takes the view that this mediation must take the form of a multilateral process between theory and practice so that academic interests and theories are not imposed but made fruitful for understanding and resolving real-world problems in which language is a major issue (Widdowson 2000: 5). Constituted as an academic practice of enquiry, AL has thereby formed into a theory-generating field that is open to changes in the light of practice and independent from the discipline of Linguistics as such.

Constituted as a practice of enquiry outside academia, PP has not established such understanding of itself. Ongoing advances in the theory of PP and the study I conducted, however, strongly indicate that contemporary philosophical practitioners develop fruitful re-approximations with academia that may take a similar position as AL. In the time-span of about five years in which this research was conducted, philosophical practitioners engaged in academia have furthered the theorization of PP and explored its (potential) role in applied contexts: recent publications on reflective practice research in teacher education (Weiss 2021b; Weiss & Helskog 2022) now provide models and inspiration for collaboration, combination, and integration of PP with other fields; the BOECIO project (2022) investigates the potential of training philosophical competences for improving the psychological health and situation of prison inmates; and in 2022 a research project was launched which investigates the potential role of PP in contexts of palliative care (Schuchter 2022). In addition, recently an international journal on PP established itself as the first academic peer-reviewed journal in the field and is ranked under the standards of international academic indices (HASER 2024). Philosophical practitioners have furthermore published literature that delineates characteristics of quality in philosophical consultancy (Romizi 2025, in print), the ethics of PP (Gahlings 2023), and its role in accompanying processes of social transformation (Krauß 2022). Bringing the discourses of AL and PP together, the ongoing developments in PP may benefit from looking into the controversies about the nature of AL to form its own position and set its relationship status with the academic discipline of Philosophy from “complicated” to “mutually beneficial”. While in this thesis the academic counterpart was AL, my research demonstrated that PP has considerable potential for contributing to the academic enquiry that takes a concern for

phenomena of contemporary society and for "answering the needs of its epoch" (Amir 2008: 4).

(2) Indications of the social significance of philosophizing in and with the public

Finally, this research provided an empirical description of the social and political significance of philosophizing in and with the public (chapter 9, 9.4). The potential of PP group enquiries for social empowerment has been pointed out before. Describing the *Dialogkreis*-method, Hirn (2015), for example, highlights that dialogic group enquiries allow to experience that one's own and others' convictions are intersubjectively constituted and only supposedly given; and, that they facilitate "alternative way[s] to encounter others" as compared to debate and discussion where convictions are usually defended, rather than explored in their historical and social embedding (Hirn 2015: 346–347). In the given study, the potential for social empowerment by philosophizing in and with groups, embedded in public spaces, was described empirically. It showed most clearly in relationship to citizenship and (language) rights in the Austrian immigration context. In this context we find dominant discourses which narrow down the possibilities of subject constitution for immigrants and silence voices of persons and realities that do not "fit". The findings revealed that the conducted PP groups, embedded as an easily accessible space of interaction in the everyday contexts of participants, functioned as spaces of vulnerability. As elaborated, such spaces invite and enable the interruption of the status quo, the seemingly taken-for-granted distribution of agency, and subject positions participants inhabit in their daily lives. Participants followed this invitation and challenged, for example, the dominant status of German as the superior language, their supposedly naïve knowledge of democracy, and they constituted themselves as subjects who can and have the right of re-writing discourses about misunderstandings between personnel and refugees in refugee camps (subsection 9.4.2).

Based on these observations and in reference to earlier positions, the offer of PP may appear simple—it basically consists in time and space for philosophical dialogue within everyday-life contexts of interaction. Precisely because contemporary societies are "vuca", complex, and accelerated and lack such philosophical time-space interventions, however, this simple offer is of great social and societal significance. Weiss (2015a: 419) describes PP as an essentially educational dialogue in the sense of learning about ones' own position in the world and enquiring into where we may head as a society. Considering the collective challenges of our times (e.g. climate change, the weakening of democracy, the erosion of welfare systems), he sees the educational and sociopolitical potential of PP as a special responsibility that is not

constituted in formulating new teachings and the like, but in facilitating dialogue and processes of (self) reflection (Weiss 2015a: 419). In sum, the socio-political potential of philosophizing in and with the public, in groups, lies in providing the necessary time, space, and social resources for the attempt of understanding how we are related with the world and others and for articulating positions and visions on how we want to act upon these relations—the enquiry of this research into languaging as a lived philosophical problem is the attempt to better understand how we relate to each other by language and to open spaces for the articulation of positions and visions of how we want to do so.

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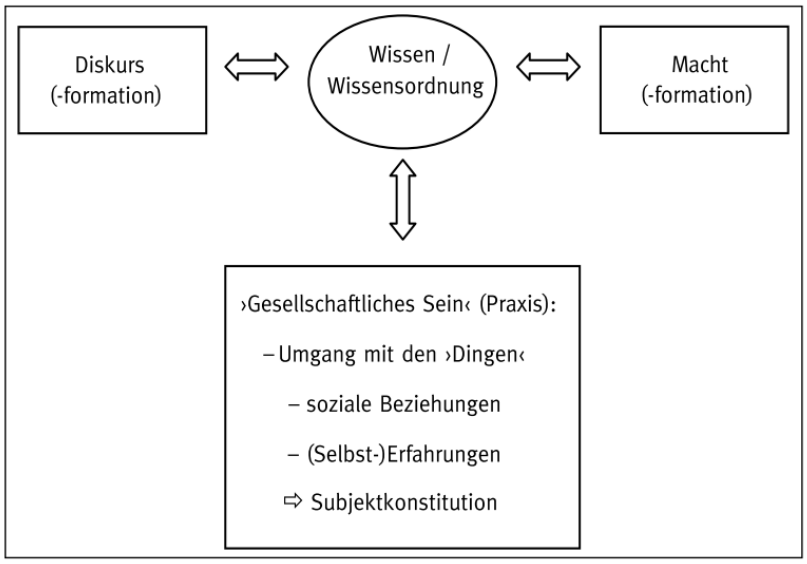
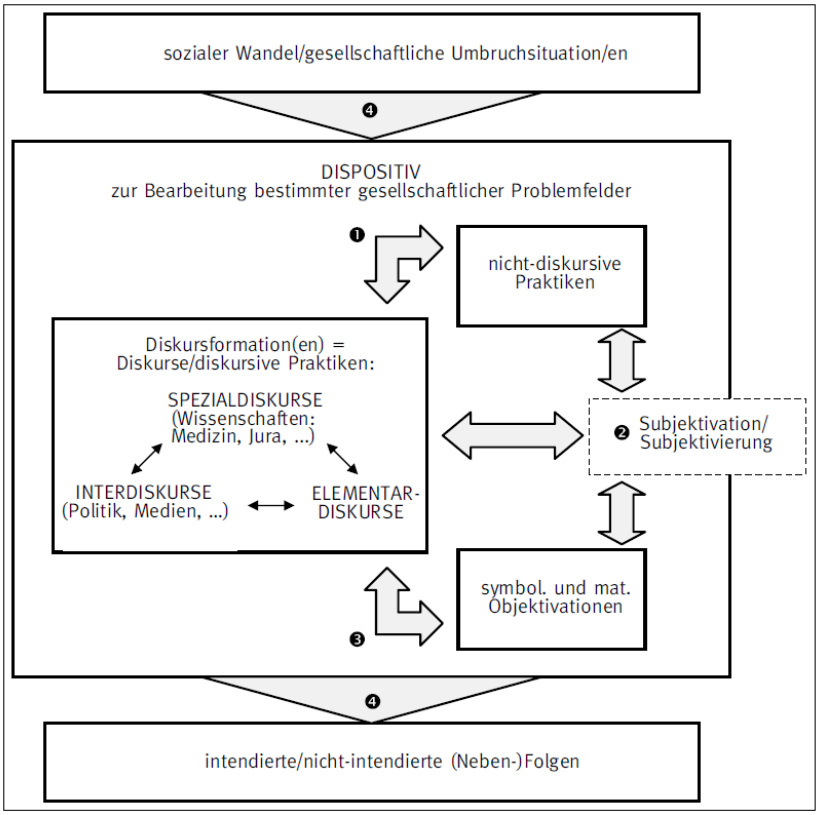
Appendices

A. Analytical lens of dispositive analysis, Bührmann and Schneider (2008:32)



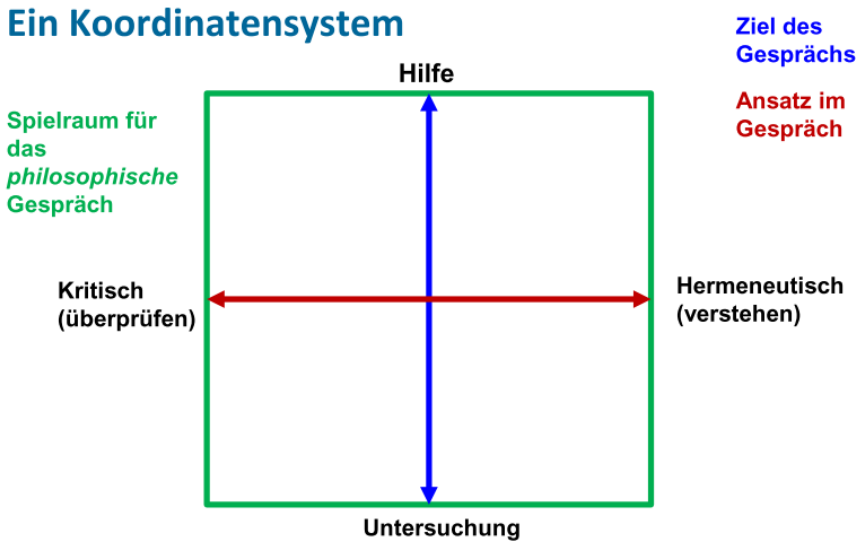
This is the original Figure "Dispositivbegriff – Analyseprogrammatik" in German language by Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 32). In this thesis, a translated version is provided by Figure 3 "Analytical lens of dispositive analysis, translated from Bührmann & Schneider (2008: 32).

B. Dimensions of dispositive analysis, Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 94).



This is the original Figure "Dimensionen der Dispositivanalyse" in German language by Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 94). In this thesis, a translated and adapted version is provided by Figure 4 "Dimensions of dispositive analysis, adapted from Bührmann and Schneider (2008: 94)".

C. A coordinate system for evaluating philosophical consultancy, Romizi (2018)



This is the original Figure "Ein Koordinatensystem" provided by Romizi (2018) in her seminar on 6th October 2018 in the postgraduate degree Philosophical Practice at the University of Vienna, which I attended. In this thesis, a translated and adapted version is provided by Figure 8 "Approach and orientation of PP groups in this study (based on Romizi 2018)". While I built on this earlier version during my research, Romizi has recently published an English version in an academic paper (see Romizi, in press).

D. Online survey, English print version

Survey on lived language experience

Welcome & ***thank you*** for being here!

In this survey I invite you to **share an experience, a memory, or simply some thoughts you have and in which you think language plays a central role.**

As you click [Next], you see a form where you can enter your experience as a text. You will find some guiding ideas to help you get started. You can also add pictures or audio files there.
Please do not worry about mistakes or style of the text you write. It is YOUR experience, **there are no wrong answers :)**

The survey will take **about 10-15 minutes**.

Optional: Take the opportunity for feedback and further exploration in a follow-up meeting

During and at the end of this survey you can submit your contact data to arrange a meeting with me. In this meeting you can receive feedback and support with confronting issues or observations you are experiencing with language. - "Me" that is - researcher, language teacher, and philosophical practitioner. I am conducting this survey as part of my dissertation project to investigate the link between language and good life. Together, we take our perspectives and lived language experience to learn about what it means to use language today and to explore possible ways of how individuals and society could tackle societal challenges related to language and language use.

For questions, contact

We respect your privacy.

Your contribution is **voluntary and anonymous**. No registration is required and the data collected will only be used for research purposes. In case your text includes names of places or people, these will be anonymized to protect personal information.

By clicking [NEXT], you confirm that you have read the information above and agree to participate in the survey.

There are 14 questions in this survey.

Your lived language experience

Please **share below a story, an anecdote, memory, or simply some thoughts on an experience you would call a "lived language experience"** - an experience in which you think language plays a central role.

For practical reasons, you ideally enter your text by using English mainly. Of course you can also mix language and/or use other languages too.

These guidelines can help you with putting your experience into writing:

- Take a few minutes to think about an experience you want to share
- Focus on one experience rather than a chain of events
- If you have troubles finding a concrete experience, think of a memory and imagine taking a picture of it with words - what would you take a picture of?
- When you write about what happened and how you experienced language try to do so in a way that others can follow easily (for example provide basic info on when, where, who, what?)
- Details about sounds, tastes, smells, colours - anything that appeared to you in this experience is relevant and interesting as it gives an idea about what it was like there from your perspective
- Take as much time as you need to write your text, if you are interrupted you can resume later (click right upper corner)

If you are insecure about writing, style, or typos - do not worry! This text includes YOUR experience and story, so there are no wrong answers here! 🙂

If you want to share your experience in another format or if you want to add something (a sound file, a picture, a handwritten text, or a photo) use the upload option below. Type in 'x' below if you decide for the file upload only.

Type in your lived language experience text here - the text can be of any length, from a few sentences to a full page. Everything is allowed and welcome!

*

Please write your answer here:

If you want to contribute but cannot do so in the forms provided here, you can stop the survey and contact

To help me with translation, please name the languages you have used in your text.

Please write your answer here:

Upload your file here if

- you want to add something to your text
- you want to provide your lived language experience in another format than typing in your text

Please upload at most 5 files

Kindly attach the aforementioned documents along with the survey

Some questions about your experience/text

In this group of questions participants are asked to provide meta-information on their shared experience.

Which title would you give your experience? *

Please write your answer here:

What do you think others could learn or take away from this experience?

Please write your answer here:

For example questions, thoughts, learnings, ...

What about your text/experience do you find most important?

Please write your answer here:

Which of the following describes best the interactive situation of your experience?
In this situation ...
*

Check all that apply
Please choose **all** that apply:

- ☐ speakers are sharing the same first language (mother tongue)
- ☐ at least one speaker uses a language foreign to him*her
- ☐ speakers do not just use one language but mix and switch languages
- ☐ speakers do not share a common language
- ☐ this question does not apply to my experience
- ☐ Other:

Are you interested in a **follow-up meeting for feedback, further exploration and support with learning from your own lived language experience?**

If yes, select 'yes' and enter your contact data. I will then get in touch with you within 1-2 weeks.

I, am conducting this research project and offer my experience as a researcher, language teacher and philosophical practitioner to give feedback and to explore with you the observations and issues you want to discuss.

*

Comment only when you choose an answer.
Please choose all that apply and provide a comment:

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

Additional information

Collects some basic information about your background and life situation.

How old are you?

Only numbers may be entered in this field.
Please write your answer here:

With which gender do you identify?

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- ◯ female
- ◯ male
- ◯ other

What is your country of (main) residence? *

Choose one of the following answers
Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Afghanistan
- Albania
- Algeria
- Andorra
- Angola
- Antigua and Barbuda
- Argentina
- Armenia
- Australia
- Austria
- Azerbaijan
- The Bahamas
- Bahrain
- Bangladesh
- Barbados
- Belarus
- Belgium
- Belize
- Benin
- Bhutan
- Bolivia
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Botswana
- Brazil
- Brunei
- Bulgaria
- Burkina Faso
- Burundi
- Cambodia
- Cameroon
- Canada
- Cape Verde
- Central African Republic
- Chad
- Chile
- China
- Colombia
- Comoros
- Congo, Republic of the
- Congo, Democratic Republic of the
- Costa Rica
- Cote d'Ivoire
- Croatia
- Cuba
- Cyprus
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- Djibouti
- Dominica
- Dominican Republic
- East Timor (Timor-Leste)
- Ecuador
- Egypt
- El Salvador
- Equatorial Guinea
- Eritrea
- Estonia
- Ethiopia
- Fiji
- Finland
- France
- Gabon
- The Gambia
- Georgia
- Germany
- Ghana
- Greece
- Grenada
- Guatemala
- Guinea
- Guinea-Bissau
- Guyana
- Haiti
- Honduras
- Hungary
- Iceland
- India
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Iraq
- Ireland
- Israel
- Italy
- Jamaica

- ◯ Japan
- ◯ Jordan
- ◯ Kazakhstan
- ◯ Kenya
- ◯ Kiribati
- ◯ Korea, North
- ◯ Korea, South
- ◯ Kosovo
- ◯ Kuwait
- ◯ Kyrgyzstan
- ◯ Laos
- ◯ Latvia
- ◯ Lebanon
- ◯ Lesotho
- ◯ Liberia
- ◯ Libya
- ◯ Liechtenstein
- ◯ Lithuania
- ◯ Luxembourg
- ◯ Macedonia
- ◯ Madagascar
- ◯ Malawi
- ◯ Malaysia
- ◯ Maldives
- ◯ Mali
- ◯ Malta
- ◯ Marshall Islands
- ◯ Mauritania
- ◯ Mauritius
- ◯ Mexico
- ◯ Micronesia, Federated States of
- ◯ Moldova
- ◯ Monaco
- ◯ Mongolia
- ◯ Montenegro
- ◯ Morocco
- ◯ Mozambique
- ◯ Myanmar (Burma)
- ◯ Namibia
- ◯ Nauru
- ◯ Nepal
- ◯ Netherlands
- ◯ New Zealand
- ◯ Nicaragua
- ◯ Niger
- ◯ Nigeria
- ◯ Norway
- ◯ Oman
- ◯ Pakistan
- ◯ Palau
- ◯ Panama
- ◯ Papua New Guinea
- ◯ Paraguay
- ◯ Peru
- ◯ Philippines
- ◯ Poland
- ◯ Portugal
- ◯ Qatar
- ◯ Romania
- ◯ Russia
- ◯ Rwanda
- ◯ Saint Kitts and Nevis
- ◯ Saint Lucia
- ◯ Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
- ◯ Samoa
- ◯ San Marino
- ◯ Sao Tome and Principe
- ◯ Saudi Arabia
- ◯ Senegal
- ◯ Serbia
- ◯ Seychelles
- ◯ Sierra Leone
- ◯ Singapore
- ◯ Slovakia
- ◯ Slovenia
- ◯ Solomon Islands
- ◯ Somalia
- ◯ South Africa
- ◯ South Sudan
- ◯ Spain
- ◯ Sri Lanka
- ◯ Sudan
- ◯ Suriname
- ◯ Swaziland
- ◯ Sweden
- ◯ Switzerland
- ◯ Syria
- ◯ Taiwan

- ◯ Tajikistan
- ◯ Tanzania
- ◯ Thailand
- ◯ Togo
- ◯ Tonga
- ◯ Trinidad and Tobago
- ◯ Tunisia
- ◯ Turkey
- ◯ Turkmenistan
- ◯ Tuvalu
- ◯ Uganda
- ◯ Ukraine
- ◯ United Arab Emirates
- ◯ United Kingdom
- ◯ United States of America
- ◯ Uruguay
- ◯ Uzbekistan
- ◯ Vanuatu
- ◯ Vatican City (Holy See)
- ◯ Venezuela
- ◯ Vietnam
- ◯ Yemen
- ◯ Zambia
- ◯ Zimbabwe
- ◯ Other

Country names provided in English (if you cannot find your country, please chose 'Other' and type in your answer)

How did you find out about this survey? (Please specify by using the comment function, no need to mention names of friends and colleagues) *

❗ Comment only when you choose an answer.
Please choose all that apply and provide a comment:

- ☐ an NGO
- ☐ project website
- ☐ university
- ☐ social media
- ☐ friends or colleagues

Other:

Is there anything else you want to share with me?

Please write your answer here:

Thank you for your participation!

E. Personal correspondence with Busch 2021b.

Über ein Spracherlebnis schreiben

Schreiben des Textes:

- Etwas Zeit lassen mit der Wahl, damit eine mitteilenswerte Erfahrung ausgesucht werden kann.
- Nur eine Erfahrung, ein Erlebnis, eine Szene auswählen; keine Kette von Ereignissen, weil Ketten meist den Zweck verfolgen sich als 'etwas' zu konstruieren.
- Die Szene soll so beschrieben werden, dass Dritte sie nachvollziehen können (Wann? Wo? Wer? In welchem Kontext? Was?). Nicht zu knapp und lakonisch schreiben, alle Details sind wichtig. Details (Geruch, Geschmack, Geräusch, Klang, Farbe etc.) helfen dem Verfasser, die Erinnerung in Gang zu bringen und dem Leser, sich in den Text einzuleben.
- Gefühle und subjektives Erleben sind in diesem Zusammenhang wichtig. Eine (sozio-) linguistische Interpretation des Ereignisses soll dann gemeinsam erarbeitet werden und daher in diesem Text noch nicht enthalten sein.
- Manchmal kann man der Erinnerung an ein bestimmtes Ereignis auf die Sprünge helfen, indem man das Erinnerte 'langsam einkreist', wie ein Kamera-Objektiv, das langsam auf eine konkrete Erinnerung fokussiert.
- Inspirationen kann man sich auch bei literarischen Texten holen .
- Umfang: maximal eine halbe bis eine Seite

Ideen für Ereignisse:

- Sich ausgeschlossen fühlen, sich fremd fühlen ....
- Sich blamieren, ins Fettnäpfchen treten, zum Gespött werden ...
- Sprachbarrieren erfahren, Sprachbarrieren überwinden ...
- Zuflucht suchen in einer Sprache der Vertrautheit, einer vertrauten Sprache begegnen ...
- Kontrolliert werden, sich selbst kontrollieren ...
- Verstummen, zum Verstummen gebracht werden, das Reden verweigern, Sprachlosigkeit überwinden ...
- Zwischen Sprachen wechseln, mit Sprache(n) spielen ...
- Sprache als aufgezwungen erleben, Sprache als befreiend erleben ...

F. Follow-up interview guide, English version

Interview Guide EN

1. Greetings, thanks, introduction of myself and project
    a. explain procedure, time frame, etc.
    b. ask for consent to record
    c. is there anything else you want to point out/mention before we start?
    d. press recording button
    e. Intro for record: Follow-up meeting for lived language experience survey, I am meeting with participant with the response ID xxx in the survey;
    f. repeat consent question

2. Make link to online survey contribution by participant and start exploring

3. Their topics
    a. Ask the interviewee if there anything they want to point out right away?

4. Focus on the process of writing about (a) lived language experience
    a. What was it like to put your experience into words?
    b. What made you choose this one experience/thought/ …?
    c. Would you like to add anything?

5. Focus on contribution
    a. When you look at your text/reported experience now, what do you think?
    b. Is there anything that strikes you/that you find particularly important?
    c. Refer to sth. specific from the online survey contribution (story, title, learnings) and ask for further elaboration
    d. What do you mean by?
    e. Could you give an example?
    f. What does that mean to you?

6. Finals
    a. express thanks, tell them what will happen with recording
    b. keep up to date with the website and participate in Workshops (Graz & Vienna)
    c. would you like to receive a newsletter to do so

G. Peregrina workshops, preparatory language diary instructions

In unserem gemeinsamen Workshop werden wir uns der folgenden Frage widmen:

Was würde in meinem Sprachtagebuch stehen?

This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND

In ein Tagebuch schreibt man üblicherweise Gedanken, Erlebnisse, Gefühle, oder Eindrücke, die einen beschäftigen, oder einfach bloß aufschreiben möchte. Üblicherweise achten wir dabei nicht speziell auf Sprache. Damit es uns gelingt, nächstes Mal unsere Eindrücke genauer zu beschreiben und zu verschriftlichen, braucht es etwas Übung, um unsere Sinne auf die Sprache zu richten.

Deshalb bitte ich dich bis zu unserem gemeinsamen Workshop, folgende Aufgabe zu erfüllen und deine Aufzeichnungen **zum Workshop mitzubringen**:

Wähle mindestens 3 Tage aus, an welchen du einen Eintrag in dein Sprachtagebuch machst. Dein Eintrag kann frei gestaltet sein. Du kannst auch mehrere Sprachen verwenden. Hier sind ein paar Ideen, was du festhalten könntest, und wie …

Du kannst zum Beispiel,

- deinen Tagesablauf beschreiben und angeben, wann du welche Sprache(n) mit wem und wo verwendet hast.
- ein Foto zu einer bestimmten Situation machen und kurz beschreiben, was du daran wichtig oder interessant findest (dann bitte das Foto mitbringen).
- deine Gedanken zu einem aktuellen, oder einem früheren Erlebnis aufschreiben.
- Fragen rund um Sprache und deine Situation beschreiben, die dich schon lange beschäftigen.
- ein Gedicht schreiben.
- eine Zeichnung machen und Stichworte dazu schreiben, was sie bedeutet.

H. Public Library Workshop, writing an account of *Spracherleben*

Hier ist Platz für dein Spracherlebnis!

1. **Nimm dir kurz Zeit** um an ein Erlebnis zu denken, das du als „Spracherlebnis" bezeichnen würdest (eine Erinnerung, Beobachtung, Gedanken, ...)
2. **Schreibe dein Erlebnis** in Form einer kurzen Geschichte, durch Notizen, oder auch mittels Zeichnungen auf. Wähle frei, in welcher Sprache du schreibst. Es können auch mehrere sein.
3. Gib deinem Erlebnis einen **Titel** und schreibe ihn in die Box unterhalb deines Textes.

Welchen Titel würdest du deinem Erlebnis geben?

Was in deinem Erlebnis ist besonders wichtig?

Gibt es etwas, das du daraus gelernt hast? Oder andere aus deinem Erlebnis lernen können? Wenn ja, Was?

I. Excerpt 14, German original

Excerpt 14: A level that is necessary for building friendships (Peter_N48: 945–955).

945	INT:	okay / (-) das heißt auch (-) so ein gewisser grad an loneliness / den du ja auch
946		beschrieben hast jetzt in [Land in das Peter immigrierte] \ den kriegst du einfach auch nicht los \ (--) egal (-)
947		zumindest was sprachlich betrifft / egal wie viel sprache du lernst / (-) auch wenn du
948		sie perfekt lernst / (-) es geht sich nicht aus /
949	PET:	naja / (--) wenn ich die einsamkeit darauf (-) prädestiniere dass ich [ein Landsmann des Einwanderungslandes] bin / dann
950		werd ich die einsamkeit nie los \ (-) wenn ich aber sag (-) es reicht für mich aus / dass
951		ich mich sprachlich mit den leuten so gut unterhalten kann dass das alles
952		überhaupt kein problem ist / auch wenn ich nie [ein Landsmann des Einwanderungslandes] bin / (-) dann kann ich natürlich
953		die einsamkeit loswerden \ (-) aber ich würd eher sagen zweiteres \ also für mich wärs
954		eher zweiteres \ mir ist das ziemlich wurst dass ich nie [dieser Landsmann] werde / ich mein
955		ich bin / (-) warum würd ich [das] werden wollen / ich mein ich bin österreicher \
[…]		((…))
961		aber ich bin halt jemand / also (-) dass ich jetzt sprachlich ein bissl einsam bin / ist eh
962		meine schuld \ (-) hundert prozent / weil wenn ich mehr energie in [Sprache des Einwanderungslandes]
963		lernen investieren würde / dann wär ich eh schon viel besser \ (-) aber / warum auch immer /
964		weil ich halt auch faul bin und so weiter und so fort / tu ichs halt nicht \ (-) sprich (-)
965		die einsamkeit ist eh selbstverschuldet / aber es ist halt selbstverschuldet
966		basierend auf sprache \
[…]		((…))
1000		aso okay / was man vielleicht wissen muss / (-) die leute, die wenigsten leute /
1001		also wirklich die wenigsten leute [im Einwanderungsland] können englisch \ (-) das heißt ich kann
1002		einfach mit vielen leuten nicht reden \ es ist einfach (-) der pool an leuten mit
1003		denen ich überhaupt reden kann ist extrem klein \ das ist ein problem \
[…]		((…))
1006		ich mein ich bin nicht
1007		fundamental einsam in dem land \ (-) aber es ist nicht (-) wenn ich es vergleiche mit
1008		österreich wo ich zum beispiel hey [first name2] / was tust hast heut zeit / hey
1009		spielen wir computer/ bestellen wir pizza / passt gut machen wir \ (-) einfach diese (-)
1010		solche beziehungen kannst du nicht (-) oder viel schwieriger aufbauen in einem land
1011		wo einfach der pool an leuten mit denen du überhaupt kommunizieren kannst / auf
1012		einer ebene die notwendig ist dass man freundschaften entwickelt / es geht ja um
1013		freundschaften \ nicht um das (-) um die gruppenzugehörigkeit (-) sondern eher um
1014		freundschaften \ wenn du das nicht aufbauen kannst (-) dann natürlich hast du ein
1015		gewisses level an einsamkeit \
1016	INT:	und es geht aber in (-) also wenn wer englisch redet geht das /
1017	PET:	ja (-) also wir sind jetzt auch älter / und arbeiten / und haben ein bisschen
1018		weniger zeit / und natürlich man trifft sich auch weniger und so \ (-) aber prinzipiell
1019		ja (-) das geht \ also wenn man englisch kann (-) dann war das bis heute nie ein problem \

J. Abstract (English)

In the conditions of social diversity and complexity, what makes communicative language use successful? More than 20 years of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research have addressed this question, studying language as a process—as *languaging*: ELF communication has been shown to work through cooperative negotiation of form-meaning contexts, the exploitation of the full multilingual resource pool, and by increased individual initiative. However, these findings are largely based on data from interactions under communicatively rather favourable conditions, such as relatively symmetrical power relations amongst speakers. There is a lack of knowledge and consideration of how these conditions enable and constrain certain types of languaging behaviour, and how this relates to inequities of a social structural kind. Correcting the "favourability bias" is therefore critical to an understanding of the communicative process, both from an academic and societal perspective.

This thesis explores the possibility of such a correction through an approach to languaging research that combines applied linguistic and philosophical enquiries. It is developed by four steps: (1) Identification of relevant empirical, theoretical and analytical gaps in ELF research that promote the favourability bias. (2) Development of a multi-perspective analytical lens on languaging that complements ELF research. (3) Operationalisation and testing of the approach through an empirical study of lived language experience and experience of philosophical challenge in languaging, which involves subjects sharing accounts of lived language experience through an online survey form, subsequent interviews, and by philosophising in groups in public space. (4) Analysis of the data with a focus on (a) findings on languaging in (un)favourable conditions and their contribution to correcting the favourability bias in ELF research, and (b) the methodological evaluation of the approach.

The results show that the participants are involved in social contexts in which several, often contradictory ideas determine the reality of what languaging is, what speakers may control, and what kind of "good languaging" they aspire/are supposed to live up to. Experiences of contradiction and loneliness indicate that the kind of languaging observed in ELF research presupposes a kind of fundamental existential security of the speaking subject which must therefore be seen as a communicative resource that is not easily available, especially under unfavourable conditions. The methodological findings show that the approach foregrounds the subject perspective on languaging and is suitable for shedding light on questions of the availability of communicative resources in situ, taking into account biographical, socio-political and most basic philosophical dimensions of "being lingual". In this respect, the participatory method of philosophising in groups showed to carry potential for a socially engaged Applied Linguistics, as it facilitated processes significant to the support of speaker voice: participants articulated languaging experience and related problems in their own words, engaged in a collective effort of enquiry about their experiences in relation to the ultimate situation of being lingual and the social contexts in which they are embedded, and participants claimed agency over positioning themselves as languaging subjects in these contexts as well as over having their say in the procedures of enquiry.

Overall, this research provides a better understanding of what it means to attempt to communicate through language under less favourable communicative conditions. These insights as well as the approach developed to correct the favourability bias in ELF research are relevant beyond this field, as the bias is also documented in related areas of enquiry, such as multilingualism research.

K. Abstract (German)

Wie gelingt sprachliche Kommunikation in gesellschaftlicher Vielfalt und Komplexität? Die Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF)-Forschung widmet sich dieser Frage, indem sie Sprache als Prozess untersucht—als „languaging“. Dabei hat sich gezeigt: ELF-Kommunikation funktioniert durch kooperatives Aushandeln von Form-Bedeutungs-Zusammenhängen, das Ausschöpfen des vollen multilingualen Ressourcenpools und durch erhöhte individuelle Initiative. Doch diese Erkenntnisse beruhen weitgehend auf Daten aus Interaktionen unter kommunikativ günstigen Bedingungen, wie zum Beispiel relativ ausgeglichener Machtverhältnisse unter den Beteiligten. Es fehlen Wissen und Berücksichtigung davon, wie diese Bedingungen bestimmte Arten von „languaging“-Verhalten ermöglichen und verhindern; und wie dieses mit strukturellen, sozialen Ungerechtigkeiten in Verbindung steht. Eine Korrektur des „favourability“-Bias ist daher kritisch, um den Prozess des „languaging“ zu verstehen, aus akademischer wie gesellschaftlicher Perspektive.

Die vorliegende Arbeit erforscht die Möglichkeit einer solchen Korrektur durch einen Zugang zur „languaging“-Forschung, der angewandt-sprachwissenschaftliche und philosophische Untersuchungen kombiniert. Dessen Entwicklung gliedert sich in vier Schritte: (1) Ermittlung relevanter empirischer, theoretischer und analytischer Lücken in der ELF-Forschung, die den „favourability“-Bias fördern. (2) Entwicklung einer multiperspektivischen Analysebrille auf „languaging“, die die ELF-Forschung ergänzt. (3) Operationalisierung und Erprobung des Zugangs durch eine empirische Studie zu Spracherleben und philosophischer Erfahrungen im „languaging“; in dieser teilten Personen Einblicke in ihr Spracherleben in Form online eingereichter Texte, anschließender Interviews, und durch das Philosophieren in Gruppen im öffentlichen Raum. (4) Analyse der Daten mit Schwerpunkt auf (a) Erkenntnisse zu „languaging“ in (un)günstigen Bedingungen und deren Beitrag zur Korrektur des „favourability“-Bias in der ELF-Forschung; und (b) methodologische Evaluierung des Zugangs.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Teilnehmenden in soziale Kontexte eingebunden sind, in welchen mehrere, oft widersprüchliche Ideen bestimmen was „languaging“ ist, was Sprechende diesbezüglich kontrollieren können, und welcher Definition von „gutem languaging“ sie entsprechen sollen und/oder selbst anstreben zu erfüllen. Erfahrungen von Widerspruch und Einsamkeit weisen darauf hin, dass die Art von „languaging“, wie sie in der ELF-Forschung beobachtet wird, eine Art grundsätzliche existentielle Sicherheit des sprechenden Subjektes voraussetzt, die besonders unter ungünstigen Bedingungen oft kaum oder nicht verfügbar ist. Diese Sicherheit muss daher als essenzielle kommunikative Ressource gesehen werden. Die methodologischen Erkenntnisse zeigen, dass der entwickelte Zugang die Subjektperspektive auf „languaging“ hervorhebt und geeignet ist, Fragen der Verfügbarkeit kommunikativer Ressourcen in situ unter Berücksichtigung biographischer, soziopolitischer, und grundsätzlicher, philosophischer Dimensionen des sprachlich-Seins zu beleuchten. Dahingehend zeigte der partizipative Zugang des Philosophierens in Gruppen besonderes Potential für sozial engagierte Forschung der Angewandten Sprachwissenschaften, da sich eine Förderung von „speaker voice“, d.h. der Stimme der Beteiligten zeigte: sie artikulierten ihr Spracherleben und erlebte Probleme in ihren eigenen Worten, engagierten sich in einem Kollektiv, das dieses Erleben im Kontext der menschlichen sprachlichen Situation an sich und der sozialen Bedingungen thematisiert, und sie erhoben Anspruch darauf ihre Position in diesem Zusammenspiel, wie auch im Prozedere der Untersuchung, mitzubestimmen.

Insgesamt erarbeitet diese Dissertation ein besseres Verständnis dafür was es heißt unter ungünstigeren kommunikativen Bedingungen den Versuch zu wagen über Sprache zu kommunizieren. Die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse, wie auch der entwickelte Ansatz zur Korrektur des „favourability“-Bias in der ELF-Forschung sind über diese hinaus relevant, da der Bias auch in verwandten Feldern, wie etwa der Mehrsprachigkeitsforschung dokumentiert ist.