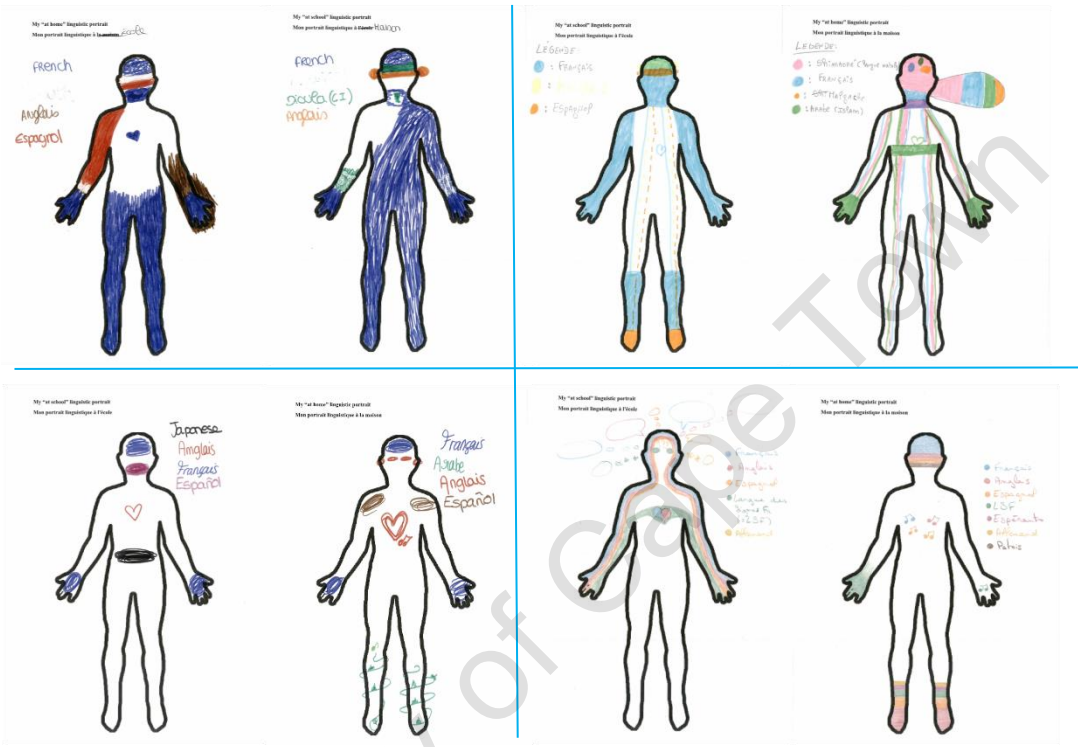
Ways of being multilingual in a monolingual state

Revealing the language ontologies and ideologies of young adult learners in a rural part of France through a language portrait exercise



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Abstract

This thesis explores what it is to be multilingual in a monolingual state. By undertaking a language portrait exercise, it examines the linguistic repertoires, histories and experiences of a diverse group of young adult learners attending high school in a rural part of France. These reveal not only the varying language ontologies and ideologies held amongst these young adults, but also how social hierarchies are sustained through sociolinguistic exclusion and silencing of minorities. These relate to France's monolingual education system, which ensures Franconormativity across the francophone world, despite the country's diverse population resulting from its colonial history, globalisation, migration and refugee crises. Eleven learners, five who were born in France and six migrants of diverse backgrounds volunteered to take part in this qualitative study. Following Busch's (2012) work on the expanded understanding of linguistic repertoires, language ontologies and ideologies were viewed through a post-structuralist and socio-cultural lens considering mobility, superdiversity and each participant's *Spracherleben*. A phenomenological approach was drawn on in the data collection and analysis, with the transcribed and translated data analysed thematically and through the lens of critical discourse analysis, multimodality and meta-discourses of the body.

Amongst both the native and migrant learners, a very wide range of linguistic resources became evident. Distinctive features of this study included the focus on the vastly differing home and school repertoires and the space of tolerance and reflection which was created amongst learners, allowing learners from the Global South to share southern epistemologies of language with their Global North peers. This revealed the participants' language ontologies and cast new light on the dominance of monolingual ideologies in France. In turn, the ways in which linguistic resources are rendered invisible or hidden and how these forms of exclusion and silencing affect feelings of belonging, became evident, suggesting that the language ideologies purported by the state and its institutions have implications for deepening political polarisation and stigmatisation within France's population. As a small-scale study, it is not possible to generalize these findings. However, this study has transferable and naturalistic generalisability on account of the participants' diverse backgrounds and demographics. As many countries across Europe face similar problems with integration of migrants, the findings of this thesis could extend to the experiences of other migrants across the region. Thus, similar exploratory research could aid in understanding the current situation in this region and how the Global North could more effectively welcome migrants who will inevitably keep seeking out better opportunities for themselves.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 An overview of the thesis

This thesis takes a post-structural view of language as embedded within society and encapsulates the idea that language, identity and culture are dynamic and non-essentialised (Preece 2020). It is understood that as language speakers, we are bound by the ideologies and norms of other speakers of languages we use. Thus, Derrida (1998) describes his experience of being a French speaker who is cultivated by his language rather than him cultivating his language through the lens of his own identity. Often, language speakers are constrained, either consciously or subconsciously, by norms of those in power and this in turn, influences our identities and how or where we feel we belong in the world. This thesis aims to address these broad concepts.

Essentially, this thesis centres around the concept of the linguistic repertoire both as a theoretical framing as well as in its contribution to the methodology (Busch 2012). Eleven *brevet de technicien supérieur*[1] learners [Higher Technician's certificate] in a high school in rural France were asked to participate in this study by completing the language portrait exercise, reflecting and presenting their linguistic repertoires and histories, initially in one-to-one interviews and then to their peers in a group session. Although they attended the high school where I was an assistant teacher, they were not considered high school learners as they were completing a post-high-school diploma. The participants described their histories from childhood through to present and beyond to their future endeavours and all their linguistic resources both at home and at school. The group of students was mixed, with 5 learners who were born in France and 6 who were born outside of France but moved there to continue their education. The one commonality shared between them was that they have used French in their studies because they all studied in France. The language portraits visually portrayed their histories and experiences of heteroglossia in both their home and school spaces across many different countries, while the interviews served as an opportunity for them to expand on how they viewed their language usage and allowed them to reflect on their previous understanding of their own linguistic repertoires as well as

[1]Hereafter referred to as B.T.S.

their peers' linguistic repertoires. The analysis of all data revealed patterned ontologies and ideologies of language amongst the participants and showed how social hierarchies are sustained through sociolinguistic exclusion and silencing of minorities. These relate to France's monolingual education system, which ensures Franconormativity across the francophone world, despite the country's diverse population resulting from its colonial history, globalisation, migration and refugee crises.

1.2 The context of the research and my role as an outsider/researcher

At the time of the research, in October 2020, I travelled from South Africa to a rural part of France to a town in the Deux-Sèvres province to start a programme as an assistant English language teacher at three schools. This was in the midst of the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic and France was entering a new round of lockdowns (Willsher and Henley 2020; BBC 2021). Due to this, the data collection methods and the duration of collection was altered. During my first few weeks in France there was a horrific terrorist attack on a teacher, Samuel Paty, in Paris (Makooi 2021). This very volatile context shaped my experience of France as an individual, outsider, African, Muslim and of course, as a researcher, just as much as it shaped this research and the manner in which the research was conducted.

Omar's (2015: 55) and Said's (2000: 182), work on exiles and refugees speaks about the theory of othering, the dichotomy of "us" and "them" and the feeling of being othered in our own bodies due to this dichotomy as well as ideologies of what language speakers are "supposed to look like" (Nilsen, Fylkesnes, and Mausethagen 2017: 40). During my time in France, I often felt othered just by living in my brown, South African, Muslim body. This thesis metaphorically and literally uses bodily experiences to analyse the participants' histories, ontologies and ideologies of language. In the same way, I can explain my *séjour* (experience) while in France. While there, throughout my interactions with people, I felt a certain way and I was treated a certain way because of my physical appearance. After speaking with other teaching assistants, who were white and German or white and South African, it was evident that I was having a different experience of French society.

Stereotypical comments I heard from other French people of colour were being flagged by policemen, even though French was their first language, and they were born in the country. Often, I would have uncomfortable experiences because others were not sensitive to my religious beliefs most likely due to France's very strong value of *laïcité* [secularism] (Busch and Morys 2016). I was expected to conform to that laïcité in my schools, in the streets, and in other people's homes. An example of laïcité I experienced was a fellow teacher showing me what constitutes blasphemy in my religion and culture: comics of the Prophet (Peace be Upon Him) from the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo. After realising how uncomfortable I became, his response was: "This is funny. You should laugh. It's just how we are in France". This made me feel like, as an outsider coming into this new country, I had to accept and agree with French values to be accepted into their society even for a short time.

Omar talks about teachers as vanguards of justice (2005) in that they can uphold and teach universal values to their students and act as stalwarts of justice in an unjust system. Not only did I feel that I needed to responsibly represent the Islamic community during my time in France due to the growing feeling of islamophobia present, but I felt that everyone looked at me as a representation of my country and the broader continent of Africa as well. This could be because many students and French people I engaged with did not know much about Africa. Their knowledge extended to Algeria notwithstanding France's understanding and relationship with Algeria as a complex one – to say the least (Brown 2018; Al Jazeera 2022b). There were a lot of misconceptions about Africa in general and I was tasked with explaining much of the complex history of colonisation just because of who I was. For example, many of the students did not understand why we spoke so many languages in South Africa and why everyone in the country didn't speak all the same languages, like they do in France. They assumed everyone in the same country should be able to communicate with each other.

Considering all these tensions, it was incredibly difficult to be all those things as well as be myself during my stay. I felt that more than just teaching English, I was trying to teach culture and history. Although the latter was a prerequisite to my stay and work in France (we were told we would be ambassadors to our countries and would represent our culture), I soon realised I was one teacher, representing my race and continent through both post-Apartheid South Africa and post-colonial Africa in a former colonial country.

1.3 Rationale for the research

One of the aims of this thesis is to cast light on the lives of multilinguals who live in France, essentially a monolingual country. Exposure to the personal language portrait exercise created an awareness of my own language ideologies and ontologies. As someone who grew up in a multilingual country (as well as a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious family) but was continually subtly praised and rewarded for my monolingual school identity and essentialist ontology of languages, Busch's (2018, 2015, 2012) work on the linguistic repertoire and the language portrait made me aware of the foundation of my biases. This thesis therefore set out to perform the same exercise with a group of learners studying in France, to study their linguistic repertoires and analyse their language ideologies and ontologies.

Like other scholars, my experiences in France formed the basis of my investigation. Many studies include multilingualism and even plurilingualism in French classrooms and show that supporting minority languages can create an ethos of understanding and tolerance in these classrooms (Hélot and Young 2002; Hélot and García 2019; Hélot 2008, 2003, 2010; Flom and Young 2022; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Young 2017; Soares, Duarte, and Günther-van der Meij 2021; Muller 2022; Beacco 2007; Jeoffrion et al. 2014; Moore and Gajo 2009; Hélot and Young 2006b). However, despite overwhelming evidence of the benefits of multilingual or plurilingual pedagogy, the French educational system remains a monolingual one, even though it is a country with a very diverse population. French has been the only official language in France since 1992, though it began to be standardised from the 1500s (Nikolovski 2018). Even other regional French languages have been minoritized, like the language Breton, which is considered a "severely endangered language by UNESCO" (Moseley and Alexandre 2010; Nikolovski 2018). Since 1992, there has been a major influx of migrants into France due to globalisation and the refugee crisis. In 2019, the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (2020), reported more than 6,5 million immigrants living in France. This accounted for approximately 10% of the population of France, and majority of these immigrants come from North Africa and the Middle East. Most of them came from previously colonised countries like Algeria, Morocco,

and Tunisia where French is a first or second language. Due to this influx of immigrants, France is slowly gradually engaging in bilingual pedagogy. But, as Hélot (2003) states, this bilingual education is intended mostly for European languages and maintains the idea that the French language should be upheld as a national heritage. This has severe implications for speakers of minority languages because the value of the multilingual resources of these learners is often undervalued and ignored in the classroom. Due to national policies and to hegemonic language ideologies, some languages are even further marginalized. In the home environment, it is natural for migrant learners to use their native languages, but it is frowned upon and marginalized as using native languages other than French is often seen as undermining French language acquisition. This stigma is a monolingual bias as it promotes the monolingualism of the French language (Hélot 2003, 2008).

Reynolds and Orellana (2009: 212) state that migrant children in particular are important participants in studying intercultural communication. They are pivotal in understanding how migrants often stand between cultures and ideologies by "embodying several borders", which is a poignant image for how migrant children stand with each foot in separate spaces. Children and adolescents play several roles on behalf of their families as multilingual interpreters, both of language and cultural divides, as well as representatives of both the country, language, and culture they come from; including those they are thrust into. Therefore, this study has found that working with young migrants will provide a unique perspective to their experiences living in a foreign country or their experiences possibly being treated as a foreigner, even if they were born in France.

1.4 Research questions and aims for research

1. *What are the linguistic repertoires and histories (as expressed in language portraits) of a diverse group of learners of a BTS class (Higher Technician's Certificate) in a high school in a rural part of France?*

2. *Does the sharing of linguistic repertoires and histories between these diverse learners enable their language ontologies and ideologies (including their understandings of diversity and difference) to become more visible to each other?*

3. *If so, what do the linguistic repertoires and histories, as well as this process of "making visible", reveal about the dominance of the French language in French High Schools and how the Francophone world upholds Franconormativity?*

The research questions above have been defined to best achieve the aims of this thesis. They have shaped the thesis' methodology and structured the data chapters in that they are answered chronologically. This study aims to reveal possible experiences that the multilingual participants face every day in their monolingual school in rural France through performing the linguistic repertoire and language portrait exercise. The concept of the linguistic repertoire itself helped to enable the participants to speak about the access they were afforded through their linguistic capital as well as how they were limited in their movement to certain spaces because of their lack of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1977; Hélot 2010) (Helot and Young, 2010). This research revealed language norms in French public schools and how they affect both migrants and French students alike. This thesis delves deeper into the language ideologies of students at my school as well as how the exercise of the linguistic portrait helped them to see their own languages and histories as well as their peers' languages and histories differently. Another aim of this research is to make the participants aware of their full range of linguistic resources and to share this value and richness with their peers. Better valuing their linguistic resources could possibly encourage the use of minority languages to be used as tools in the classroom to develop better understanding of school concepts, particularly around culture, tolerance, and ideologies of languages and the speakers attached to them. This research also aims to use epistemologies cultivated in the Global South to understand and shed light on issues faced in the Global North, particularly because these two worlds are entangled due to the phenomenon of migration and globalisation.

1.5 Plan of thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

A brief overview of the thesis, its methodology and context in France during the COVID-19 pandemic. It also covers the rationale for the research, mentioning previous literature and

my own experiences and understanding of the context. Finally, it stipulates the research questions and describes the aims of the research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: France, French and the French

An overview of the research's context and the history of France, the French language and the French peoples to help better understand the data presented in this thesis. It will cover terms like Francophonie, Franconormativity and define multilingualism in France. It will also explore France's history, its colonial past as well as the factors that influence modern day France.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

An in-depth explanation of the conceptual framework and theory underpinning this thesis and the lens through which the data will be analysed. The thesis' poststructuralist views of language will be discussed, thereafter the linguistic repertoire will be defined and subsequently expanded upon according to different scholars' views. The semiotic and spatial repertoires will be explained followed by language ideologies and ontological approaches to language.

Chapter 4: Research Design

An explanation of how this thesis research was designed and the theoretical understanding of why this particular manner was chosen. The research site and the participants will be described, thereafter the data collection and analysis will be discussed. Finally ethical considerations and limitations of the methodological will be noted.

Chapter 5: The Participants' Linguistic Repertoires and Histories Described

An overview of who the group of participants are, their nationalities, familial demographics and their home and school languages. It will also describe four participants' histories, their linguistic repertoires and linguistic trajectories.

Chapter 6: Making Visible the Linguistic Repertoire: Representing, Constructing and Performing

A detailed analysis of how the data makes the linguistic repertoire visible and in what ways it does so. It reveals how the participants chose to represent their repertoires on the language portraits, how they construct and perform their identities for ZR and their peers, what they reveal to themselves, their peers and ZR about their linguistic repertoires and histories and finally it will reveal their language ontologies.

Chapter 7: The Reification of Language Ideologies in the Francophone World

A detailed analysis of how language ideologies disseminate through policy, schools and families, what the participants language ideologies are and how they reflect the Republic. Thereafter, the effects of Franconormativity will be analysed. These effects are invisible resources, hidden resources and the idea of belonging in France.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

A brief wrap up of the thesis chapters, reflections on the main arguments brought forth in this thesis, the limitations of the study and some recommendations for future research in the field.

Chapter 2: Literature review: France, French and the French

2.1 Introduction

"What is called the French language.
Someone whom the French language would cultivate.
And who, as a French citizen, would be, moreover, a subject
of French culture, as we say.
Now suppose, for example, that one day this subject of
French culture were to tell you in good French:
"I only have one language; it is not mine". (Derrida 1998: 1)

In *Monolingualism of the Other*, Derrida talks about his language as an extension of himself because language "cultivates" his identity. He explains that he identifies as a subject of this language due to being cultivated in this way, but even as a subject or a citizen, he will never own the French language. Who then, can be identified as a subject of French culture? Derrida, a French speaker of Jewish descent who was born in Algeria, does not conflate the idea of nationality with linguistic identity or possession, however, curiously France is known as a country which has a "one nation, one language" habitus (Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Wolff 2017: 15). According to Derrida, he will never own the French language because absolute monolingualism, absolute nationality and absolute culture do not exist. Language is as culture is, fluid and multi-layered (Derrida 1998: 2 - 3). To clarify the context of this thesis, three subjects need to be discussed: France as a nation alongside its core tenets, the French language and the people connected by it.

2.2 France

France is well-known around the world, on the one hand, as a gastronomic and *haute couture* hub for tourism, from which images of delectable pastries, berets, and the Eiffel Tower spring to mind. One the other hand and more recently, such images may jostle with footage of widespread public protests and of conflict (Fieschi 2023). Understanding these opposing imaginaries of France and of 'the French', and how these play out in the politics of

language in France requires some historical contextualisation. During the French Revolution, France did away with the monarchy and became a Republic, embracing democratic ideals (Hewitt 2003). It cannot be glossed over though, that France is a powerhouse in the Global North, in large part, due to its colonial past of more than 300 years. President Emmanuel Macron is seen to have "trivialized France's colonial past in Africa" by calling it a grave mistake, but not actually addressing the effects of colonialism on the continent and on its own migrant population, currently living in France (Ozcan 2019). France is also known to maintain its economic relationship with its previous colonies through what can be called colonial practices such as pegging the CFA[2] franc, which is the currency used in previous French colonies in Africa, to the Euro. France also maintains a strong military presence in many of these countries decades after its colonial ties have been severed (Ozcan 2019; Martin 1995). The effects of France's colonial legacy, like the war in Algeria, are parts of history which make up a large part of the conflicting and conflicted identities of the French population today (AJ+ 2021). France also asserts its role within the European Union[3] and in 2022, France assumed presidency of the EU. Macron stated that issues like illegal migration, terrorism and safety of Europe's borders, regaining economic stability after the Covid-19 pandemic and realigning Europe to its values and social model are some of his foremost concerns (Euronews 2022).

2.2.1 Francophonie and the values of the Republic

Francophonie is a term which can describe the population of the world who speak French, also francophones (Organisation Internationale de la francophonie n.d.). It could also refer to the "international institution dedicated to the defence of French" (Vigouroux 2013: 379). The term was originally coined in the late 1800s to refer to countries and speakers of French, however today, *francophonie* with a lowercase 'f' denotes French speakers while *Francophonie* with a capital 'F' denotes the institutions which are committed to growing the language across the world as well as defending its ideological, political and economic values. Rather than a linguistic denotation, *la Francophonie* became influenced by political agendas such as the resistance to Anglophone hegemony in both the Global North and the Global

[2] Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA) [African Financial Community]
[3] Hereafter referred to as the EU

South due to colonialism (Vigouroux 2013). An institution dedicated to *Francophonie*, called the *Organisation International de La Francophonie*, aims at developing a culture of *Francophonie*, expanding the French language across the world and promoting "political, educational, economic and cultural cooperation" between more than 80 different member states associated with the institution (Organisation Internationale de la francophonie n.d.). *Francophonie* thus naturally connects previous French colonies to France as the French language expanded due to colonialism. Even though French became the lingua franca for these speakers across the world, racial divides between those who can be termed francophone or not were prevalent, particularly between francophone Africans and francophone western populations and Arab populations (Vigouroux 2013). Francophones and Francophone organisations all around the world are viewed by France and its institutions as extensions of France, thus representing French values as citizens of the Republic do (Organisation Internationale de la francophonie n.d.).

The values of France are known widely as Republican values or universalist ideals which were created during the French Revolution. The most well-known of these are *« la liberté, l'égalité, la fraternité »*[4] but they also include, *« la laïcité, la solidarité, l'esprit de justice, le respect et l'absence de toutes formes de discriminations »*[5] (Ministère de l'Education Nationale de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche 2015). When taken literally, French values equate to democratic ideals for every person. Today, however, they have different connotations because over the course of history, these values have been applied to people differently (Day 2021). They were created and exemplified during France's colonial era which means that their legacy is also linked to the legacy of colonialism (Martin 1995). The very values that make up the Republic are thus tinged with the undercurrents of racism, oppression of minorities and the notion of "La France aux Français"[6]. This tagline indexes xenophobic and racist attitudes purported by the political right-wing which has been gaining traction in France over the course of the past decade (Fischer 2011). Therefore, while sections of the ruling class and population more broadly believe that the model of France is based on Republican and universalist values and ideals, there is a growing population which uses these ideals to push forward the agenda of France as only for white

[4]Liberty, equality, fraternity
[5] Secularism, solidarity, justice, respect and absence of all forms of discrimination
[6] France to the French

European-born French peoples. This leaves minorities to suffer with the historical legacy colonialism and slavery created, which have been silenced within the narrative of Republican and universalist ideals for all. Furthermore, police brutality, xenophobia, islamophobia and urban segregation characterise the lives of many of the poorest living in the *banlieues* of the cities, placing such minorities on the outskirts of the white French population (Tsai 2023).

One of the fundamental tenets of French politics and culture, as mentioned above, is secularism or *laïcité* which was introduced after the separation of the state and the church 1905 (Busch and Morys 2016: 54) This is a value which is stipulated by its constitution, within its government and extends to civic spaces and public institutions like schools. The French government, and by extension, French public schools do not allow any form of conspicuous religious symbols like headscarves, crucifixes, or kippahs. This law was introduced in 2004 and requires teachers, students and others on the school grounds to follow it strictly or be barred from entering the school. Such efforts to curb what is seen as religious fundamentalism or any form of union between the state and religious institutions can be seen as focusing on the symptoms rather than the causes of deeper fissures in society. These efforts have often been viewed as oversimplifying these deeper issues and causing further polarisation. However, there has been some push-back to this law, where some citizens state that their freedom of expression and freedom of religion is being impinged upon (Jabkhiro 2022). In my personal classroom, shortly after I had started teaching, I was asked by the English teacher to instruct a class on secularism, which fell beyond my scope as an Assistant English Teacher. It was a few days after a school teacher, Samuel Paty was murdered in Paris, as part of wider responses to Paty's alleged use of cartoons which were offensive to Muslim students (Makooi 2021). As the political situation was becoming more tense around me, as a foreigner and a Muslim, I felt incredibly uncomfortable leading this class. However, the teacher who asked me to lead this class felt that I was equipped solely because I was Muslim. This kind of simplistic assumption is perhaps the result of focusing on supposed Republican values and not on the sensitivities of culture and difference (Busch and Morys 2016).

2.3 The French language

2.3.1 « La France, c'est la langue française »[7] : one nation, one language

French was never the only language spoken in France. Instead, like most linguistic communities, France was made up of peoples who spoke a range of languages and dialects depending on the region they came from. However, in the 1500s, French started to become standardised and seen as more favourable to use rather than local vernaculars so that everyone within the nation could communicate with each other effectively, particularly from an administrative and educational perspective. This was strongly promoted, first by the monarchy and then by the Republican government to unify France, particularly after the French Revolution (Nikolovski 2018). The French Academy was founded in 1635 with the mission of universalising French norms and grammar so that French speakers understand what is considered the proper manner in which to speak (Académie française n.d.). This is particularly important as it also entrenched these norms within other countries where French spread, meaning that even francophones of other countries who have French as one of their home languages can be perceived as speaking French incorrectly. *Francophonie* is one of the key measures of the population's unity which the French government has kept since the French Revolution. Not having full competency in French or "institutional multilingualism" (Wolff 2017: 16) can be seen as "refusal to adhere to French values and a step towards "communautarisme" (i.e. the splitting of society into communities, perceived as a threat to national unity" (Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016: 123; Hélot 2010). This is a major stumbling block for French citizens and migrants who have many home languages, or limited French competency but remain committed to integrating into French society (Vigouroux 2013).

Due to the consolidation of nation-states in Europe through the 1700s and 1800s, and within the one nation, one language ideology which has continued to dominate, everyone who is French is expected to speak standardised French. Regional French dialects and French dialects from the colonies were looked down upon. However, even if a French citizen does speak this France-oriented French, not every citizen is considered ideologically French (Flom and Young 2022; Hélot and Young 2002; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). This could be due to the fact that they have parents or grandparents who are not French-born,

[7] (Kajman 2007)

or because the colour of their skin dictates that they have ancestors who came from non-European nations (Tsai 2023; AJ+ 2021).

2.3.2 Colonialism and linguistic expansion

As mentioned above, the ideology of the one nation, one language and *francophonie* extends beyond just France to include all the Francophone world due to colonialism between the 19th and 20th centuries (Mataillet 2022). Vigouroux (2013: 381) states that the French language can be perceived as a weapon in the political struggle of colonial expansion because of the way in which language was theorised at the time. It was used as a demographic to identify people and their states because languages were delineated to nation states' borders (Badwan 2021). Thus, during the colonial period, as nation states gained control over territories, colonial powers legitimised their colonies through standardised language.

Today, in France's constitution, article 87, it is stated that France will "participate in the development of solidarity and cooperation between States and peoples having the French language in common" (France 1958). This emphasises the value that France places on *Francophonie*, over linguistic diversity. In essence, these francophones include all countries and peoples that France once colonised. Although colonialism has ended, in 1946 France granted several of these nations a particular status which still ties them to France. Some of these nations have *département*[8] status, meaning they have French citizenship and have the right to vote. Other nations were given the status of *territoires d'outre-mer*[9], meaning they cannot vote in France's elections, but can vote in local independent elections (Maklakova et al. 2017; Mataillet 2022). This system ties France to these previous colonies politically, economically, ideologically, and of course, linguistically. These colonial entanglements are incredibly important because they account for the previous colonies' reliance on international aid, their populations' state of education and the likelihood that people will migrate for what they believe to be better opportunities (Pacquement 2010).

[8] Department

[9] Overseas territories

In other parts of the world where French citizens may have migrated in the past, such as Canada and parts of Europe, migrants asked for assistance from France's government to bolster *Francophonie* in these areas in order for them to keep ties with their heritage language (Weinstein 1976: 488). Thus, *Francophonie* has become a powerful tool of France not only in the Global South, but also in the Global North. The majority of countries which were colonised by France kept French as an official national language, post-independence, partly in order to keep using it as a language of learning and teaching in schools (Canut 2010; Maklakova et al. 2017). This has an effect with regards to educational migration of learners between the previous colonies and France. In the 2021-2022 academic year, there were more than 400 000 students who migrated to the country for academic purposes. Of these students, many come from previous African colonies like Morocco, Algeria, Senegal and so forth (ICEF Monitor 2022). To cater to the new migrants and refugees that France is welcoming every year, a "National Action Plan for the Reception and Support of Migrant Groups[10]" was created in 2015 which includes French language classes and classes on citizenship (OECD 2020; Busch and Morys 2016).

Colonialism is a key concept in this thesis as it shapes the experiences of many learners in France today. While the colonial era has ended, the "survived colonialism" or coloniality has endured for the people of previous colonies in that they continue to experience minoritisation, essentialism of their culture and linguistic practices alongside Euro-centric norms and knowledge systems which are made to seem superior to their own (McKinney 2022).

2.3.3 Franconormativity

Young (2017: 15) states that "the implicit norm at school in France is monolingual and monocultural". This thesis uses the term "Franconormativity" to describe the phenomenon where the use of French as a lingua franca is seen as normative, along with the expectation that people need to use French with sufficient proficiency to communicate with first language French speakers, particularly in Francophone spaces. This comes from the term Anglonormativity "the belief that people are / should be proficient in English and are

[10] [*Plan d'action national pour soutenir l'accueil et l'accompagnement des publics migrants*]

deficient, even deviant if not as the dominant language ideology shaping macro curriculum as well as micro teaching practices" (McKinney 2022). McKinney highlights the belief that if the norms of language are not followed, the speaker is seen as "deficient" or deviating from the ideal in Francophone spaces such as schools, administrative areas and so forth. As France has placed such a focus on *Francophonie* and the standardisation of French, Franconormativity is experienced by all peoples who live and learn in France, whether they are citizens or migrants (Flom and Young 2022; Hélot and Young 2002; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). Heritage languages and additional languages can be regarded as interfering with the acquisition of French and are thus made invisible in the school space by the monolingual habitus exemplified by teachers (Young 2017; Hélot 2003; Hélot and Young 2006b). This can result in students losing this heritage language and their diverse linguistic repertoires (Canagarajah 2015). Some authors, like Peyton, Ranard and McGinnis (2001: 3) define heritage language as any language that is not the majority-spoken language in a country, particularly minority languages and languages of migrants. Scontras, Fuchs and Polinsky (2015) add that heritage language speakers are often those who have migrated in early childhood and as a result had to switch from using their heritage language to the new dominant language, or the *lingua franca* in a new country. Tracy (2017: 47) states that heritage speakers are "second-generation immigrants (and later generations) who are exposed to their parents' attriting or quantitatively reduced L1 resources and who therefore acquire their home language to varying degrees". This thesis thus defines heritage languages as those which an individual relates to family identity, culture and linguistic resources relating to the home[11].

Many studies have explored France's monolingual language in education policy and its effects, as well as the bias against minority languages especially African and middle eastern languages, but also regional French languages like *Patois*, *Breton* and so forth in favour of languages with greater linguistic capital like English (Nikolovski 2018; Hélot 2003; Maklakova et al. 2017; Costa and Lambert 2009; Hélot 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). The unity of France was seen to be dependent on the creation of a unified linguistic community from the time of the French Revolution (Nikolovski 2018). Therefore, to keep the French nation

[11]The term heritage language was used by the participants interchangeably with terms like mother-tongue language and home language. The definition of heritage language used by this thesis takes the participants' understanding of the term into account for the purposes of data analysis.

unified, everyone would need to adhere to the norms of the Republic, such as using the French language in schools, workplaces and political spaces. Hélot and Young (2006b: 72) discuss the French language domination after the French Revolution as a means to spread the ideology of the Revolution and emphasise that this was the language upon which the Republic was founded. This domination diminished all minority languages in the nation as French became the language of the education system and the state (Hélot and Young 2006b). Many of these minority languages have been labelled "endangered" by UNESCO because their usage in France has almost entirely disappeared (Moseley and Alexandre 2010).

2.3.4 Language pedagogy in French classrooms

Due to France's monolingual bias, French has been the sole language of teaching and learning in schools since the 1880s (Hélot 2008). In 2021, however, there was a major pushback against this in favour of regional language protection which saw the French National Assembly accept a law which would allow the protection and promotion of teaching French regional languages called the "Molac" Law (European Free Alliance 2021). There is a small number of bilingual schools in France (French and one regional language such as Breton or Occitan), however the fact that they are private means that only certain parts of the population can access them and their bilingual pedagogy (Hélot 2008). The Constitutional Court rejected the idea of public schools teaching the majority of subjects in minority languages in favour of upholding the monolingual habitus (Reuters 2021; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). Many within the government continue to argue that focusing on minority languages will impact students' French acquisition and thus hinder France's unity (Honeyman 2015). Furthermore, France is yet to ratify the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (Maklakova et al. 2017). These languages include "languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of the State by nationals of that State. It does not include the languages of migrants" (Council of Europe n.d.). This convoluted landscape is where French citizens begin their schooling journey. Those who are native to France might have regional heritage languages that they cannot learn at school but are exposed to at home and in their communities. Migrant learners may have heritage languages which they cannot learn at school or use within French communities outside of

their homes. What is interesting is that even though the heritage languages of the overseas departments and territories can be considered "languages traditionally used within… the State by nationals of that State" (Council of Europe n.d.), these heritage languages are not considered regional and are not included in the "Molac" law or the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (European Free Alliance 2021; Council of Europe n.d.).

This kind of discrimination is what creates the persistence of Franconormative ideologies in France. Flom and Young (2022: 8) state that "Language education policy can be a powerful tool to create and impose language behaviour for all children as they can determine criteria and norms for language correctness, compel children to adopt certain ways of speaking and writing, create definitions about language, and reinforce (and even determine) social language hierarchies". Thus, the power of Franconormativity pervades the language ideologies of learners and teachers and leads to further minoritisation of languages other than French. In this vein, minority languages are further marginalised as France adopts a Euro-centric pedagogical approach for languages. French schools use the Cadre Européen Commun de Référence pour les langues (CECR)[12] (Little 2008). This was initially created to teach English as a foreign language but was soon adapted to French and other European languages. It is favourable for those in Europe, both learners and professionals alike to speak many languages used in the region for economic and political development, thus this methodology became common in many European schools and all over the world to learn European languages. For example, French and 39 other languages are learnt using this methodology (the actional approach) and are examined using these learning outcomes, but the Council of Europe urges different institutions to adapt the CEFR according to what their learners need if necessary (Council of Europe Portal n.d.). The CEFR does emphasise the importance of plurilingualism "A plurilingual repertoire comprises the language variety referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages or varieties learned to any level of proficiency. In multilingual areas some individuals may be monolingual and others plurilingual" (Little 2008). While Europe maintains this view of language, which is quite aligned with how I theorise language in this thesis, France[13]

[12] The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

[13] There are newer studies which show that France is starting to move towards a more plurilingual pedagogy, however this is not in effect in all schools or areas of France. Helot and Chen (Chen and Hélot 2018: 168) emphasise this by saying: "Our analysis shows that the development of the students' PPC (Plurilingual and Pluricultural Competence) was not as well supported as the development of their linguistic competence in a

highlights multilingualism rather than plurilingualism as its focus (Ministère de L'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères n.d.-a). While some scholars have explored the benefits of France opting for plurilingualism over multilingualism, this has not yet been accepted by government institutions (Moore and Gajo 2009).

For students who don't already speak French fluently enough (or at all) to cope in a francophone classroom, like immigrant children and refugees, the Education Ministry created a course called the UPE2A (Unité pédagogique pour élèves allophones arrivants[14]). Allophone means someone who speaks any other language other than French. These courses occur alongside the learners' other subjects which are all taught in French. Its purpose is to integrate learners to French pedagogy, culture and the language of instruction so that they can be taught in the public school system (Brun and le Caignec 2019). While these classes are assigned dedicated teachers, they are not often adequately trained, nor do they speak the mother-tongue languages of the learners. This results in students not coping in their new school environment.

2.4 The 'French' [15]

2.4.1 Who is French if we are all Francophone?

The French peoples are made up of a multitude of cultures, ethnicities, and languages. Throughout history and due to its location, France has had linguistic communities which sit on the border between it and other countries like Germany and Spain. Furthermore, as a result of the colonial era and slavery, immigration increased rapidly, and the population of France became even more diverse (Tsai 2023; AJ+ 2021). As France is a monolingual country, this makes the population francophone, for the most part. Thus, surely all francophones could be considered French. However, we see that this is not the case. Those

learned language and therefore the development of students' PPC was treated as a secondary goal. Being an announced but poorly defined objective, the notion of PPC remains unknown and distant to foreign language teachers."

[14]Pedagogical unit for newcomer allophone students

[15] It is noted that the term 'the French' could be seen as "offensive" due to its dehumanising nature (Mahdawi 2023), however it will be used in this thesis to take into account all francophone peoples. This term has also been thoughtfully chosen as the participants used 'the French' to refer to citizens of France and the identity of being 'French'.

who are not francophone have difficulty integrating into France creating a rift between who can be considered French and who is considered a migrant (Maklakova et al. 2017). This is exacerbated by the ideology of "La France aux Français"[16] (Fischer 2011).

Immigrants who enter France today come from a multitude of countries, but in recent years, majority of immigrants come from North Africa. As of 2018, 6.5 million people were living in France as immigrants, making up almost 10% of the population. Part of this population, 2.4 million people, has acquired French citizenship (Institut National d'Études Démographiques 2020). Fifty-five of seventy-five languages spoken in France are native languages from the French overseas territories (Maklakova et al. 2017: 1). Canut (2010: 142) states that some African countries, like Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia in the era of postcolonialism, kept French as a national language because of their desire to have ideological, political, cultural and economic power. However, certain francophones like those of colonised countries have less linguistic capital and power because they are sometimes not seen as legitimate language speakers as they are not considered French. It is important to note that in the overseas departments and territories, the language of teaching and learning is often bilingual. Both French and the native language of the territory would be used in the classroom for learners and teachers to better understand each other, to scaffold concepts and to translanguage (Maklakova et al. 2017). However, in France, monolingualism still holds in the classroom and learners who are unused to this can find it difficult to adjust, often resulting in a drop in academic performance (Nikolovski 2018; OECD 2020).

More recently, Franco-African colonies are reclaiming their culture with their independence and reclaiming French as part of that culture due to their long-intertwined history with French, despite it being traumatic (Canut 2010: 150). One can say that they are creating their own French, meshed with native African, Caribbean, Middle Eastern languages, accents, and registers. This system is often described as "neo-colonial" (Canut 2010: 152). However, although francophone African countries are developing their own sense of "French identity", migrant languages are still being overlooked by the French education system and its policies. Hélot's (2010) study looks at a language awareness project in a primary school in Alsace, France where the importance of languages which hold a higher status and linguistic capital is raised. These higher status languages are western European

[16] France to the French

languages (referred to in French curriculums as foreign languages). The reason that France remains reluctant to open its education policy to the inclusion of minority languages is the idea of unity as tied to *francophonie*. According to its education policy, all learners should be treated equally, despite any differences in their social, ethnic, political, or religious backgrounds. Thus, the usage of a single language ensures equality in France. Even the term for languages spoken by immigrants is labelled "languages of origin" or *langues d'origin*, which separates these languages from regional French languages as well as foreign languages. This separation shows that immigrant languages are seen as inferior to other groups of languages and is possibly why France has not included them in language in education policies (Hélot 2010). As the usage of immigrant languages is seen as an obstacle in learners being able to speak French competently, the term bilingualism does not refer to speakers of immigrant languages and French. It only refers to speakers of French and European languages or French and regional French languages (Hélot 2010).

2.4.2 Integration

As France has become such a diverse country, and one which welcomes more migrants every year, the integration of migrants is crucial to the functioning of its society. García (2017: 14) states that because migrants need to participate in their new surroundings, the ability to communicate with the people there is an important skill, however "a shift to dominant language practices has not led to the structural incorporation of minoritized groups in the dominant society's economic, political, and social life". Busch and Morys's (2016: 47 - 48) article describe this fragmented society and how the French Education Ministry developed a civic and moral education program called "*l'Enseignement moral et civic (EMC)"*[17] to promote the Republican values as a means to counter this fragmentation starting with the youth of France (Busch and Morys 2016: 48). As this course is taught at school, it is taught in French. The "Grande Mobilisation" [Great Mobilisation] had the aim of fighting inequality by promoting French values, some of which include the Republican ideals of freedom, equality, fraternity and secularism. Schools were targeted for this program as they are believed to be the front line for disseminating values and are seen as key indicators

[17] Moral and Civic Education

for tension and inequality. Some of the measures within in the *Grande Mobilisation* included fighting child poverty, youth unemployment and reducing educational inequality through initiatives like *Ouvir l'école aux parents pour la réussite des enfants* (Open the school to parents for the success of children) for parents who migrated to France and didn't speak French as a first language to better help their children with their academic work and to better understand the values of the Republic so that their children could integrate into French society. Other measures included preventing Islamic radicalisation (particularly after the terrorist attacks of 2015 targeting magazine Charlie Hebdo), curbing antisemitism, xenophobia, and discrimination (Busch and Morys 2016). The course runs from primary school to high school and is comprised of four main themes, namely; Sensitivity, Rules and Rights, Critical Thinking and Social Responsibility (France24 2015).

The murder of staff in the Charlie Hebdo office and Samuel Paty's murder are often attributed in the media and in everyday conversations to the fact that migrant children are not "integrating" into France as the French government has hoped they would (Makooi 2021; Onishi and Méheut 2021). All the attackers in these cases were the children of migrants who have been through French public schools. In these schools they have been expected to culturally and politically assimilate but turned against the French ideals (as outlined above) they were taught there. Onishi and Méheut (2021) suggest that many migrants in France are left feeling not French enough in France but too French to belong in their ancestral countries, and what are usually called terrorist crimes are often seen as "signs of failure" in French public schools and the programmes aimed at inculcating the kinds of republican values described above.

2.4.3 Fostering a culture of tolerance for integration

Even though integration of migrants is the aim of France, evidenced by their "National Action Plan for the Reception and Support of Migrant Groups[18]" (Busch and Morys 2016; OECD 2020), linguistically migrants continue to struggle. In her studies (2019; 2008, 2003), Hélot explores integrated perspectives on majority and minority bilingual education in France and shows that even though the French government is making some headway in recognizing the need for a more plurilingual education policy, France is treating native

[18] Plan d'action national pour soutenir l'accueil et l'accompagnement des publics migrants

French speaking learners differently to immigrant and refugee learners who do not speak French as a native language. She argues that there is also a very clear power struggle between languages of European descent and others (for example, the focus on languages such as English, Spanish and German in the curriculum as opposed to languages of the overseas departments and territories such as Mayotte or Reunion Island, or even immigrant home languages like Arabic and Turkish). Hélot describes this as "elite bilingualism versus folk bilingualism" (Hélot 2008).

To counter this discrimination, Hélot (2010) shows that languages of unequal hierarchy can all be included in classroom learning. Instead of diminishing the learners' understanding of one language as subtractive bilingualism theory states, learning minority languages and the cultures that they support help to foster an ethos of tolerance and understanding in the classroom, they argue. It can also aid with larger societal issues like racism and help teachers better understand the wealth of linguistic and cultural diversity sitting in their classrooms everyday completely unawares (Hélot 2010; Hélot and Young 2006b; Young 2017). Despite this wealth of diversity, immigrant learners are considered as the worst academic performers when compared to their peers due to their "lack of willingness to integrate" into French life (Ichou 2018). The French Interior Minister stated in 2011, who according to Ichou (2018) used fake statistics, that "two thirds of cases of educational failure concern children of immigrants" (Ichou 2018). The OECD also states that on average, children of immigrants do not perform as well as their peers, but this statistic holds more complexity to it than just the fact that these learners are immigrants (OECD 2020). There are many different reasons for immigrant learners not being able to cope in a new school space like familiarity with the pedagogical system, the pressure of supporting their families and low or no competency in the language of learning and teaching (Quintanilla 1990; Vallet and Caille 1999). Teachers and the greater school community need to keep these factors in mind when it comes to migrant students' academic performance. The National Action Plan for the Reception and Support of Migrant Groups[19] (Busch and Morys 2016; OECD 2020) also needs to account for these factors when creating the pedagogy for courses like the UPE2A [Pedagogical unit for newcomer allophone students] (Brun and le Caignec 2019).

[19] Plan d'action national pour soutenir l'accueil et l'accompagnement des publics migrants

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to describe the context in which the participants of this thesis find themselves. It covers the complex nature of French society today, how it has come to be this way and what kinds of values and ideologies are purported by the country. It also explored the nature of *francophonie* and its resulting pressures on the people who can call themselves French or francophone. Finally, it touched on the factors which can affect integration and tolerance, particularly for migrant populations. The following chapter will lay out the conceptual framework underpinning this thesis which is important in analysing the data collected.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This thesis is centred around the linguistic repertoire, in particular Busch's expanded notion of the linguistic repertoire (Busch 2012: 74). At the heart of it is the creation of language portraits as a means to study and visually portray the language-lives of the participants, their histories and their unique experiences in different spaces. The individual "speaking subject" is the main lens for understanding the phenomenon of being multilingual in a monolingual country like France, rather than a focus on a universal or essentialised understanding of language in the participants' lives (Busch 2015; Spitzmüller, Busch, and Flubacher 2021). Thus, poststructuralist and sociocultural theory provides the theoretical framing for concepts like the "*Spracherleben"* [the lived experience of language], the expanded understanding of the linguistic repertoire, language ontologies and ideologies (Busch 2012; Schrift 2018; Baxter 2020; Busch 2018: 1).

3.2 How is language theorised?

3.2.1 Structuralist views of language

This section briefly reviews how language has been theorised in the past. This is crucial as France and its educational institutions theorise language on earlier theoretical frameworks which differ from how language is theorised in this thesis.

Structuralist theorists considered language to be understood as system and structure, as in Saussure's isolation of "langue" as opposed to "parole". Scholars like Saussure and Chomsky posited that language is a system composed of grammar, word structure and rules for forming sentences. Structuralist scholars like Saussure also theorised language as a system of linguistic signs, designated to things, represented by words, and thus a referentialist and denotative view of language (Wei and Garcia 2014: 6). These theories rely on the principle that languages have universal rules that govern the way people use them (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007). This knowledge of structure can be turned into a multitude of forms of communication and expression, essentially making up any given

language (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007). When applied to the acquisition and teaching of language, knowledge of the system and structure are seen as leading to competence. Once acquired to a certain level of competency, speakers are labelled as having acquired a language or as language speakers.

These approaches to the study of language faced a fundamental challenge from linguistic anthropologists between the 1950s and 1970s. Hymes' work on language pointed out that language should be seen as a "social act" (1974: 432). Hymes aimed to investigate spoken and written codes more closely to prove that they were in fact, embedded within and produced by social systems and therefore could not be seen as universal. He analysed the communication of members within speech communities, in the context of their social and cultural practices by using an ethnographic approach. Instead of using the word language, he favoured the term "ways of speaking", which was influenced by Whorf's idea of "fashions of speaking", as it included cultural patterns or ways of being, rather than focusing on the language as separate from the person using it to communicate (Hymes 1974: 446).

Through the 1970s, new currents of thought emerged relating to post-colonialism, increased mobility due to the onset of globalisation, and through these the exclusions of peoples and the norms of language universalism were critiqued. Through processes of 'deconstruction' which formed part of the linguistic 'turn', understandings of language began to change from a phenomenon previously thought of as monolithic and named, to one that is more interwoven with sociocultural contexts, space, mobility, and time, more of an action (languaging, translanguaging), than a noun (Phipps 2021; García and Wei 2014).

3.2.2 Poststructuralist views of language

Within the poststructuralist approach, the sociocultural nature of language was highlighted. One such example was Street's theory of ideological literacy (Street 2006) which posits that written language is embedded within the culture in which it is found as well as within the specific social contexts it is used. Poststructuralism is essentially a critique of structuralist ideas of language theorised by the likes of Chomsky and Saussure (Barker 2010). Scholars such as Derrida, Foucault, Lacan, Kristeva, and Althusser are well-known as contributors to poststructuralist theoretical approaches and from the work of these scholars significant

theoretical currents emerged, which placed power, discourse and the subject at the centre (Schrift 2018). Schrift (2018: 179) states that for Foucault, "experience is thoroughly historicized: one's experience is "constructed" from the … rules that govern experience and social practices at a particular point in history". The idea of individual experience and how it relates to particular times and spaces allows this thesis to theorise its participants' experiences in a non-essentialist manner (Preece 2020; Hall 2001). Ideas about difference were highlighted through post-structuralist theory as it became understood that within a society or linguistic community, there can be many identities rather than one universal, essentialised identity as opposed to dominant one nation, one state, one language approaches (Schrift 2018).

"For poststructuralist theory, the common factor in the analysis of social organization, social meanings, power and individual consciousness is language" (Weedon 1987: 21). Derrida's process of deconstruction posits that we can deconstruct our consciousness as something which constructs our reality as well as something which is constructed through our language and social environment (Busch 2012; Weedon 1987). In this way, subjectivity or "the subject" was theorised. Foucault places the emphasis on discourse constructing the subject much like Derrida does, stating that subjects are "subjected to discourse" and thus, constructed by discourse and the power and politics that control it (Hall 2001: 79). Busch picks up on subjectivity through a post-structural approach by theorising the *Spracherleben* for each "speaking subject", especially with regards to analysing linguistic repertoires (Busch 2015: 1).

3.2.3 *Spracherleben* [the lived experience of language]

Busch defines the *Spracherleben* as a subject's "lived experience of language" (Busch 2015: 2). This involves an individualised and biographical approach to understanding experience and history, specifically with regards to the linguistic repertoire. Speakers' histories and their linguistic repertoires are intertwined because of what Busch calls the "linguistic baggage" of a speaker, which is part of what makes up a subject's identity. Thus, *Spracherleben* is concerned with how a subject experiences or has experienced language through their emotions and relationships with others, and thus it takes into account what

the subject considers as meaning-making. As emotions are very body-oriented reactions, bodily sensations are equally as important when it comes to *Spracherleben* (Purkarthofer 2022; Busch 2021). Busch (2021) emphasises that it is this connection to bodily sensations that can allow the *Spracherleben* to open up discourses surrounding subject positioning and what she calls "body image", essentially the perception a speaker has about themselves, what they perceive others' perceptions to be about them and if they conform to certain spaces. 'Body images' can lead to feelings of exclusion due to their identities not fitting the expectations or ideologies of the spaces they move between (Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022). The concept of the *Spracherleben* and how it allows for analysis of histories, body image and belonging is influential and innovative in sociolinguistics, because it encapsulates individuals' experiences of new phenomena that speakers are subject to, such as globalisation, forced displacement or chosen migration (Busch 2015). Moving into new linguistic spaces especially new digital linguistic spaces means that speakers no longer have the single stable linguistic community that Gumperz described, which of course impacts their linguistic repertoire and how they use it in everyday communication (Gumperz 1964).

3.2.4 The linguistic repertoire: theorising language as a resource

Early understandings of the linguistic repertoire as a sociolinguistic concept are associated with the research of John Joseph Gumperz (Busch 2012). Gumperz explored how language and language use were tied to social interaction and societal constraints. He discussed how speech variation can occur in single speech communities and that social forces impact the changes of certain words, speech practices and etiquette (Gumperz 1961: 976 - 77). Gumperz defined the repertoire as the accepted way in which speakers of a particular community create speech (Busch 2012: 2). A "speech community" can be defined as a group of people who interact regularly over a considerable amount of time, such as a group who share social or physical geographical space, thus the ability to share linguistic norms and similarities (Muehlmann 2014: 579). Hymes (1974: 433) viewed the speech community as an "organization of diversity" which shares a set of linguistic norms, grammatical or lexical distinctness and shares a geographical space of habitation in comparison to another speech community (Canagarajah (2015: 4). Languages were theorised as 'belonging' to spaces and peoples, thus becoming seemingly immobile 'flag poles' to identify a population according

to the ideology of the nation state (Vigouroux 2013; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). An accepted understanding of language within a speech community included, according to Gumperz, a whole, named language, parts of languages, orthography, dialects, and registers. He described it as that speech community's specialised set of tools which they wielded in particular social situations (Gumperz 1961: 976 - 77).

The concept of the linguistic repertoire finds its roots in this concept of the speech community. Gumperz (1964: 137) coined the concept "verbal repertoire", which can be explained as forms of language which are regularly used in social interaction. Busch (2012: 2) states that Gumperz developed the concept of the "verbal repertoire" through an interactional sociolinguistic perspective and through Hymes' work on the analysis of language. Verbal repertoires differ from structuralist understandings of language and repertoire as grammar-based competence because they encompass different language variants which reflect the speaker's context and even socio-hierarchical placement. They consider speakers' social constraints which can be viewed as the "norms" of language use, or the accepted forms of language use in that speech community (Gumperz 1964; Busch 2012: 3).

Stroud (2014: 308) takes Gumperz's concept of the "verbal repertoire" further. He defines the linguistic repertoire as a "collection of forms, practices and linguistic features that he or she can access and deploy in conversation." These linguistic features include not only whole languages, dialects and registers but also parts of different languages and varieties of language like genres. Speakers develop their linguistic repertoires from birth and continue to develop them throughout their lives in a multitude of spaces and through their interactions with other speakers. Thus socialisation plays a major role in language practices and histories (Heath 1983).

Busch has significantly advanced research in the area of the linguistic repertoire (Busch 2012, 2015, 2018, 2021, 2022). Blommaert and Backus (2011: 15) aptly encapsulate Busch's stance on the linguistic repertoire in stating that "repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives". In expanding upon previous work on the linguistic repertoire, Busch emphasises speakers' everyday experiences of language [*Spracherleben*] and takes the repertoire from Gumperz' competency-based approach to a socio-cultural, socio-historical approach and beyond. The

physical speech community is not as emphasised, because Busch argues that speakers keep norms learnt from the speech community, even when physically apart from it (2012: 2). This is apt for the globalised world, where speakers are extremely mobile. It also highlights how unique each person's linguistic repertoire is due to their unique histories (Stroud 2014: 308). Busch (2012) describes the linguistic repertoire as a set of resources from which speakers choose specific linguistic resources to interact with others in unique contexts. Therefore, if the context allows for a mix of languages or registers, the speaker will draw on past knowledge of this language practice in a similar context to make meaning with the other participants of the conversation. In taking a similar stance with regards to language as a resource, Blommaert (2010: 102) states that "the resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies". These understandings of the linguistic repertoire theorise language as less of a noun and more of a verb, thus speakers are "languaging" (Stroud 2014).

The concept of the communicative repertoire further deepens how researchers theorise the linguistic repertoire. Rymes (2014: 3 - 4) defines the communicative repertoire as involving various routines, gestures, dress, posture and accessories which individuals require to effectively participate in a part of society. This is especially prevalent in the digital age and through mediatized forms because these signs only make sense through the social practices in which they are embedded. These extra features of language form part of a person's communicative repertoire and how they talk across genres ["crosstalk"] (Rymes 2014: 3). Another important aspect of the communicative repertoire is being able to traverse languages, registers, dialects, accents, amongst other things, seamlessly. Rymes (2014: 9) mentions that an example of this could be "rapid-fire formal / informal", where speakers use formal and informal registers right after each other, within the same context and to the same audience.

Busch expands theory on the linguistic repertoire past those of Gumperz (1961; 1964), Bock and Mehta (Stroud 2014) and Rymes (2014). She shows how post-structuralist scholars such as Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler (Busch 2012) as well as Rampton, Garcia and Li Wei (Busch 2015) add to the development of the concept of the linguistic repertoire. For

example, because of superdiversity and globalisation, speech communities have become more fluid and languages cross and reconstruct themselves, resulting in “language crossing” (Rampton in Busch 2015: 5) and “translanguaging” (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Garcia and Li Wei 2014 in Busch 2015: 5). Translanguaging was considered to be developed by scholars such as Garcia (2009 in Velasco & Garcia, 2014: 7) and Canagarajah (2011). Translanguaging can be described as unifying all the aspects of one’s linguistic repertoire and selecting from them features to communicate effectively to their chosen audience. This is not a deliberate choice though; it is usually done without the speaker realising it. This means that translanguaging is more than just switching between different named languages for different parts of speech [code-switching] or “crosstalking” (Rymes 2014: 3).

Translanguaging is more fluid and is related to intergenerational language practices and the language practices speakers use. This manner of languaging is common in the Global South, and language-minoritised populations use translanguaging in their daily communication (Velasco and García 2014: 7; Canagarajah 2011: 401), but , as a concept it has not always been validated by the Global North (Prinsloo 2023).

The power of categories (for example, gender and class) and the significance of desire in language are also important facets to the linguistic repertoire that Busch (2012) elaborates on. Derrida confirms that even languages which one desires to learn but has not yet learned can be included in one’s linguistic repertoire. Derrida’s (1998) work thus moves completely away from Gumperz’s idea (1961) that the only languages in one’s repertoire come from within one’s speech community. Butler’s (1997) idea of potentialities in the linguistic repertoire explains this perfectly, as desired language would fall into this category. In her (2012) paper, Busch mentions that Butler (1997: 28) also discusses the power in language and the agency of speakers through the lens of Foucault’s theory of discourse. She states that although language speakers have agency in their words, they are also constrained by language, therefore there is no complete autonomy in speech. The way they use language is bound by the categories in which they fit, such as gender, ethnicity and social class (Stroud 2014). Busch (2012: 7) applies this thinking to the concept of the linguistic repertoire and states that the power of categories and categorisation restricts speakers, particularly when they do not believe themselves to be legitimate speakers of a language. The repertoire can then be a space of potential for speakers, as well as a space of restriction. Busch (2012: 510

- 11) states that this individualised approach to the linguistic repertoire can bring about terms such as “sister language”, “body language”, “secret language”, “language of repression” and also talk to speakers’ subjectivity and the construction of their identities in relation to their languages (Baxter 2020: 37).

In expanding the concept of the linguistic repertoire, Busch has included what she calls semiotic and spatial repertoires (Busch 2021, 2015, 2018). The expanded concept of the linguistic repertoire will be shown to engage with not only research on language ideologies and indexing societal issues like linguistic exclusion (Busch 2022; Busch and Spitzmüller 2021; Spitzmüller, Busch, and Flubacher 2021), but also research on ontological approaches to language and the differences between Global North and Global South epistemologies of language and pedagogy (Hall and Wicaksono 2020; Hall and Cunningham 2020; Kell and Budach 2023; Ortega 2018).

3.2.4 The semiotic and spatial repertoires and polycentricity

The concept of the semiotic repertoire is an enlarged understanding of Gumperz “verbal repertoire” in that scholars place emphasis on speakers’ individual life experiences and how communication takes place within socio-cultural and spatial contexts. But the semiotic broadens the focus to encompass different modalities or modes of meaning making (De Meulder and Kusters 2022). Mode, when looking at multimodal pedagogy and multimodal language usage, refers to diverse forms of meaning making beyond textual or auditory products. It includes speakers producing meaning through gesture, speech, body language and body parts, movement, images, video colour, shapes, textures, texts and how these work together in “modalities” or “semiotic fields” (Stein 2008; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, 1996; New London Group 1996; Kusters et al. 2017). The agency created by using multimodal pedagogy, or what The New London Group (1996: 77) call the “Designs of Meaning”, is crucial for learners to take hold of these forms of literacy and truly make it theirs, which includes being able to represent under-represented and oppressed cultures and histories. This is of particular importance with regards to decolonizing educational pedagogies because, on the one hand, the Global South have historically incorporated multimodal meaning making in their everyday language practices (Prinsloo 2023; Stein

2008). The Global North, on the other hand, have traditionally focused pedagogy around text-centrism while other modes are devalued and seen as being for use outside of classroom spaces (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996).

The body is a valuable resource to talk about lived experiences of language. Not only can the body facilitate communication and meaning making through gesture, ways of dressing and presenting oneself (Rymes 2014: 3), but the body can be constructed through narratives and language of oneself (Purkarthofer 2022: 27). There is also the "bodily and emotional dimension" of experiences (Busch 2015: 2), particularly experiences of migration and othering, how they impact and feel in the body. This makes up the "body image" of a speaker and takes a material post-human, dialogical approach to the semiotic in that meaning becomes "embodied" while simultaneously, a speaker's body creates meaning (Busch 2021: 191 - 92).

Busch also places focus on body language and movement, as a means to move a speaker through spaces. Busch (2021) stresses if and how the linguistic repertoire and semiotic repertoire is completely accessible in different 'speech events' (Hymes 1974). With this in mind, the body itself is understood by Busch (Busch 2021; Busch and Spitzmüller 2021) and Oostendorp (Oostendorp 2022; Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022) as meaning-making as well because bodies are the words people speak, before their mouths open. Bodies are expected, due to ideologies and patterns of socialisation, to look, act and move in certain ways in different contexts. When bodies do follow this norm, they can often be misjudged, ridiculed, or ostracized. Semiotic resources are also theorised as "language ideologies, accents, registers, discourses and bodies" (Oostendorp 2022). Speakers' *Spracherleben*, their body image and ideologies make up the semiotic resources which construct them and help them engage with the world around them. These play a crucial role in "linguistic belonging" which is closely related to the spatial repertoire and how speakers can feel a sense of belonging or a sense of othering in spaces (Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022). Space and visibility of language is touched on in previous studies (Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022; Soares, Duarte, and Günther-van der Meij 2021), but none show how language portraits are used to visibly show the difference between speakers' linguistic repertoires in spaces like at home and at school, or in different countries and how this impacts linguistic belonging, particularly for mobile or displaced peoples. Vertovec (2007: 1024) theorises the term

"super-diversity" to invoke the diverse mix of peoples who, as a result of globalisation and migration, live in spaces together for the first time in history. This has major implications for concepts such as the speech community because there are more individuals with unique linguistic repertoires who come together from all over the world to form new speech communities which intermingle (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Suddenly, the notion that language can belong to a predetermined place loses traction because speech communities become more decentralised. Blommaert and Rampton describe super-diversity as "tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies" (2011: 2). Badwan (2021: 165) critiques the fact that the description of super-diversity often 'others' migrants and their families, even those who were born in "host societies" through accent, race, linguistic discrimination and so forth. Nations, natives, and researchers essentialise these migrants according to their nationality or ethnicity and essentialise their linguistic resources as well, which results in labelling peoples' linguistic repertoires normal and abnormal. The binary between 'migrant'-'native', 'abnormal'-'normal' creates tension in societies which can span generations, similar to what is being experienced in France (Busch and Morys 2016; Fieschi 2023).

The spatial repertoire links the repertoire to mobility, super-diversity and the "sedimented language practices of particular places" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014: 180). This means that particular linguistic resources become accessible or available to use in specific places, with specific people, even when speech communities are decentralised. Sometimes, when the speaker is not in that context, those linguistic resources become inaccessible or inappropriate to use (Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022). This speaks directly to language inequalities, mobility of certain languages and immobility of others (Oostendorp 2022). Spatial repertoires are also conceptualised in terms of the "personal repertoire" (Canagarajah 2018 and Pennycook 2014 in Busch 2021). The "personal repertoire" places emphasis on the resources that speakers acquire across their life trajectories, thus across time (Busch 2021). As the linguistic repertoire represents the *Spracherleben*, it shows not only speakers' present experiences, but an accumulation of their past experiences as well as

their desires for their future experiences with language. In this way, the linguistic repertoire is a mobile resource (Busch 2012: 18).

Kell (2017: 422) states that the internet grants speakers the ability to transcend nation state boundaries and in this way, they are able to use linguistic resources from more than one speech community at once. Canagarajah (2015) states that since the era of globalisation, the digital space influences language in the same way as any physical community would. This means that individuals are now able to take part in conversations in languages that were perhaps, never available to them before because of geography and the inability to communicate across space (Busch 2012: 505) ((Blommaert and Backus 2011: 4). As people began to move and migrate, so too do the neat boundaries of autonomous, named languages started to become blurred. This has created new terms for literacy as it can now be described as "transmobile" and "transcontextual" as it is moving through contexts, places and spaces at a greater speed than ever before and without the invisible boundaries that once existed (Baynham and Prinsloo 2009: 1 - 2; Kell 2011: 607).

Not only are speech events and language practices (Street 2006) moving through space, they are moving across the scales of social structure and hierarchy. This movement provides meaning to small, individualized and situated acts of literacy (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005: 200). The fact that speakers need to adhere to these "scaling processes" proves they understand that space is polycentric and thus speakers need to adapt to different centres of power such as the government, schools, pedagogical theory and norms on the internet. These centres can be real, physical institutions or people, while others are intangible or even perceived centres (Blommaert 2010b). Some of these movements, such as with centres like schools and government can be translocal, while others are "local-situational" meaning they are specific to a particular situation, place and people (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005: 200). Blommaert states that when speakers communicate, they communicate for their listeners as well as this greater centre called a "super-addressee" by Bakhtin (1986 in Blommaert 2010: 39). This means that speakers take into account norms placed on them by the space, the "super-addressee" as well as the listeners they are communicating with. When one deconstructs language by performing the language portrait exercise, acts of language categorisation can start to be seen as extensions of speakers' *Spracherleben*, and the indexicalities of these categorisations and the

ideologies surrounding them become visible (Busch 2012: 10). This means that researchers can use the language portrait as a resource to study not only national ideologies and epistemologies regarding language, but also the intrapersonal and interpersonal ideologies, as well as the language ontologies that underlie them.

3.2.5 Ontological approaches to language

This thesis ventures into a new area of theory for the language repertoire research, influenced by research on "southern theory" (Pennycook and Makoni 2020: 2) exploring how the language portrait exercise can reveal language ontologies. Language ontologies question what languages are (Kell and Budach 2023). For example, in a structuralist approach, language ontology is a system-based, standardised competency focused on grammar and piecing bits of language together to form coherent communication. This thesis' stance on language ontology is a "first order" view of language wherein it is understood as a verb, 'languaging', or as the term "language as practice" rather than a structuralist or "second order" approach, also termed "language as object" (Demuro and Gurney 2021, as cited in Kell and Budach 2023: 7 - 8). Language thus, cannot be pulled apart from the "embodied" *Spracherleben* as it is something intrinsically embedded within sociocultural practices (Busch 2015; 2021: 191). In essence, "language as object" takes this ontology of language, and views language as a set of lexical and syntactic tools with symbolic functions which through the principle of arbitrariness assigns meaning to "linguistic forms" (Kell and Budach 2023: 7). When countries in Europe colonised much of the Global South, colonial languages were brought to unify colonies and colonising powers and these language ontologies were used to universally codify indigenous languages according to Global North epistemologies. What this means for language today is that theorists and pedagogy have been painting languages with the same brush and expecting languages and speakers to be conceptualised in the same universal way. However, as Kell and Budach argue (2023: 15), different speech communities "dwell within different ontologies of language and negotiate them, at the same time as they construct them". Thus, language ontologies in the south are often shaped by ontologies framed within the Global North. However, there is a growing body of scholarship on "southern epistemologies" (Pennycook and Makoni, 2020) which is working to understand and show how these have

shaped differing language ontologies that are still present in linguistic communities and their language practices today.

In schools, norms are created for learners according to how policy and the government understand language (Ortega 2018). Canagarajah (2015: 1 - 2) states that this can heavily restrict learners or bar them from accessing spaces because many individuals (himself included) have unique circumstances in which they learn languages and could be considered native language speakers but often are not, because of the way in which language is conceptualised. This makes these speakers feel as if they lack legitimacy. He states that "nativity depends on a myth of homogeneity that prevents us from appreciating the diversity in the repertoire of native speakers". Thus, ontologies of language are influenced by norms and impact language ideologies, how speakers language, and what language pedagogies are in schools. Badwan (2021: 180) includes that learners are expected to behave in the same way that educational institutions theorise language. This is similar to the idea of the "good" language learner (Norton and Toohey 2001) where learners are expected to adopt pronunciation, style and register from their schools rather than incorporating their home practices into their school lives.

3.2.6 Language ideologies and indexicality

Spitzmüller, Busch and Flubacher (2021: 2) state that language ideologies help to bridge language practices in everyday communication with the powers which impact upon the meaning making, such as "social structures". Early conceptions of language ideology researchers studied speech communities and their behaviours and norms. At this time, speech communities were considered one essentialised unit and thus the theory of language ideology connected specific, named people who lived in a named place to specific, named languages; the one nation, one language ideology (Blackledge 2000). Blackledge (2000: 26) states that more recent conceptions of language ideologies are more refined, finding that "language uses and beliefs are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies". This means that language ideologies are not solely about language, but as Hall describes, about the intersections between language, power and knowledge (2001). Ideologies are known to reproduce "existing power relations" which may

make them visible to speakers and others, though because of this reason, they are difficult to change (Blackledge 2000). Language ideologies often hold up hegemonic languages, such as colonial or imperial languages, and shape language and education policy, thereby spreading the ideologies into the next generation cyclically (McKinney 2014).

In the previous chapter, Franconormativity was introduced as a concept meaning upholding the norm of *Francophonie,* specifically standardised French from the Republic as the dominant language in Francophone countries rather than accepting any of the variations of French. This was based on McKinney's usage of Anglonormativity (2017). The normativity of language can create a "culture of standardization" wherein monolingualism or at the very least favouring the dominant language above all other languages, even mother tongue languages, is valued. This is related to historical social orders and power relations and hegemonic languages like previous colonial languages have been affected by this power dynamic. The underlying theme of these power relations is the notion of "us" versus "them" (Krenz-Dewe and Rangger 2021: 107). This has been highlighted in recent years due to globalisation, migration and refugee crises. Even though many agree that these issues are wrong and need to be corrected, there is a broad consensus with the way things are because of who holds the power.

Badwan (2021: 168 - 69) adds that not only is there contempt present for minority linguistic resources, but that "ideological mechanisms" created by the society create binaries between those who belong and those who are 'other', particularly after generations of migrants have lived in a new space. Spitzmuller (2022) uses the term "ideologies of communication" to talk about ideologies related to media, how they are adopted or pushed back upon. This is exceptionally important today with the rate at which information is shared on online platforms, spreading ideologies with it and worsening othering. Othering is born out of a group of individuals who share a sense of 'sameness' and use it as a yardstick to measure how 'other' another group of individuals might be (Hall 2018). Fanon states this aptly (2017:90), "for not only must the black man be black, he must be black in relation to the white man". This leads to conflating "racialized bodies with 'linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices'" (Oostendorp 2022: 74). This comes back to Busch's (2021) understanding of the linguistic repertoire as including ideologies and reflecting body image.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, France's language policy uses the European Common Framework for Languages as a dominant discourse (Little 2008). The framework though, is based on theory that is obsolete and too essentialised for the globalized world language learners find themselves in today. Much of the theory of the European Common Framework is based on the concept of boxed, autonomous languages, Global North ontologies of language and hegemonic linguistic ideologies. Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital explains that "linguistic competence… functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market" (1977). This means that certain linguistic resources have more capital (power) than another. As per the norms such as Franco or Anglonormativity, a hegemonic language is favoured over another language, thus given more importance in the worldwide "market". This would make it an official language of many countries, a working language in an international organization and a language given *lingua franca* status. Languages and accents with higher linguistic capital can be chosen in particular spaces because each carries different ideological weight and importance depending on what the speaker wishes to convey about themselves and their message (McKinney 2014, 2016). The hegemonic languages are often imperial ones, like French, English and Portuguese (Sung-Yul Park & Wee, 2012: 143). Linguistic capital can be afforded to an individual who carries a certain identity which conforms to hegemonic norms. Identity labels can construct and deconstruct an individual's identity, highlighting inequalities such as financial capital and educational capital (Blommaert 2010b). Norton and Toohey's (2001: 307) study on the "good language learner" expands upon this, by analysing how reinforcement from teachers create identities that learners take with them throughout their lives as learners. These labels and language construct their identities, and as such, learners who conform to norms, such as monolingual ideologies in each language classroom are told that they are 'good language learners', whereas those who do not conform are told the contrary. Thus, language practices like translanguaging and codeswitching (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 14) are undervalued, especially in classroom spaces where monolingual ideologies are present.

As mentioned above with regard to polycentricity, speakers need to traverse different scales in order to communicate effectively. The same can be said with regards to indexicality. As language is embedded within structures of power, it is also "organised indexically". This means that language can point to bigger, more complex issues than the face value linguistic

matter, creating new meanings for words. This is understood as the "pragmatics of language", its contextual understanding and knowing when it is appropriate to say things (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005: 37). Spitzmüller, Busch and Flubacher (2021: 128) use a helpful analogy to understanding indexicality and particularly what it can show with regards to belonging. They refer to the audible "shibboleth" that speakers have within their linguistic resources such as accent, register, dialect and so forth which can audibly mark speakers as 'other'. These marked linguistic traces can index (point to) a speaker's age, gender, race, nationality, and capacities. When it is automatically decided that an individual does not belong, it could result in "linguistic insecurity" or silence (Spitzmüller, Busch, and Flubacher 2021: 145). To belong in a space or nation; speakers, particularly those on the borders such as migrants and minorities, adopt certain manners of speech. These can be registers, or accents which can invoke different identities and thus language ideologies, such as "posh" accents (Blommaert 2010b: 37; Spitzmüller 2022; McKinney 2014).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter explored understandings of language and specifically the linguistic repertoire, through changing paradigms of linguistics and sociolinguistics. The literature laid out shows how the linguistic repertoire is conceptualised through poststructuralism and views language as a resource rather than a system by expanding the linguistic repertoire to include the *Spracherleben*, the semiotic, meta-discourses of the body as well as language ideologies and ontologies. It highlighted how speakers can be given or restricted access due to the languages that they speak or the manner in which they speak them. In this thesis, however, I hope to show that the analysis of linguistic repertoires can do more than the above, in the way that such analysis can point to wider shifts in society through the interplay of language ideologies and the understandings of language ontologies. The following chapter outlines the methodological framework of the thesis, going into much more depth on the language portrait approach and it describes the data collection process.

Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines and justifies the overall methodological framework which I adopted for this study. Thereafter, it describes the research sites and broadly introduces the participants. I then describe the process of data collection and how the choices made about the research design enable me to answer the research questions. The data collected was initially analysed thematically using a phenomenological approach, traditional multimodal methods and critical discourse analysis (Busch 2015, 2012; Phillips and Hardy 2011; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). Finally, I discuss ethical considerations with regards to the process of data collection and storage, the participants, the school, and conflicting voices within the research.

4.2 Methodological framework: A qualitative case study situated within a post-structuralist, phenomenological approach

Busch (2015: 2) proposes that linguistic repertoires can be analysed through a post-structuralist perspective where the researcher looks at both how the speaker is positioned by discourses about language and linguistic ideologies and how they themselves position their identities. This not only allows the study to better understand their languages from their perspective, but also how they position or project themselves towards other speakers (Busch 2015). Thus, studying the linguistic repertoire on its own as empirical data is impossible as it is multi-faceted and changeable across different spaces and times (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021). The previous chapter outlines the conceptual framing for the research as situated within poststructuralism. It is the desire to better understand the relationship between power, discourse and the subject, particularly the view that identities are non-essentialised, which makes the post-structural approach appropriate for the aims of this thesis (Schrift 2018). Within this approach, the participants of this thesis are placed at the centre of the research, with their discourse being analysed with regards to who or what holds power and why. Thus, the role language plays in creating norms through separating

and compartmentalising different discourses is of particular interest. These norms create what Busch calls "the speaking subject" (Busch 2015: 2).

As there is emphasis on the individual experience of language, intuitively the methodological approach would be qualitative, involving "data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which is then analysed primarily by non-statistical methods" (Dörnyei 2007: 24). Qualitative study allows researchers to better understand what participants are experiencing by taking into account the context in which they find themselves, thus it can be described as a "micro-perspective" understanding of the world or a phenomenon (Dörnyei 2007: 29). Thus, *a priori* theory and deductive methods are not relied upon. Instead, as far as possible, the data collected speaks for itself and is understood through phenomenological methods considering the data's context. The context of this thesis includes the country of France, the high school the participants attended and their B.T.S. course, including each of their historical trajectories – family origin, travel and experiences of discrimination, preserving the chronological flow of participants' experiences (Tracy 2012: 212).

The thesis' particular context makes it a case study as it is bounded by participants' participation in two English classes in the school, where all the participants are either multilingual migrant students or multilingual native citizens (Ghezzi 2018). A case study can be defined as "…an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and the investigator has little control over events" (Yin, 1989, 1994, 2009 as cited in (Ebneyamini and Moghadam 2018: 2)). Case studies are used to better understand the complexity of a phenomenon using real-life examples and can illuminate a larger category, like other migrant and native citizens in this school and in this area of France (Ghezzi 2018). As there is very little previous theory on the linguistic repertoires of older learners in France, particularly comparing home and school repertoires and doing so within a group setting rather than solely individual, this is an exploratory case study (Flom and Young 2022; Hélot and Young 2002; Young 2017; Soares, Duarte, and Günther-van der Meij 2021; Muller 2022). As exploratory studies do not make use of hypotheses, a researcher's biases must be noted and set aside from what the data shows (Swedberg 2020). Through the phenomenological process of "*epoché*" or bracketing, my

biases were noted before analysing the data (Moon 2016). As results emerge from the data rather than from hypotheses or alternate literature, (Creswell, 2007 as cited in Moon, 2016: 38), this thesis incorporates all aspects of the participants' linguistic repertoires placing emphasis on an ideological understanding of language, focusing on the participants' unique *Spracherleben* (Busch 2012; Ortega 2018; Busch 2015).

Busch (2012) states that using a phenomenological approach allows researchers to better understand participants' experiences through their emotions and "bodily sensations" which is the essence of the language portrait as discussed in chapter 3 (Busch 2015: 2). Individualised experience is at the heart of this study. In the turn towards "experience" in qualitative research, new methods of enquiry have been discovered to explore previously marginalised accounts of "experience" which can lead to greater social justice in research (Tracy 2012; Moon 2016: 33). The phenomenological approach aims to understand the "speaking subject's" experiences (Busch 2015: 6), but remains aware of the social contexts it is embedded within and how these might change over time, with regards to specific phenomena (Moon 2016: 38). Being multilingual in a monolingual nation requires speakers to be understood. But being understood is complicated by migration, heightened mobility of people and language (Busch 2015), ways of languaging (Stroud 2014) and the one nation one language ideology (Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Wolff 2017). Phenomenology allows for rich, in-depth interviews with participants to create more valid theory of the above phenomena, in particular the mobility of languages. This is imperative as the participants have moved across spaces and contexts with their language usage and they have conveyed this movement in their language portraits and histories. This approach has enabled this thesis to be free of the notion of bounded or autonomous languages being tied to linguistic communities (Pérez-Milans 2016: 94).

As this thesis employs language portraits to represent the linguistic repertoire, multimodal methodology and multimodal language is referred to often within the data analysis. The definition of mode can be found in chapter 3. Zeiter (2022: 286) states when researchers are focused on narrative or biographical data collection, there is a heavy emphasis on language itself as a means to understand the participant, their life and experiences. By including language portraits in the data collection process, this thesis allows its participants to express themselves in a multimodal manner which is particularly necessary as I was interested in

collecting data from migrants. The language portrait was "initially developed as an instrument for language awareness exercises in school" and to demonstrate how languages can be linked to concepts like belonging, othering and "experience" (Busch 2021: 200). It was also unclear before meeting all the participants if they were as comfortable speaking French as they were speaking other languages during the interviews. Thus, adding a data collection method like the language portraits allowed a unique means of expression for the participants which was not vocal expression.

4.3 Research sites and participants

As a part-time assistant English teacher, I worked with three schools (two middle schools and one high school) in a rural town in the *Deux-Sevres* province of the Nouvelle Aquitaine region. This was the only high school in town, made up of a *lycée général et technologique*[20] and a *lycée professionnel*[21]. The *lycée général et technologique* comprises grades 10 to 12 and students can choose to follow a general path which leads to baccalaureate and further education, or they can choose a technological path leading to technical certificates. I taught grades *seconde* (Grade 10), *première* (Grade 11), *terminale* (Grade 12) and B.T.S. (13th year) for two days a week. The participants were thus students I had already worked with, from two of the B.T.S. classes. The B.T.S. is a 13th year, post high school vocational diploma which has many specializations (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Jeunesse n.d.). Even though we saw each other infrequently, most of the students had interacted with me previously or had seen me around campus. Thus, they were possibly more comfortable communicating sensitive information about their feelings, prejudices, and experiences.

4.3.1 The school and the online space

Initially, the research took place on the school premises, in the English classroom. Access to the classroom space as well as to the participants' time during their English period was arranged through the English teacher. When the lockdown took place, the participants and I switched to online platforms like email to arrange the dates for the interviews. These

[20] General and technological high school
[21] Professional high school

interviews proceeded similarly to the in-person interviews; however, the participants could choose to have their cameras and microphones on or off, which limited my ability to analyse their body language and hear their reactions. This felt particularly lacking in the group interview. Another difference was the participants used the chat box function in the focus group interview whereas they would have spoken their comments on their peers' language portraits and histories aloud if it had been in person. The online space and usage of the chat box possibly allowed participants to feel more comfortable as they knew their personal opinions would not be privy to anyone other than the other participants and myself.

4.3.2 The research participants

The 11 participants were from the B.T.S. class of the academic year (August 2020 – June 2021). They came from two different B.T.S. English classes of 20 to 25 students each, who roughly ranged from 19 to 25 years old. Their course focus was management and administration, and English was one of their subjects, for which I was an assistant. Each class had about 80% native French students (those who were born in France or those with French citizenship). The remainder of the students came from francophone countries like the French overseas departments and territories and previous French colonies.

To represent both these groups of students and have a diverse set of data, half of the participants were 'born in France' and half were 'born outside of France'. This thesis uses the terms 'native participants' and 'migrant participants' respectively to refer to these two groups. 'Migrant' can be defined as "a person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born and has acquired some significant social ties to this country" (Claros 2013: 1). Authors who frequently write on France and its diverse group of learners use the terms migrant, immigrant and foreigner interchangeably to refer to learners who were not born in France and thus are not French participants[22] (Boubtane 2022; Amoruso and D'Agostino 2017; Hélot and Young 2006b; Hélot 2010). Hélot (2010: 1 - 2) uses the terms "French students" to refer to learners who were born in France and

[22] Refugees are quite distinct as a term, as they refer solely to those who flee their country of origin out of necessity, rather than seeking out better employment or educational opportunities in other countries (Grünhage-Monetti and Braddell 2017). None of the participants in this study can be referred to as refugees, so this term has not been used.

“people of immigrant background” or “children of foreign origin” (Hélot and Young 2006b: 73) to refer to those who were born outside of France. Even children who were born in France and whose parents were born in France would be referred to as "of foreign origin" if they had grandparents who were born in another country. Vigouroux (2013: 380 - 92) uses the term “native French” to refer to those from mainland France and “migrants” to refer to those who were not born in France.

Thus, ‘native participants’ refer to learners born in France, even if their parents or grandparents are not native to France. ‘Migrant participants’ refer to learners who were born in any country outside of metropolitan France, including the overseas departments and territories of France. It proved challenging for some participants to label themselves native or migrant born because their identities were not essentialized as the above theory suggests. For example, five participants identified as being French-born (Liliane, Pauline, Nathalie, Agathe and Emmanuel), but two of those learners (Agathe and Emmanuel) would be referred to as “children of foreign origin” by Hélot and Young (2006b: 73) as they have non-native parents or grandparents. The six other participants identified themselves as “not French-born” (Saloum, Takita, Maëlys, Façoil, Assmina and Jules). However, Façoil, Assmina and Jules were born in Mayotte and Guadeloupe respectively. These are part of the overseas departments and thus technically, a part of France (Ministère de l'Agriculture et de la Souveraineté Alimentaire n.d.). Maëlys was born in Guatemala but was adopted by a French family as an infant. Despite this, these participants identified themselves as “not French-born”.

4.3.3 Sampling

The sampling used in this thesis was a mix of purposive and convenient sampling types. It was purposive as the participants needed to conform to a certain set of criteria, thus the strategy for choosing participants was one “in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell 2012).

Before starting the data collection, I met with three English teachers, who advised me to work with the B.T.S. class of learners as they would best suit the needs of the thesis due to

their diversity. As the learners were all over 18, the ethics process was also simpler. The criteria which I mentioned to these teachers included that the participants needed to be learners at this high school, but that I wanted an even distribution of native students and migrant students. There were no criteria for the duration of their studies in France, their age nor their home countries. These participants were also sought after as they all did at least one additional language at school. Additionally, as their English teacher, I was familiar to them, and due to the time constraints, I wanted the participants to be as comfortable as possible sharing personal information with me.

Purposive sampling is the most popular of the "non-probabilistic sampling" techniques because qualitative research often aims for generalisations (Alsaawi 2014: 152). The sampling was convenient as I had access to the participants as their teacher. The students also freely volunteered themselves for the thesis, thus it was convenient, as the participants needed to be present the day I asked for volunteers. I chose to ask for volunteers so that the participants were open and willing to talk about their histories to me and other participants. Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism (Bakhtin 1981; Reynolds and Orellana 2009) inspired the nature of the interviews as the participants actively shaped the research outcomes themselves through their contributions, thereby enriching the data (Nesari 2015: 642).

4.4 Data collection

As a result of lockdowns in France due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I had initially estimated a month as the total data collection period where the participants and I would meet several times to solidify and refine the data. Due to the closure of the schools, I had only two sessions with the students in person, these were stages 1 – 4 described in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: A chronological overview of the research process

1. Introduction of research to teachers and principal of the school A discussion of the research aims and process, done in conjunction with ethics clearance from the school
2. Introduction of research to two English classes and call for volunteers Introduction of the research to two classes, I answered their questions and asked for volunteers. Handing out of blank home and school language portraits (30 minutes for 2

classes), done in conjunction with participants' ethics clearance
3. Group language portrait session A full introduction to the exercise modelled through my own language portrait[23], explanation of how to complete the home and school portraits and the creation (or in some cases, completion) of both language portraits. I advised the participants to think of their languages chronologically, list them and thereafter think about where they would place them on the portrait's body. My language portrait and guidance may have influenced how the participants represented their languages, the shapes and imagery they used and perhaps their ontologies of language. As I knew the participants needed pens to complete their language portraits, I brought 2 sets of 12 coloured pens for all of them to use. Some participants didn't have their own pens and used mine only. This meant many participants were using the 24 pens at the same time. Thus, the colours they chose to represent their languages could have been affected by this as the availability of pens was limited. These were collected at the end of the session. If participants had not finished, they emailed scanned copies of their portraits.
4. Individual Interviews (in person) Three individual interviews were conducted face to face on the same day. They spanned 10 – 30 minutes each
5. Individual Interviews (online) Eight individual interviews were conducted online over 4 days. They spanned 10 – 30 minutes each
6. Focus Group Interview (online) One group interview was conducted online which spanned 2,5 hours and was completed on one day. This was made up of presentations of the language portraits by each participant, followed by a group discussion discussing their *Spracherleben* and reflection of the process. Each participant was asked to comment on things they felt were unique or that they had not previously known about their peers' language portraits and histories in the meeting chat box.

[23] ZR's language portrait presentation from the group language portrait session with the participants can be found in Appendix 1a.

4.4.1 Types of data[24]

Visual portraits: The first data I collected was the eleven physical language portraits, or digital copies if the participants did not have time to complete them before the schools closed due to the lockdown. The portraits have the image of the physical body, any imagery the participants added, a key where the participants listed their languages, and the colours in which they represented their languages. This is sometimes written in French, English, Spanish, or using translanguaging. Liliane was one participant who included notes of her language portrait and linguistic repertoire on the back of her portraits because she had extra time before she completed her interview[25]. Thus, she is the only participant from whom I have collected a body of handwritten data[26].

Interviews: I conducted eleven individual interviews (either face to face or online) and one focus group interview (online). These were audio recorded (for the face-to-face ones) and video recorded (for those that were done online). All interviews were fully transcribed in both the original French with translanguaging practices noted, and the English translation, notes on gesture, laughter, pauses and overlapping speech amongst all speakers were made, as well as discourse markers such as uh, *bah*[27], *genre*[28], *itou*[29] and *voilà*[30].

Field notes and reflective memos: Field notes of the entire process were kept.

Written comments in the chat box of the online focus group discussion: These were digital comments from the participants in the group discussion chat box written about their peers' language portraits and histories.

4.4.2 Language body portraits

[24] Jules lost his school portrait; thus, we used his home portrait and his memory for his school portrait presentation. Pauline was unable to attend the group session, therefore there was a huge amount of missing data from her.

[25] Liliane's handwritten notes can be found in Appendix 1b after her language portrait

[26] All the participants' language portraits and descriptions can be found in Appendix 1b.

[27] well

[28] like

[29] also

[30] there you go, here you go, there it is

At the core of the data collection is the creation of the language portrait. The language portrait is a visual representation of the linguistic repertoire using a blank, non-gendered, non-racialised silhouette of a body. Busch (2018, 2012) uses the language portrait often in her research of the linguistic repertoire as it has been used in this manner for more than 25 years to explore language, create more awareness in schools about multilingualism and bring attention to speakers' understandings of their own language practices and create sensitivity for others'. The language portrait can thus act as a tool for data collection and a participant's reflection on their language practices, but it can also become data itself (Busch 2012).

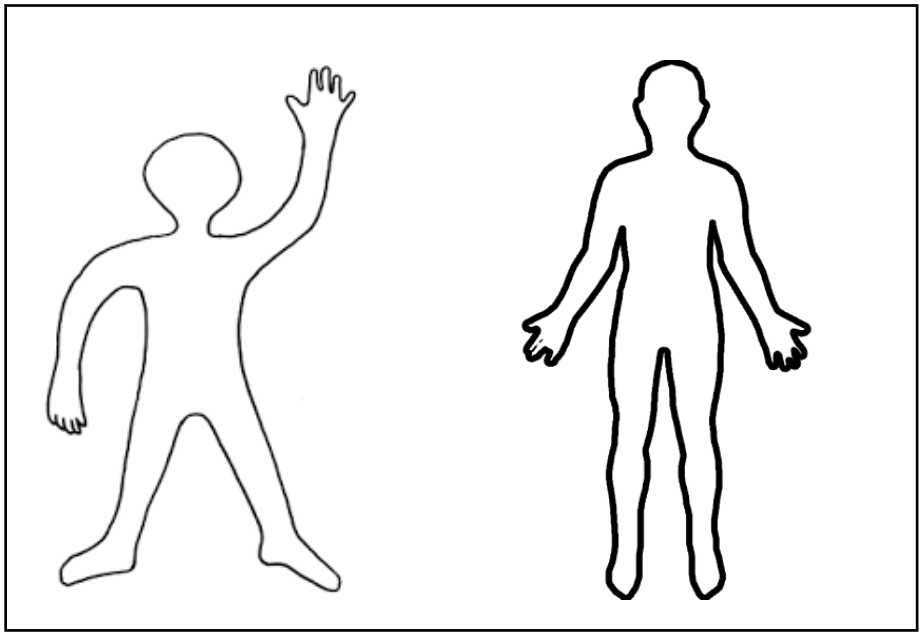

Figure 4.2: Busch's language portrait silhouette (left), this thesis' language portrait silhouette (right)

The above figure on the right is the silhouette I used for the language portraits. The silhouette Busch used in her studies has a clear head, torso, arms, fingers, legs and feet. The silhouette I used has the same, with the addition of ears on the head as well as clear knees which one of the participants mentioned. Another difference is Busch's silhouette has a raised hand whereas this thesis' silhouette has both hands down. This was done

purposefully so participants did not focus on creating a hierarchy of languages. The arm facing upwards could have influenced their depiction of more dominant languages.

To help the participants engage with such a complex resource, at the group language portrait session, I presented my own portrait as a model to them and guided them through the process. I suggested they think not only about the languages they used then and how competent they were in these languages as they had initially wanted to do, but also about languages they grew up around, languages which were used in the media they surrounded themselves with and any they had a desire to learn.

4.4.3 Semi-structured interviews and exploratory talk in the group interview[31]

To gain an "emic" perspective of the research topic, this thesis employed semi-structured formal interviews: eleven individual interviews and one focus group interview (Copland et al. 2015). The questions were pre-planned and open-ended, focusing on certain information which needed clarification (Alsaawi 2014). However, the participants had the space to elaborate as much as they needed to, and before moving on from one topic I confirmed that they had finished. The individual interviews began with a leading question which was aimed at either the home or school portrait (Copland et al. 2015). After it was answered, the same question would be asked of the other portrait:

"Can you tell me which languages you included, why you used these colours to represent them and why you placed them on a particular body part?"

This question prompted the participants to open up about their *Spracherleben* and granted them the majority of the speaking time. After this question was answered for both portraits, I asked follow-up questions to confirm the information they had given me and to expand upon their histories, so I had a well-rounded understanding of their linguistic repertoires.

The group interview followed a similar pattern. There were three sections to the group interview, the first being the presentation section where each of the participants presented their portraits while I shared my screen to display each portrait. Each participant was asked

[31] The planning and questions for the individual and group interviews can be found in Appendices 1d and 1e

to comment on their peers' presentations in the chat box[32] during this part of the interview. I asked each participant the same three questions after their presentation:

1. Which is the most important language you use in your everyday life?
    a. Why?
2. What do think is the most unique thing about your linguistic portraits?
3. After doing the language portraits, how do you feel about the languages you use now? Do you feel any differently about them?

Thereafter, the second section of the group interview began. The second session followed immediately after the above presentations. I asked the group questions, and they gave their opinions and built a discussion with each other. This part of the group interview focused on the participants' language practices at home versus those at school as well as their own and others' language ontologies and ideologies. The participants who wished to contribute to a question could by means of unmuting themselves or raising a hand. This meant there were a few participants who took up the most talking time and others who were completely silent. It was difficult due to the online nature of the interview to observe if this was because the questions made them uncomfortable or for other reasons. The third part of the interview focused on if and how completing this exercise, particularly with peers they knew, had changed their views about their languages.

4.4.4 Transcription and translation of data

To analyse the interviews, transcripts needed to be made. The interviews were recorded in the original French, thus they needed to be translated into English. Including the multimodal method of making meaning was vital to this thesis, so gesture, discourse markers, pauses and laughter were noted in the transcriptions. As written language and verbal language follow different conventions it is also impossible as a transcriber to represent exactly what is being said by the speaker. To address this misalignment, I have included notes in the

[32] The instructions for the comment were as follows: "While everyone is presenting, I'd like you to write something in the chat about the person speaking - maybe something you didn't already know, or something unique about their languages or culture." [*Pendant que chacun fait sa présentation, j'aimerais que vous écrivez dans le chat quelque chose sur la personne qui parle - peut-être quelque chose que vous ne saviez pas déjà, ou quelque chose d'unique sur leurs langues ou leur culture.*]

transcripts where a participant may have changed their tone and I have followed the punctuation of the speaker.

Figure 4.3: Transcription conventions followed

. , ?! …	I have used punctuation conventions to make the transcription more legible, conveying my understanding of pauses in speech, questions, exclamations, and statements.
//	Indicates overlapping speech between speakers.
-	Indicates interruptions in speech (by the speaker or by the interviewer).
(…)	This shows a gap in data, where audio quality is poor, or words cannot be understood.
[pause]	This is used to show a noticeable silence or pause in the audio.
[points to…]	Square brackets are used for additional significant information, like physical movements, gestures or laughter.
Name:	This indicates the speaker's and interviewer's names.
…[**ZR:** Okay]…	Short responses are included in square brackets in the main speaker's texts with the new speaker's name in bold.
Oui	Italics indicate a word spoken in a language other than English, like French or translanguaging

The transcripts include the participants' names, the times of each spoken turn to better analyse turn-taking and pauses as well as the original and English translation of what the participants have said with different script conventions for languages which are not English. As the interviews were conducted in French, it was necessary to account for the difference in the original texts and the translated texts. Translation is a very important arm of this transcription process as both the original and the translation was used to analyse the data. It can be noted that through transcribing and especially translating the raw data, it became somewhat interpreted (Swann 1994: 39). To mitigate this, the French transcription was

completed before the English translation was done. In some cases when words could not be translated, for example with discourse markers like *bah* or *fin*, they were left in the original French. This can be seen below in an excerpt of Saloum's individual interview.

[10:20]: **Saloum:** That's Soninke. It's my- it's my maternal language- maternal language. [**ZR:** Yes]. It's like that? [**ZR:** Yes, maternal language, exactly]. Yes. Uhm… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. [**ZR:** Yeah?]. There's too much hypocrisy, me- *fin*, I don't think at all in the same way of how they think.

Ca c'est le soninké. It's my- *c'est ma langue maternelle*- maternal language*. [**ZR :** Oui].* It's like that ? *[**ZR :** Oui,* maternal language, exactement*].* Yes. Uhm… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. *[**ZR :** Yeah?]. Il y a trop d''hypocrisie, moi, fin je ne pense*

Figure 4.4: An excerpt from Saloum's individual interview[33]

To best represent what the participants were trying to say, I stayed as close to the original French translation as possible as I did not want my foreign *francophonie* to impact the interpretation but considered cultural differences between English and French. I also used online French to English dictionaries and translation tools where necessary to aid the translation to English. I remained as context conscious as possible, relying on a theoretically informed translation rather than only a technical focused translation. As the interviewer, the translator as well as someone who was living in the context as a migrant, I was both well-contextualised into the French culture while possibly biased towards my own understandings of what was actually happening within the context and to the participants (Temple and Edwards 2002).

4.5 Data analysis

4.5.1 Sorting through the data

[33] Saloum's full transcript can be found in Appendix 1c.

Before the data was reviewed, I underwent a process of reflexivity with my supervisor and peers regarding my experiences in France, to evaluate my own biases and preconceptions (Moon 2016). I addressed how the data challenged my previous understandings of the French linguistic landscape created by the previous research of other scholars on the topic of France and its multilingual populations. Thereafter, I bracketed my biases[34] before analysing the data by writing extensively about my experiences and how they could possibly influence the data analysis. This increases the validity of this thesis as the data becomes more reliable (Tufford and Newman 2010).

I initially employed a thematic coding approach to the data because of the sheer quantity and because the thesis is exploratory and follows a phenomenological approach. The data led the analysis through an inductive approach rather than my preconceptions or previous literature leading the analysis of the data. Thus, the raw data was listened to several times while being transcribed and the transcriptions were reviewed to create initial codes with the research questions in mind (Copland et al. 2015). The first level of analysis was interested in the participants' *Spracherleben*, particularly in how they described their language portraits (Busch 2015). During transcription and translation, I could verify interpretations of the participants' speech between the individual and group interviews. Even within the short time span of data collection, I was able to compare the two interviews which yielded interesting results regarding performance and visibility which differed from other studies (Copland et al. 2015; Soares, Duarte, and Günther-van der Meij 2021). The analysis was also open to multiple meanings because the data was processed before the creation of themes (Tufford and Newman 2010).

The codes were later developed into themes (Alsaawi 2014). These revolved around their being multilingual in a monolingual state and how their own and others' language ideologies and ontologies influenced their experiences, their access, and their belonging. As part of phenomenological analysis, it was important to understand the participants' experiences, how these occurred and their emotions surrounding these. This culminated in descriptions of the phenomenon which were turned into overarching themes and thereafter thematic networks (Creswell and Poth 2018). Finally, these were developed into written chapters, but includes the raw data displayed by means of tables (Creswell and Poth 2018). The data

[34] These are noted in Appendix 2c so readers can refer to the bracketing process.

analysis process can be illustrated through the use of Creswell and Poth's Data Analysis Spiral (2018: 255). It is apt because once I completed part of the spiral, I reviewed each process thoroughly, which is shown by the spiral reversing.

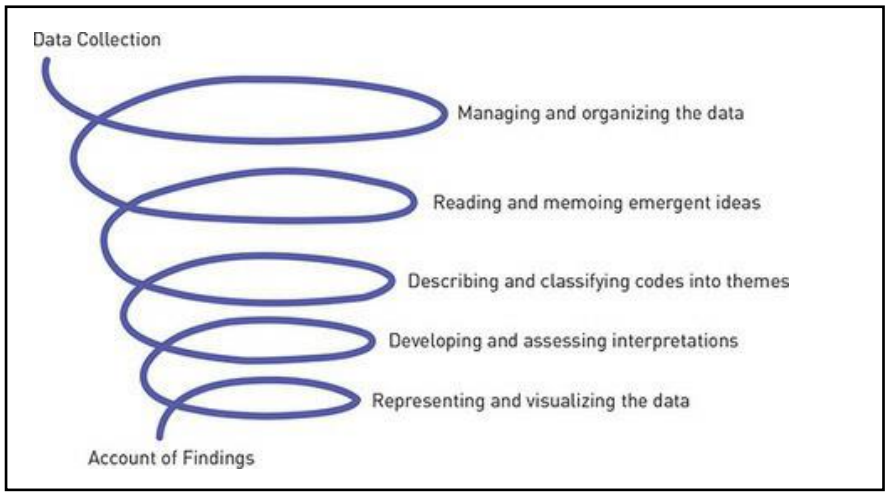

Figure 4.5: Creswell and Poth's Data Analysis Spiral (2018: 255)

4.5.2 Analysing the language portraits as representations of the linguistic repertoire

The language portraits were analysed using traditional multimodal methods as purported by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, 1996). Spatial arrangement, colours and shapes used by the participants were particularly paid attention to. One of the affordances of analysing the portraits in this way was I was able to use the analysis of space, how much space the languages took up on the body and where that space was situated on the body to better understand the participant's lived experience instead of relying on the participant's rigidly structured spoken word to portray meaning (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). Colours were another important factor in analysing the portraits as they represented many different things to the participants like countries, the weather, actions, and emotions that languages signified for them. Finally, shapes the participants used to represent their languages also moulded the analysis and themes. The participants each uniquely represented their languages but some common shapes that were used were blocks, stripes, circles, veins, hearts, musical notes, speech and thinking bubbles. Some participants also drew clothing like socks or body parts like ears, eyes and mouths.

The language portrait acted as a "gestalt" or a separate space for participants to refer to in order to make sense of the complexities of language across time and space and their

Spracherleben as they presented them (Busch 2022: 298; 2015). The multimodal genre of data collection adds to the data's richness because it supports the participants' narration of their histories, language ontologies and ideologies (Busch 2018). It adds depth to their transcriptions, and if they had forgotten or withheld certain things in their interviews, the portrait potentially helped to fill these gaps in the analysis. It is in the culmination of all of the above where the participants' *Spracherleben* is really understood as the participants' "bodily sensations" were made visible through the language portraits (Busch 2015: 2; Moon 2016).

[07:36]: **Assmina:** Malagasy it's- it's really a language that I don't really speak, but I understand the language... there are words when- when I hear them it makes me laugh. And when it makes me laugh, well, of course I shake a little bit. [**Assmina** laughs]. So that's why I put it on my knees.

*Le malgache c'est- c'est vraiment une langue que je ne parle pas vraiment, mais je comprends la langue… il y a des mots quand- quand je les entends ça me fait rire. Et quand ça fait rire, bah forcément je tremble un peu. [**Assmina** rit]. Donc c'est pour ça que j'ai la mise sur les genoux.*

Figure 4.6: An example of Assmina's *Spracherleben*, individual interview[35]

In the above excerpt, Assmina uses the feeling of laughter and shaking and attributes it to a part of her body, her knees. This "embodied" feeling of language is part of the essence of the multimodal and semiotic resources (Kusters et al. 2017; Busch 2021: 191; Oostendorp 2022). It was through the multimodal aspects of spatial arrangement, colour, shape and bodily sensations analysed in conjunction with the transcripts like Assmina's excerpt above which were developed into the codes and themes.

4.5.3 Critical discourse analysis of the oral, multimodal and written

Fairclough defines discourse as "language as a form of social practice" (2001: 20 - 22). This means language is engrained in society and social processes while also being socially moulded by those in power who create norms which speakers need to follow. In chapter 3, this was explored, and language practices were viewed as socially embedded. Critical discourse analysis allows for the complete analysis of language practices, taking into

[35] Saloum's full transcript can be found in Appendix 1c.

account all forms of language. Thus, it was used to analyse the individual and group interview transcripts, the written languages on the portraits and the group chat texts.

As discourse is embedded within society and social practices, it cannot be analysed apart from the context in which it finds itself (Fairclough 2001: 25). This shows discourse analysis is a useful tool to discover links between language and power because it is always considering the social implications and context of discourse, and those who create it. This thesis took into account context and a "language above the sentence" approach and analysed it as indexing different meanings, phenomena, people and occurrences (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021; Blommaert 2007). This approach allowed the analysis to consider what was said, as well as what the participants did not say, what was intended and what was understood by myself and the other participants (in the group interview). There was emphasis on how the participants chose to relay information, whether that was through narration of an experience, descriptive explanation, the discourse markers they used, which languages they used and what translanguaging practices they employed in expressing themselves if any. The kinds of pronouns they used to refer to people as well as their tone, the speed and volume of their discourse and any changes between these were also highlighted. This level of analysis made visible the higher level of analysis seen in chapters 6 and 7[36] (Blommaert 2007).

The data analysis was conducted in chronological order of the collection process. Therefore, the portraits were initially analysed with regards to the representation of the participants' linguistic repertoires. The writing and particularly orthography of the language on the portraits was analysed with regards to translanguaging practices. Thereafter, the individual interviews were analysed followed by the individual presentations of the linguistic repertoires and histories to the rest of the participants in the group interview. The participants' comments on their peers' presentations were also analysed with regards to how they translanguaged, as well as their language ontologies and ideologies. Finally, the group discussion section of the group interview was analysed for the participants construction and performance of their *Spracherleben*, aspects of their belonging and experiences of discrimination. This form of analysis worked well with the phenomenological

[36] Some of this detailed discourse analysis has gone into Appendix 3b

framing of the thesis as it refrained from categorising the discourse and remained open-ended with regards to possible meanings (Phillips and Hardy 2011).

4.6 Ethical considerations

One can assume that "the first responsibility of the researcher is to pursue worthwhile enquiry as effectively as possible" (Hammersley and Traianou 2012), but it is imperative that one thinks of the humans who are contributing to the research. Informed consent is critical, particularly when working with youth, so it is made known that the participants have not been coerced or manipulated into providing any particular information (Moore, McArthur, and Noble-Carr 2018). Consent needs to be particularly emphasized for individuals who have never undergone a research process before, like the participants of this study.

After receiving ethical clearance from UCT, I sent a letter to the school to request access to the group of learners in the two English classes with permission from their teachers. In this letter[37], I asked to be able to interview them, audio record all interviews and keep on file their language portraits and interview files. Before conducting the research with the participants, I presented the research aims and overall process with them before asking for volunteers and receiving their consent. As the BTS learners are older than 18, it was possible to ask the learners themselves to sign a consent form[38]. I made it explicit to all parties (the principal, teachers and students), that I upheld the highest standards of anonymity and discretion. The school, identities and personal information of the participants and anyone they mentioned remained anonymous for their own protection and for the overall objectivity of the thesis. When creating pseudonyms for the participants, their nationalities and cultures were considered, and their pseudonyms reflect their home countries and respective languages. The video recording of the group interview and the physical language portraits given to me by the participants are the only files that have the participants' real names. The data is stored in a safe, password protected cloud space and, in my computer's secure folders where it will remain for 5 years after this thesis has been published.

[37] Examples of the French and English consent forms and letters of information for the school and teachers can be found in Appendix 1f.
[38] Examples of the French and English consent forms and letters of information for the participants can be found in Appendix 1g.

During this process, I had a discussion with the vice principal about the thesis, the data collection and what the implications could be for the school. In the context of the conflicting political and religious ideologies present in France, due to the terrorist attack just a few months prior resulting in the changing of laws surrounding schools in France and my identity as a Muslim being known by the school, this discussion was uncomfortable (Willsher 2020; Berlinger and Ataman 2022; Jabkhiro 2022). The meeting was conducted in French and as a non-native French speaker, I was navigating this sensitive conversation while the vice principal peppered me with questions about my aims for the research. The defensive nature of the discussion made me uncertain how to obtain sensitive information from the participants while maintaining my position at the school. Thus, there were many competing voices that shaped this thesis. Particularly, they shaped how I went about collecting my data and what kinds of questions I felt I was allowed to ask my participants and which they would feel comfortable to share. To navigate this, I tried to remain as objective as possible, reflecting on and working to remove my biases from the interview questions and the subsequent analysis. Instead of probing the participants for sensitive information, I allowed them to lead the interviews and share only what they were comfortable with (Bahn and Weatherill 2013).

4.7 Limitations of the methodological framework

A weakness of phenomenological approaches of enquiry is the data collected is hugely dependent on how much information the participants give during the interview process. This can depend on many factors, one of which is how invested the participants were in the research process. It was for this reason I presented the thesis research to two classes and asked for volunteers. I found during the longer group interview session, there were a handful of participants who spoke for a majority of the time, and this could be because some of the participants were not as interested as the others. It could also be due to how comfortable they were sharing their experiences, particularly sensitive experiences with me and their peers. Finally, as the interviews were conducted in French with some translanguaging practices noted in between, the amount of information the participants offered in the interviews could also be dependent on their registers and repertoires of

French as well as how well I (as a foreign French speaker) was able to understand the information they presented.

A weakness to phenomenological enquiry is that it is difficult to completely eradicate researcher bias, even with the bracketing method, thus interpretation can be impeded upon by the researcher's preconceptions. There are validity threats to phenomenology as it is dependent on the interpretation of the researcher (Moon 2016). Generalisability is not strong with qualitative work in general, and this thesis has few participants, thus it is not generalizable to the greater French population, or even to the population of the town in which the data was being collected (Kriukow 2022). However, drawing on Tracy's (2010: 845) research, this study has transferable and naturalistic generalisability as the participants were from a diverse range of backgrounds and demographics.

There is triangulation of the data because there are the language portraits, the interview transcripts, and observational notes I made during the interviews. When analysing the data, a diverse range of theories was reflected upon, creating a triangulation of theory (Moon 2016). These two methods increase the validity and decrease the bias of the thesis (Kriukow 2022; Tracy 2010). The group interview also served as a member checking as the participants presented their language portraits to me for a second time. If the participant changed what they said about their portraits or experiences in the group interview, I asked follow-up questions to better understand their meaning and to make sure I understood what they had said in the individual interviews. This helped to confirm trends that were seen in the data and assisted in the larger analysis of these trends. Finally, an audit trail of the data was kept which increases the validity of the thesis.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the methodological framework as well as the step-by-step research process, from the point of choosing the participants to engaging with and theorizing on processed data, was thoroughly explained. This is crucial in understanding the data findings, the in-depth analysis of the data and the overall *Spracherleben* of the participants, and how these would lead to eventual conclusions about visibility of language in the monolingual state and the ramifications of French as a dominant language within the boundaries of this case study.

Chapter 5: The participants' linguistic portraits: making visible the linguistic repertoire and histories

5.1 Introduction

This initial data chapter introduces the eleven participants by presenting their nationalities and family origins. Thereafter it describes four of the participants' linguistic repertoires and histories in depth. This in-depth description draws on the phenomenological approach to uncover the richness of the participants' linguistic repertoires, their diverse histories and language trajectories which come together to form their unique *Spracherleben*. Finally, the chapter will describe how the participants represented their linguistic repertoire using the language portrait exercise and what this made visible to them. These ideas will be built upon in chapters 6 and 7 as they explore and analyse the language ontologies and ideologies that were made visible through the language portrait exercise. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the participants of this thesis will be referred to as part of two identifying groups (native and migrant participants) to consider differences in histories, language trajectories, language ontologies and ideologies.

5.2 An overview of the participants

The below table gives an overview of the 11 participants' names, their self-identification as a migrant or native participant, their place of birth as well as their parents' and grandparents' nationalities. All native participants were born in France, although participants like Agathe and Emmanuel have grandparents and parents respectively who were born in other countries. The migrant participants come from an array of countries, but many of these are tied to France's colonial history. For example, Jules, Façoil and Assmina come from France's overseas departments and territories which are seen as an extension of the Republic, but outside of mainland France (Maklakova et al. 2017). Takita was born in the Ivory Coast, a previous colony of France and Saloum was born in Angola but moved to Senegal which was also a previous colony of France.

Figure 5.1: The participants, their place of birth, parents' and grandparents' nationalities

	Migrant or Native Participant	**Place of birth**	**Father's nationality**	**Mother's nationality**	**Paternal grandparents' nationality**	**Maternal grandparents' nationality**
Agathe	Native	France	French	Algerian	Possibly French	Algerian
Liliane	Native	France	French	Unknown	Unknown, *Grandparents de Cœur* [grandparents at heart] speak Patois	Unknown
Emmanuel	Native	France	Portuguese	Gitanes [*gitan*]	Possibly Portuguese	Possibly Gitanes [*gitan*]
Pauline	Native	France	French	French	Possibly French	Possibly French
Nathalie	Native	France	French	French	Possibly French Grandparents and uncles speak Patois	Possibly French Grandparents and uncles speak Patois
Jules	Migrant	Guadeloupe	Possibly Guadeloupean	Possibly Guadeloupean	Unknown	Unknown
Saloum	Migrant	Angola	Possibly Angolan	Possibly Angolan	Unknown	Unknown
Façoil	Migrant	Mayotte	Mahore [Mayotte]	Mahore [Mayotte]	Unknown	Unknown
Takita	Migrant	Ivory Coast	Ivorian, but has family in France	Ivorian, but has family in France	Unknown	Unknown
Maëlys	Migrant	Guatemala	Adopted. Birth parents: Guatemalan Adopted parents: French	Adopted. Birth parents: Guatemalan Adopted parents: French	Unknown	Unknown
Assmina	Migrant	Mayotte	Possibly Mahore	Possibly Madagascan [Malgache]	Unknown	Madagascan

The participants who were most likely to mention their families' origins were those whose families are "unusual" in some way. For example, Liliane did not explicitly mention that her grandparents were French because she was born in France and thus, it did not seem unusual for her family members to share her citizenship. However, some participants explained unusual circumstances like migration which affected their families' nationalities. In explaining her relationship with Arabic, Agathe told the story of her mother's parents who migrated from Algeria to France after the Algerian war. Maëlys spoke of her adoption, and that she was born in Guatemala, migrated to France as an infant and maintained relationships with some family in Ecuador and the United States. The participants, like Liliane, who have family origins marked as "unknown" did not state where their parents came from but may have alluded to it through speaking of their family heritage languages. These parents and grandparents may also have the same origins as the participants themselves. For example, Assmina mentions her family speaks Shimaoré and French, but only her maternal family speaks Malgache as her grandfather came from Madagascar, so it is assumed that Assmina's paternal family are Mahore.

Migration for school is one of the chief reasons the migrant participants came to France, unless they moved to France with their families. Although they share this, their schooling histories are unique. Participants like Saloum, Jules and Façoil live alone in France, but some, like Assmina and Takita have family in France. Takita moved to France with her family when she was 7 and Maëlys moved as an infant. While all the native participants completed their kindergarten, primary, middle, and high schooling in mainland France, Maëlys is the only migrant participant who did the same. Takita only completed her kindergarten schooling in The Ivory Coast and then moved to France where she completed her primary schooling up until her B.T.S studies. Assmina, Jules, Saloum and Façoil moved to France on their own for their high school or B.T.S studies.

Figure 5.2: The participants home and school languages and their heritage languages

	Languages spoken	Heritage language
Agathe	Home: French, Arabic, English, Spanish School: Japanese, English, French, Spanish	French

Liliane	Home: French, English, Spanish, French Sign Language, Esperanto, German, Patois School: French, English, Spanish, French Sign Language, German	French
Emmanuel	Home: French, Portuguese, Arabic, English, Spanish, *gitan* School: French, Spanish, English	French, Portuguese, *gitan*
Pauline	Home: French, English, Spanish, Hungarian School: French, Spanish, English	French
Nathalie	Home: Patois Poitevin - Saintongeais, Gaulouis, French, English, Latin, German School: French, English, German, Spanish, Latin	French, Patois Poitevin - Saintongeais
Jules	Home: Creole, French, English School: French, English, Spanish, Creole	Creole, French
Saloum	Home: Arabic, Wolof, Soninke, Portuguese School: English, French, Spanish	Soninke
Façoil	Home: Shimaoré, French, Malgache, Arabic School: French, English, Spanish	Shimaoré
Takita	Home: French, Dioula, English School: French, English, Spanish	French, Dioula
Maëlys	Home: Spanish, English, French School: Spanish, English, Slovak, French	French, Spanish
Assmina	Home: French, Shimaoré, Malgache School: French, Shimaoré, Spanish, English	Shimaoré

Languages the participants named 'heritage languages'[39] were tied to their home countries. For example, Agathe, Liliane and Pauline named French as their heritage language as they are from France, while Assmina and Façoil named Shimaoré as theirs as they are from Mayotte. However, some participants named more than one language as part of their heritage languages. Maëlys was one of these, who named both French and Spanish as her heritage languages because her first language was French, but as she was born in Guatemala, she sees Spanish as her rightful mother-tongue. Emmanuel states that French is his mother tongue, but *gitan*[40] and Portuguese are part of his heritage languages as well because they are connected to his family. Participants like Nathalie and Takita's heritage

[39] Please see chapter 2.3.3 for the definition of heritage languages

[40] *Gitan* will be translated as Gitanes in English to as accurately as possible portray Emmanuel's family ethnicity. This thesis opts not to use the term "gypsy" or "roma" as these can be offensive (Sudetic 2013)

languages were directly connected to their regions of origin within their home countries. Nathalie was born in France, but in the Deux-Sevres region where the *Poitevin – Saintongeais* dialect of Patois is spoken. Thus, the Patois used by Liliane could be different, but she does not specify which one. Takita's heritage language Dioula is used only by a speech community in a certain region where her family is from.

Interestingly, in the above table the common languages for all participants are French, English and Spanish even though the participants completed their school careers in different countries and continents. The home languages have the most variety due to the uniqueness of each participants' home lives and their personal interest in languages, and how these could be influenced by media, friends and family. In total, there are 22 different languages represented in their language portraits. However, it became clear throughout the research process that due to the way in which participants were taught or exposed to language (their language ontologies and language ideologies), they had linguistic resources of which they were unaware.

5.3 The linguistic repertoires of Nathalie, Emmanuel, Saloum and Jules

As this thesis has eleven participants, it is difficult to speak about each of their histories and repertoires individually[41]. Instead, this section will describe four of the participants, their histories and their life trajectories or personal repertoires (Canagarajah 2018 and Pennycook 2014 in Busch 2021). The language portraits and the language trajectories are simplified diagrams that represent the participants' journeys and relationships with language. In reality, language exposure is not a once-off point in an individual's timeline, nor can it be said that once an individual has been exposed to a language that it continues to be present in the same way all their lives. This thesis holds linguistic resources as cumulative because the effects of linguistic exposure remain embedded in speakers' everyday practices, even if the speaker stops learning a language or migrates. The accounts and portraits

[41] Should it be interesting to look at each participants' history and their language portraits more closely, please find this in Appendix 1b.

described below challenged my preconceived notions about France, and the migrant and native participants alike[42].

5.3.1 Nathalie : the 'old' *locuteur*[43]

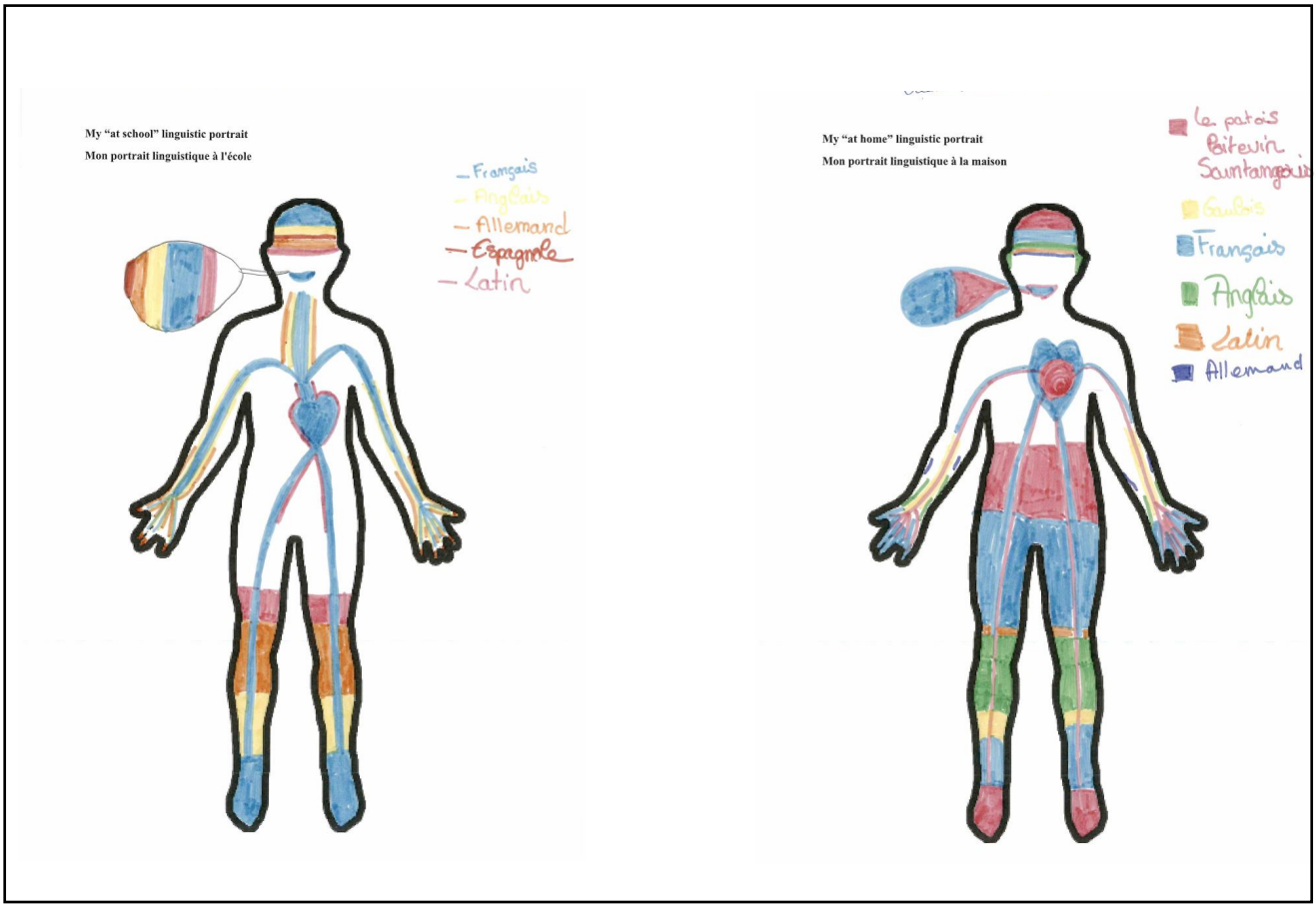

Figure 5.3: Nathalie's language portraits. School (left), home (right)

Nathalie is a native participant from Oiron in the Deux-Sevres province. Her heritage languages are Patois (the *Poitevin Saintongeais* dialect) and French. These dialects of Patois form part of the *langues d'oïl*[44] and are referred to as the *Poitevin-Saintongeais* language or Patois (Delavaud 2017). Her home language portrait consists of these, as well as *Gaulois*

[42] A full account of my biases and how these were challenged as part of the bracketing process are noted in Appendix 2d.
[43] [speaker]
[44] languages of the *oïl*, the linguistic area, in the northwest region of mainland France

(Gaulish), English, Latin and German. Her school language portrait consists of French, English, German, Spanish and Latin. Her passion is what she calls, "ancient languages"[45] like Patois, Gaulish and Latin. She has learnt some of these on her own through reading, and socially through her grandparents, who speak Patois. A challenge she faced is that many people comment that she "talks 'old-fashioned' … it penalized me a little bit, but not that much, because, in fact, I say words that other people don't understand"[46]. She admitted that her speaking these languages hindered her French speaking ability "it penalized me", because she does not speak the same French that her peers speak. When two people speak the same language, it is assumed they will be able to understand each other (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007: 4). However, because of the social nature of language, thus different literacy and language practices, Nathalie does not share the same linguistic knowledge as peers, even those who were also born in France (Pahl and Kelly 2005: 91).

Nathalie has done some Latin in her school subject History-Geography[47] but it was due to her passion for ancient languages and a teacher exposing her to literature that her competence in "ancient" languages increased. While explaining her school portrait, she revealed her difficulties learning language, specifically with writing. She states that her difficulties with French writing have made learning other languages for her difficult. She does not believe she's a very strong language learner or even French speaker, despite completing the entire interview in French. In the interview, she recalled when teachers discouraged her from pursuing language courses: "She told me that I wouldn't be able to do it"[48]. Comments like these made her feel like a "bad language learner" because she isn't able to write in German and *Patois*, but she can still speak them to an advanced degree (Norton and Toohey 2001). This could show that the ideology of her schools, teachers, and those around her is to regard regional languages as conflicting with French communication. This could be due to what Helot and Young (2006b: 72) call the "extinction of particularism", where the French language is the single national language emphasised in workplaces, schools and administration.

[45] [*les anciennes langues*]
[46] [*parle beaucoup « à l'ancien »… ça m'a un peu pénalisé, mais pas tant que ça, parce que, du coup je dis des mots que fins d'autre gens ne comprennent pas*]
[47] *histo-géo*
[48] [*Elle m'a dit que je n'arriverai pas*]

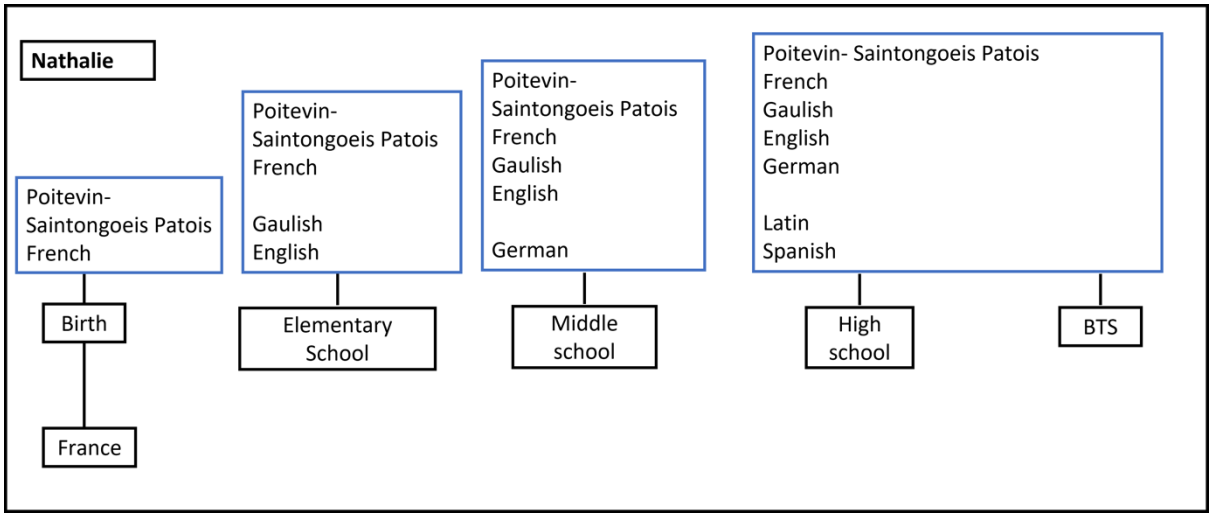

Figure 5.4: Nathalie's language trajectory

Figure 5.4 is Nathalie's language trajectory. Nathalie's heritage languages are the *Poitevin-Saintongeais*[49] dialect of Patois and French, so they are listed as exposed to her from birth. Nathalie did not take Gaulish as a school subject, but she was interested in it from a young age, so it was placed within her elementary school years. She was not exposed to these languages in the same manner as she did French, English, German, Spanish and Latin within the school space. At elementary school, Nathalie picked up English first, although she stated that she would have liked to start English earlier. Thereafter, she picked up German as her third additional language. Due to her interest in languages, Nathalie also took a course in Latin and Spanish in high school. While Patois was not exposed to Nathalie through school, her Patois linguistic resources permeate her everyday speech because of her family's language practices.

[49] In her interview, Nathalie calls it *Saintongeois Patois,* but on her language portrait, she writes down "*le patois Poitevin-Saintongeais*".

5.3.2 Emmanuel: the 'social and multimedia' *locuteur*

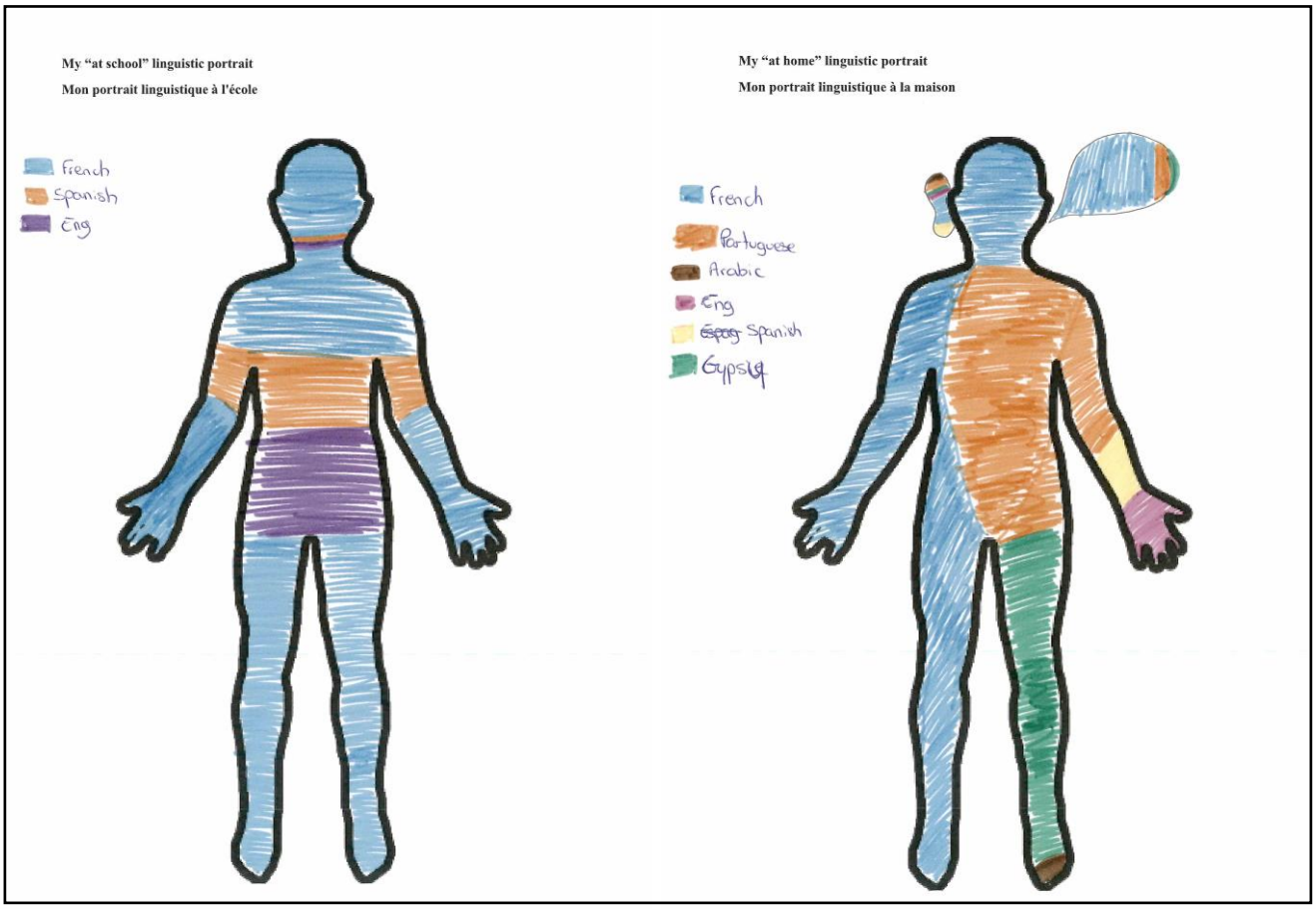

Figure 5.5: Emmanuel's language portraits. School (left), home (right)

Emmanuel is a native participant who grew up in Paris. His heritage languages are French, Gitanes and Portuguese. The languages of his home portrait include French, Portuguese, Arabic, English, Spanish and Gitanes [*gitan*] and his school portrait contains French, Spanish, and English. Growing up in one of the *banlieues* of Paris known for its diverse community, he was surrounded by "only Arab… or African friends"[50]. This allowed him to learn various Arabic phrases, especially as he would often visit his friends' houses and share meals with their families. Emmanuel calls his mother and her family *gitan* [Gitanes], and their language *gitan* as well. He enjoys using a few words of the language because "it also allows me to move forward with my family"[51]. As Emmanuel learnt Arabic and *gitan* solely through social

[50] [*qu'avec des amis arabes ou… africains*]
[51] [*ça me permet aussi d'avancer avec ma famille*]

interactions, this highlights how meaning-making is embedded within social contexts (Heath 1983; Street 2006). Emmanuel's family integrates language into the home through music, food and multimedia, emphasizing the multimodal nature of the linguistic repertoire. He watches sport in Portuguese and the English football championship in English and was one of many of the participants who used media to grow their language resources (Rymes 2014). Resources like television and the internet make it very accessible to develop language skills, seen often in home environments rather than the classroom (Webb 2015; Leander and Boldt 2012). Also, in using the television, a multimodal resource, Emmanuel learnt Portuguese and English through visual clues like gesture, facial expressions and through sound, graphs and images portraying various sports data. In this way, he learnt sporting jargon within these languages called a "specific semiotic domain" (Gee 2003).

At school, Emmanuel mostly uses French. He said that he used it in everything he did for school, "I breathe French"[52]. As a language with a strong linguistic capital, being able to use French freely is a huge asset as it is the official language in France (Nikolovski 2018; Maklakova et al. 2017). Despite being a home language French-speaker, Emmanuel stated that French is still one of the more difficult languages that he has learnt. This shows that although he has not mastered the grammatical competence that is important to do well in school, he is still able to communicate with his peers and others comfortably and effectively (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007; Rymes 2014). Emmanuel's linguistic repertoire displays how multimodal resources and social interactions can develop linguistic skills. Despite learners facing difficulties learning language at school, like Emmanuel and Nathalie, social interactions still allow speakers the ability to communicate with others.

[52] [*je respire français*]

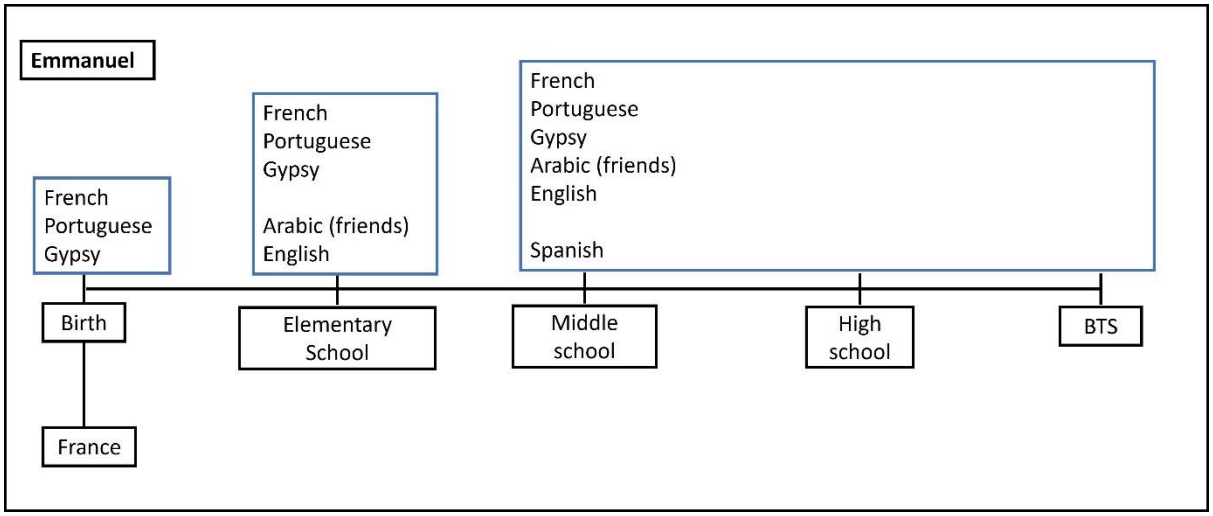

Figure 5.6: Emmanuel's language trajectory

Figure 5.6 is Emmanuel's language trajectory. Due to his mother's French and Gitanes heritage, and the fact that his father is Portuguese and speaks French, he was exposed to 3 languages from birth to varying degrees (French, Portuguese and *gitan*). When he started school in kindergarten, he continued with French. When Emmanuel lived in the 95th department[53] of Paris, he was introduced to Arabic. He does not specify exactly how old he was then, or how long they lived in that department. It is unclear if this exposure began in elementary school or before this, but it has been placed around the time of elementary school. As this thesis sees language resources as cumulative, Arabic has remained part of his linguistic repertoire. In terms of his school languages, Emmanuel started learning English in elementary school and started Spanish in middle school. However, Emmanuel uses English when he watches sports and Spanish when his family listens to music together. This shows that language cannot be contained in certain spaces, but that despite this, certain spaces remain in control of particular types of language use (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009; Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005).

[53] This department is also known as Val-d'Oise, an area close to Paris with the post-code number 95, where it gets its nickname (Insee 2022)

5.3.3 Saloum: the 'early migrant' *locuteur*

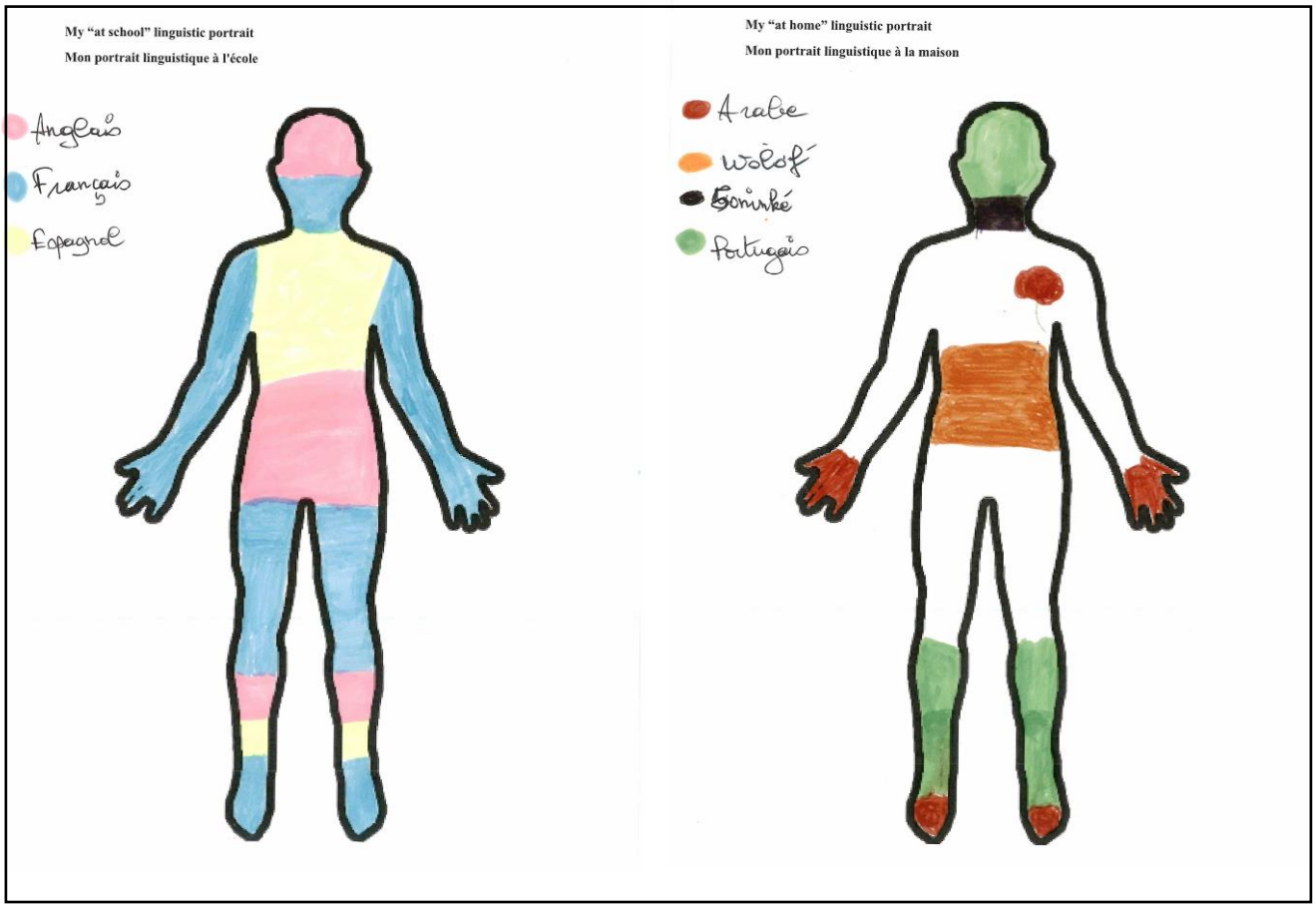

Figure 5.7: Saloum's language portraits. School (left), home (right)

Saloum is a migrant participant who was born in Angola and migrated to Senegal at the age of 7. His heritage languages are Soninke and Portuguese and due to migrating as a child, his home languages include Soninke, Portuguese, Wolof from his time in Senegal and Arabic because of religious affiliation. He said that he felt a strong dislike for Soninke, and he did not like that he could speak the language at all. This brings the idea of desire and disgust for language to the fore, emphasising the fact that emotion and lived experience of language shape one's linguistic repertoire significantly (Busch 2015: 17). The languages he has encountered at school include English, French and Spanish. Interestingly, Saloum's school languages are the same as Emmanuel's despite Saloum being a migrant citizen, who spent some school years in Senegal and others in France while Emmanuel is a native citizen, who was educated in France his whole life. This is likely because Senegal is a previous French

colony and one of its official languages is French (Maklakova et al. 2017). Senegal does not have an official language in education policy, but one of its goals as stated in the constitution is to educate its learners to write, read and speak a national language, thus employs French as its language of teaching, learning and assessment (USAID 2020: 4). Saloum says that learning French was incredibly difficult at such a young age, but after becoming fluent, he was able to traverse different parts of life easily and even study in France. Francophones are given opportunities to study in France and secure bursaries due to their linguistic skills (Ministère de L'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères n.d.-b; Lead with Languages n.d.). Saloum's linguistic repertoire shows that migration can be one of the causes affecting a speaker's linguistic resources.

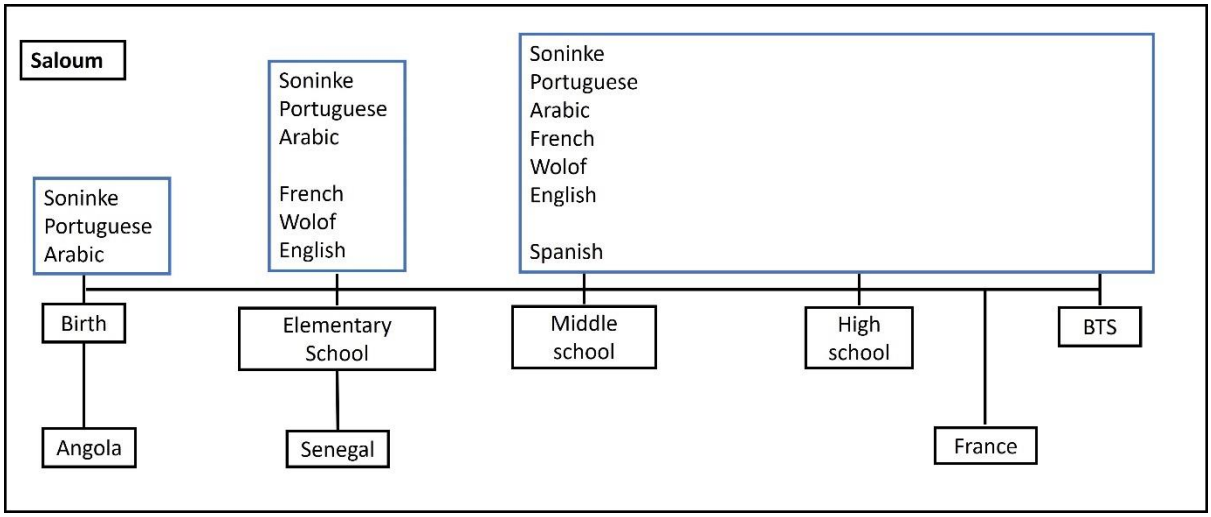

Figure 5.8: Saloum's language trajectory

Saloum's language trajectory (figure 5.8) differs slightly from Emmanuel and Nathalie's as was a young migrant. Saloum mentioned Arabic before his other languages in his repertoire because he says that it has always been a part of his life as he has used it for prayers. He learnt Soninke as his maternal language and started learning Portuguese as his first additional language. He explains that Portuguese is very important in Angola as much of the administration and schooling system is in Portuguese due to Angola being a previous Portuguese colony. Saloum's migration from Angola to Senegal meant that he had to learn French and Wolof to navigate a new country and school system. As Saloum moved at age 7,

he also had to learn English when he first moved to Senegal as in the country, the policy is that learners start English at the beginning of grade 1. This move was incredibly difficult for him, and he needed to diligently learn French and English. He comments that learning English was like working out because "it takes a lot of effort"[54] to learn a language. Saloum chose Spanish as an additional language in grade 6 (*CM2*), which is the beginning of middle school. Thereafter, his school languages have remained the same until his B.T.S. studies because he completed most of his schooling in Senegal.

5.3.4 Jules: the "linguistic mobility, linguistic capital" *locuteur*

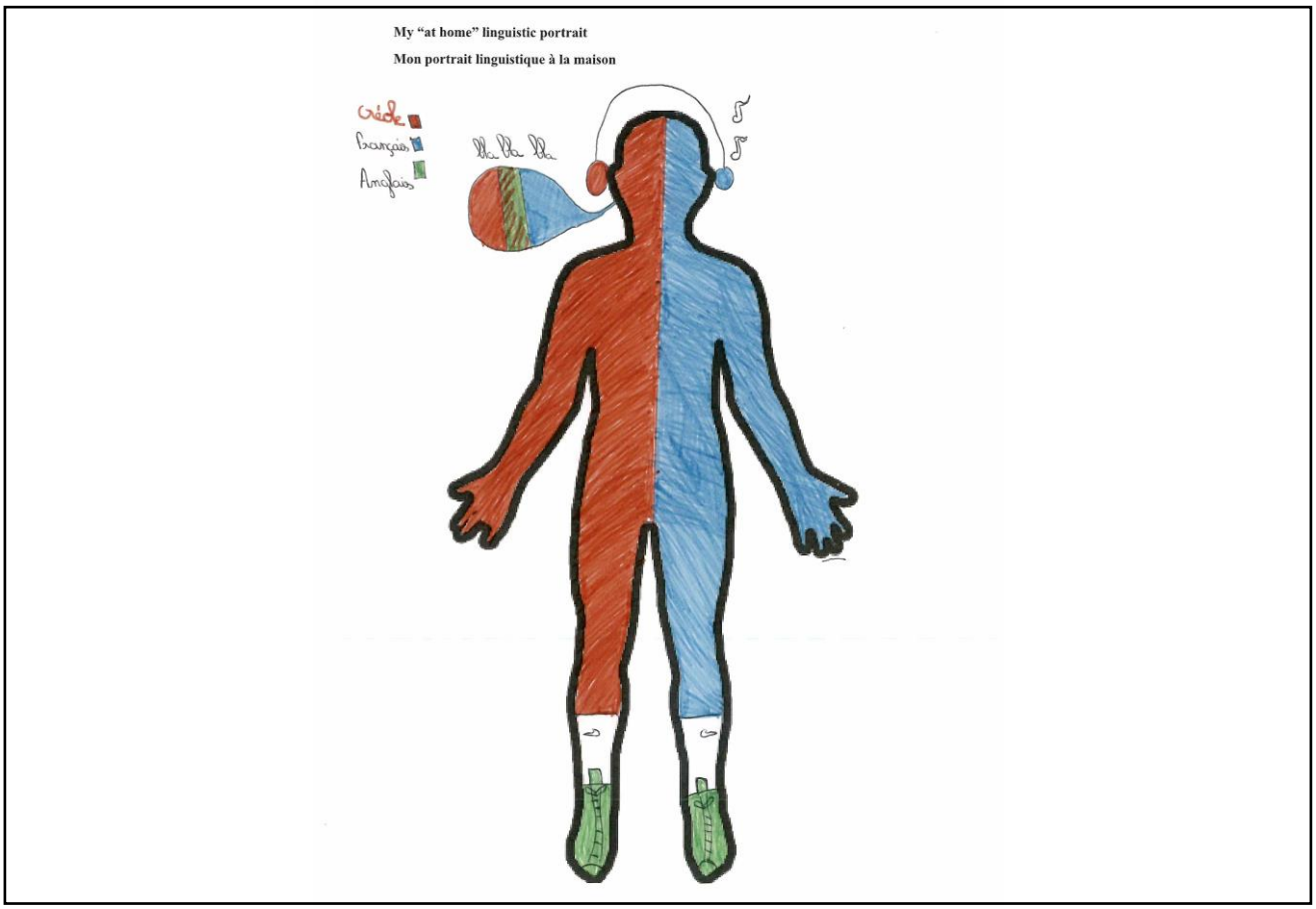

Figure 5.9: Jules' language portrait. School (left)[55]

[54] [*on fait beaucoup d'efforts*]
[55] Jules lost his home portrait so it isn't shown here

Jules is a migrant participant who comes from Guadeloupe, one of France's overseas departments. His heritage language is Creole, which he used in his everyday life, especially in Guadeloupe. Jules' home languages include Creole, French, English while his school languages include Creole, French, English, Spanish. Jules was given the opportunity to travel to the United States to play basketball and simultaneously was able to improve his English. Basketball allowed him to travel to another country and Jules highlights that because the sport is predominantly Anglophone (it comes from the United States) he needed to increase his English competency.

Like Saloum, Jules was faced with the same kind of language in education policy in Guadeloupe as in France because they are both francophone nations (Maklakova et al. 2017). He did his elementary and middle schooling in Guadeloupe but completed his high schooling in France. He mentioned that in Guadeloupe, he did some subjects in Creole. There would be a teacher who would explain concepts in Creole and would communicate in Creole after class but would do their assessments in French. However, he mentioned that it was a bit complicated to explain exactly where the division between French and Creole was as levels of standardisation of Creole and Creole learning materials differ between schools and regions (Smith 2019). Jules mentioned that one of the big differences between France and Guadeloupe is that scaffolded learning using language is considered the norm in Guadeloupe. In France, French is the only language used in the classroom to help scaffold teaching and subject languages are separated from one another (Alby and Léglise 2017). Alby and Leglise (Alby and Léglise 2017: 115) describe that in the French overseas departments and territories, scaffolding and code switching between languages is not prohibited, but many schools elect not to use the resource as they would rather not stray from the pedagogical choices of mainland France. Jules' linguistic repertoire shows that even though language is often seen through an autonomous segregated lens, particularly in academic institutions like French schools, speakers use their linguistic resources seamlessly in their everyday communication (Busch 2012; García 2017).

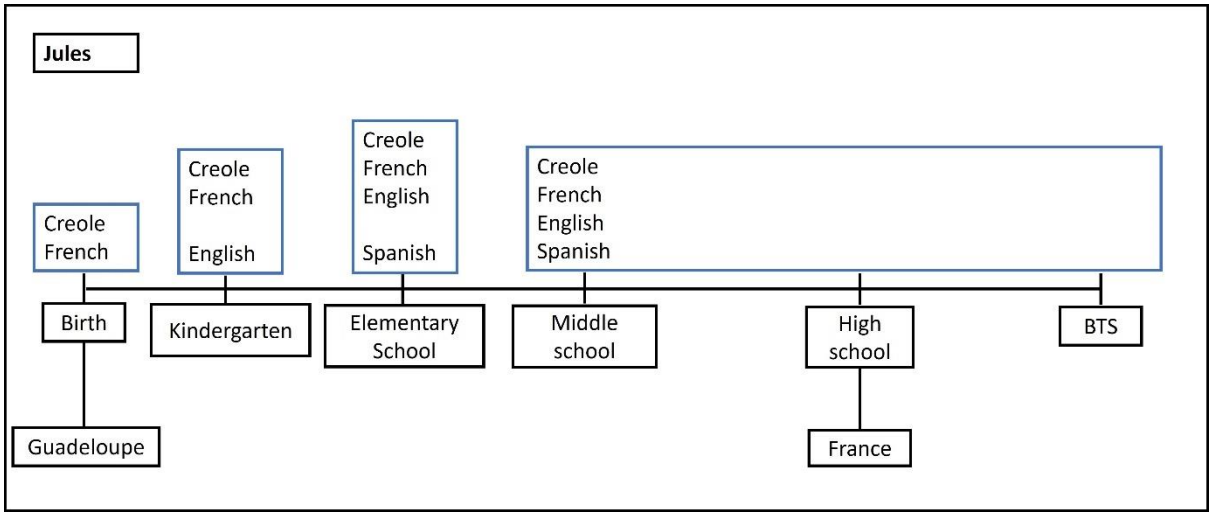

Figure 5.10: Jules' language trajectory

Figure 5.10 is Jules' language trajectory. His is somewhat similar to Saloum's in that he migrated from Guadeloupe to France to complete his education through a basketball scholarship. But Jules moved to France when he was 16 and he already had excellent French competence as Guadeloupe is one of France's overseas territories, thus much of his schooling was in French. Just like in France, Jules added English as his first foreign language and thereafter Spanish, but he started these subjects at a much younger age than the other participants.

5.4. Visually representing the linguistic repertoire

During the language portrait exercise, the participants' completed two language portraits as they understood linguistic repertoires to be at home and school. The participants used different colours, drew symbols and shapes within and outside the portrait's body and chose specific parts of the body to fill in and represent each language. They also included a key with their languages and the colours they used to represent them listed to the side of their portrait body. The language portrait exercise led to a diverse range of portraits as the participants' languages, their language trajectories and their lived experiences were unique[56]. It is clear though, that how the participants understand their languages and interpret the way their languages are "embodied" is similar (Busch 2021: 191). The section

[56] Should it be interesting to look at all of the language portraits and histories, please see Appendix 1b.

below lays out the above visual elements of the language portrait exercise and discusses these differences and why the participants possibly understand and interpret their languages in these ways. The initial analysis of the language portraits, alongside the critical discourse analysis that was completed on all data thereafter contributed to making visible the participants' language ontologies and ideologies and how these are affected by norms in France and the francophone world[57].

5.4.1 The language portrait: colours and shapes as signifiers

Figure 5.11: The participants' school and home languages and the colours used to represent them

	Colours of Languages	**Colour of French**	**Colour of Heritage Language**
Agathe	School: Japanese - black, English - red, French - blue, Spanish - pink Home: French - blue, Arabic - green, English - red, Spanish - pink	Blue	Blue
Liliane	School: French – blue, English – pink, Spanish – orange, French Sign Language - green, German – yellow Home: French – blue, English – pink, Spanish – orange, French Sign Language - green, Esperanto – dark pink, German – yellow, Patois - brown	Blue	Blue
Emmanuel	School: French – blue, Spanish – orange, English – pink Home: French – blue, Portuguese – orange, Arabic – brown, English – pink, Spanish – yellow, *gitan* - green	Blue	Blue, orange, green
Pauline	School: French – brown, Spanish – orange, English – dark green Home: French – brown, English – dark green, Spanish – orange, Hungarian – light green	Brown	Brown
Nathalie	School: French – blue, English – yellow, German – orange, Spanish – red, Latin - pink Home: Patois, Poitevin - Saintongeais – pink, Gaulouis – yellow, French – blue, English – green, Latin – orange, German - purple	Blue	Blue, pink

[57] Some of this detailed discourse analysis has gone into Appendix 3b

Jules	School: French – blue, English – green, Spanish – yellow, Creole – red Home: Creole – red, French – blue, English - green	Blue	Red, blue
Saloum	School: English - pink, French - blue, Spanish – yellow Home: Arabic – Red, Wolof – Orange, Soninke – Black, Portuguese - Green	Blue	Black
Façoil	School: French - Blue, English - Yellow, Spanish – Orange Home: Shimaoré – Pink, French – Blue, Malgache – Orange, Arabic - Green	Blue	Pink
Takita	School: French – blue, English – orange, Spanish - red Home: French – blue, Dioula – green, English – orange	Blue	Blue, green
Maëlys	School: Spanish – red, English – green, Slovak – purple, French – blue Home: Spanish – red, English – grey, French - blue	Blue	Blue, red
Assmina	School: French – blue, Shimaoré – yellow, Spanish – pink, English – green Home: French – blue, Shimaoré – yellow, Malgache - pink	Blue	Pink

In the above table, a notable distinction is the difference in colour used to represent French (the hegemonic language in France and at schools) and colours used to represent heritage languages. Many participants named French as one of their heritage languages, but the difference in colour is distinct for participants with multiple heritage languages. For instance, majority of the participants (10 out of 11) chose to represent French using blue. Their reasoning for this was the French flag, the French climate being cold in comparison to their home countries and simply that France and 'the French' are commonly represented by blue. Other heritage languages or "languages of the heart"[58] were placed on the language portraits in pink, red, purple, orange and green. These colours often also represented other countries' flags, highlighting the participants' perception of language as linked to nations (Hall and Cunningham 2020).

Many participants coloured their heritage languages emotively representing their *Spracherleben* through colour (Busch 2021, 2015). Assmina chose yellow for her heritage

[58] [langues de cœur]

language because of the constant sun present in Mayotte. She says, “it's the sun, the sun and the sun. That's why I chose yellow”[59]. The emotion connected to her words here is clear. She uses repetition to emphasise her love and the joy that her home country and heritage language bring her (Johnstone 2002: 10). By using the sun as a material object with which she signifies Mayotte and Shimaoré, Assmina shows that she understands language as connected to physical places and understands that Shimaoré is “embodied” in her happiness (Busch 2021: 191). Negative emotions can also be associated with speakers’ *Spracherleben*. Saloum holds conflicting emotions for his heritage language which can be seen through its representation in black. He says, “I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don’t know, I don’t like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. [**ZR:** Yeah?]. There's too much hypocrisy, me, I don't think at all in the same way of how they think”[60]. Saloum lists feelings like hatred and discontentment which he connects to people he associates with Soninke. Instead of associating the language with a place like Assmina, Saloum symbolises Soninke speakers, specifically his family with the colour black. Purkarthofer (2022: 32) states that emotions, both negative and positive can be affiliated with language due to speakers’ past experiences with that language. If they were included and able to communicate with their loved ones, this would create a positive affiliation for them. Whereas if they were excluded from a certain group because of a language that they spoke, this could cause these speakers to hide this language and thus their identity with it.

The participants also used shapes to signifies languages. Eight of the participants used hearts to show their love for their heritage languages, or languages they desire to learn in the future. In the school portraits, the heart was also seen to represent school languages they enjoyed. Agathe used leaves and roots to show her Algerian heritage, representing Arabic. This is significant because roots are the foundations of a plant, and as such, Agathe is referring to her family roots as her foundation for her identity. Another shape which was found on Agathe, Jules and Liliane’s portraits was the musical note. Jules also adds headphones on the portraits’ ears where one speaker is coloured in red for Creole and the

[59] [*C'est le soleil, le soleil et le soleil. C'est pour ça que j'ai pris le jaune*]

[60] [I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don’t know, I don’t like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. *[**ZR :** Yeah?]. Il y a trop d’hypocrisie, moi, fin je ne pense pas du tout de la même façon de comment ils pensent.*]

other in blue for French to show that he listens to a balance of both languages in his music. Façoil, Nathalie and Liliane used veins throughout the body in the colour of their different languages. This symbolises how close they feel their language is to them, how tied their experiences and identities are to these languages. Saloum, Façoil and Assmina use the phrase, "It [language] is a part of me"[61]. Nathalie says, "It's in me"[62]. Like blood running through their veins, allowing them to live their lives, their languages are invaluable parts of their identities. Finally, Liliane and Jules used items of clothing to symbolise unique parts of their repertoires and experiences with languages. Liliane uses socks on the feet of her home language portrait to show which languages she has or is trying to learn, which is a wonderful analogy of 'trying on' language. Jules on the other hand, uses basketball sneakers with the Nike logo to portray that through basketball, he was able to travel to the United States and learn some English. The socks and shoes in their portraits show how language becomes material, "embodied" and the physical and emotional aspects of language are "lived" (Kell and Budach 2023; Busch 2021: 191; 2015). These symbols can also be described as multisemiotic "self-expression", a spontaneous way in which the participants make meaning through image and their understanding of how language permeates their everyday lives (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996).

5.4.2 The language portrait: body parts as signifiers

Figure 5.12 The participants' languages and where they placed them on the language portrait body

	Languages in limbs	**Languages in head**	**Languages in centre of body**
Agathe	French (hands), Spanish (shoulders) Arabic (legs)	French, English	English, Japanese
Liliane	French, English, Spanish, French Sign Language (arms, hands), English, Spanish, French Sign Language (arms, hands), Esperanto, German (feet)	French, English, Spanish, French Sign Language (eyes), German, Patois	French Sign Language, French, English, Spanish

[61] [*Ça fait partie de moi*]
[62] [*C'est en moi*]

Emmanuel	French (arms, legs) Spanish (arms) Portuguese, Spanish, English (arm), Gitanes, Arabic (leg)	French, Spanish, English. All languages, mostly French (ears), mostly French, Portuguese, Gitanes (mouth)	French, Spanish, English, Portuguese
Pauline	French (arms, legs), Spanish (feet)	French, Spanish, English, Hungarian	French
Nathalie	School and Home: French, English, German, Spanish, Latin, Patois Poitevin – Saintongeais, Gaulois (legs)	School and Home: French, Patois Poitevin – Saintongeais, Gaulois (head, mouth, speech bubble), English, German, Spanish, Latin (head)	French, English, German, Spanish, Latin, Patois Poitevin – Saintongeais, Gaulois (veins)
Jules	French (arm, leg), Creole (arm, leg), English (feet)	French, Creole, English, Spanish	French, Creole
Saloum	French (arms, legs), English (legs), Spanish (legs), Portuguese (legs), Arabic (feet)	English, French, Portuguese	Spanish, English, Soninke, Wolof, Arabic
Façoil	French (legs, arms), English (feet), Arabic (hands)	French, English, Spanish, Shimaoré, French, Malgache, Arabic	French, English, Spanish, Shimaoré, Arabic, Malgache (veins)
Takita	French (legs, hand), English (dominant hand), Spanish (non-dominant arm)	French, Dioula, English, Spanish	French, Dioula
Maëlys	English (hands), French (hands and legs), Spanish (legs)	English, Slovak, Spanish	Spanish, French
Assmina	English and Shimaoré (hands), Spanish and Malgache (knees)	French, Shimaoré, Spanish	Spanish, Shimaoré

The above table includes languages the participants placed in different parts of the language portrait body, thus where they felt their languages were "embodied" (Busch 2021: 191). The main areas of the body which have been grouped together to analyse how the participants created meaning through their body parts are as follows:

1. The head (thought bubbles, speech bubbles, ears, eyes, mouth)
2. The centre of the body (throat, chest, stomach)
3. The limbs (arms, hands, legs, feet, socks, shoes, roots)

The head of the body (including thought bubbles, speech bubbles, ears, eyes, mouth) is possibly the most accepted body parts to facilitate communication and measure language

competence. In fact, when looking at the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, the focus when teaching language is speaking, listening, writing and reading (Little 2008). Thus, it is not surprising to see that all participants used the above body parts to describe these kinds of skills and activities, particularly for subject languages at school (like French, English, Spanish, German). However, they extended to heritage languages such as *Shimaoré*, *Dioula*, Creole, Soninke, *Malgache*, Patois, *Gaulois* and *Gitan*. The participants reflected on their ability to speak language, understand spoken and written language as well as write language, highlighting their understanding of communicative competence as part of the linguistic repertoire and language as autonomous and as an acquirable skill (Rymes 2014: 1 - 2; Street 2006). The participants also used the eyes, ears and mouth to describe their experience with language in movies, music and social media and how these contribute to their language learning.

Busch (2015: 2) emphasizes that speakers are not only experiencing "bodily sensations" through their own eyes and ears, but also through the eyes, ears and one can add, mouth, of other speakers. Others listen, look and speak back which impacts a speaker's understanding of themselves, contributing to their *Spracherleben.* This is interesting with regards to educational success and career success later in life. Languages included in the heads of the language portraits were explained as helping the participants succeed at school and critical for careers. But the emotion of potential success or failure was often represented in the centre of the body of the language portraits. Saloum mentions difficulty in learning English when he moved to Senegal, "and I put it [English] at the lower level of the body because you know when you train, when you have to have abs, it takes a lot of effort. [**ZR:** Mm]. So, as a result, that's why I put it there and I said to myself that I have put in so, so, so much of effort to have a level that's not so bad in English"[63]. This feeling of effort drew Saloum to represent English in the stomach of his school portrait.

Façoil and Nathalie use the symbol of veins in the centre of the body, extending into the arms and legs to represent how these languages form their identities. Emmanuel, Agathe

[63] [*Et uhm, je l'ai mis là, au niveau du bas du corps parce que vous savez, quand on fait de l'entraînement, qu'on doit avoir des abdos, on fait beaucoup d'efforts. Donc, du coup, c'est pourquoi je l'ai mis là et je me suis dit que j'ai dû faire beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup d'effort [**ZR** : ok] pour aujourd'hui avoir un niveau pas mal en anglais*]

and Jules use the stomach to talk about food that they love to eat which is connected to certain languages for them. For example, Emmanuel states that in Spanish class he can "discover the products of other countries"[64] and this ignites his love for Spanish because he loves learning about the gastronomy of different cultures. Agathe places Japanese in her stomach because she loves Japanese cuisine and Jules speaks fondly of home recipes that mix Guadeloupean and French cultures, thus his stomach is coloured half in red for Creole and half in blue for French.

The final area of the body in which the participants created meaning were the limbs (hands, arms, legs, feet). The hands could represent several things, such as the ability to write, to communicate and how the participants perceive they "acquire" parts of language. Assmina uses the hands to talk about how difficult English is for her, "I can't stick with English. It's impossible. [**ZR** laughs]. I've had good teachers, I've had really good teachers, but it doesn't stick"[65]. Assmina relates the idea that English and the opportunities that it brings slips through her fingers without sticking to her body.

The participants described their feelings towards access and mobility using the legs and arms of the language portraits' bodies to illustrate this. They used metaphors to illustrate movement, to talk about sports, doing things or travelling to different spaces. For example, Emmanuel (group interview) described his use of French in this way, "…in relation to French, bah I put it a little bit everywhere. Because, well, at school, we mainly speak French. *Fin*, in my opinion… So, on the legs, arms, hands and head, and also on the torso. Well, because it allows me to think French again, to write and to advance"[66]. Here Emmanuel talks about French allowing him to advance at school, because French is the language of learning and teaching. Emmanuel's access to this language is easier as French is his maternal language so he uses it with ease.

Many participants mentioned affordances of certain languages (primarily French and English). Interestingly many of the migrant participants described what these languages

[64] [*découvre les produits d'autres pays*]
[65] [*…je ne peux pas coller avec l'anglais. C'est impossible. [**ZR** rit]. Portant, j'ai eu des bons profs moi j'ai vraiment des bons profs mais ça ne colle pas*]
[66] [*…par rapport aux Français, bah j'ai le mis un peu partout. Parce que, bah à l'école on parle essentiellement français. Fin, pour ma part… Donc au niveau des jambes, des bras, des mains et de la tête, et aussi au niveau du torse. Bah, parce que ça me permet de réfléchir encore le français, d'écrire et d'avancer*]

afforded them in terms of educational and migrational opportunities which they emphasised feeling grateful for. The language portrait can be used to evaluate different levels of affordances individuals and their languages grant them, which can contribute to remarks of belonging (Oostendorp 2022: 81). For example, Jules states that he went to France at the beginning of high school (grade 10) thanks to a basketball scholarship, "…in fact I arrived in France because of basketball"[67]. He included basketball sneakers on the feet of his language portrait to show that basketball, and the fact that this sport is connected to English and French allowed him to move across the world and access education in France. Façoil too, mentions this, "I put Spanish on the feet because it allowed me to go to Spain, to make a trip to Spain"[68]. Jules and Façoil clearly understand that these languages can "move" them and grant them access to people and places that other languages might not afford them. It is crucial to point out that Jules and Façoil both come from French overseas territories which means that they were educated in French to a certain degree. The fact that there are these previous colonial ties to France and the French language possibly granted these participants access to scholarships and opportunities to study in France where they gain linguistic, educational, and possibly social capital as well.

5.4.3 The language portraits: home and school

In creating the language portraits through the visual representations, the participants deconstructed their language use in different spaces and with different groups of people by reflecting on their language practices at home and at school (Busch 2012: 5). The overview of the participants' languages showed that there are many languages which do not traverse the boundaries between home and school and the language portraits make this visible.

In Saloum's case, seen in figure 5.9, his home and school languages are mutually exclusive. Therefore, Saloum could believe his school and home linguistic resources are distinct. Saloum's home languages are Arabic, Wolof, Soninke and Portuguese, whereas his school languages are English, French and Spanish. The colours highlight the differences between his home and school identities. This could signify that Saloum might not feel a sense of

[67] […*en fait j'ai je suis arrivé en France par rapport au basket*]
[68] […*j'ai mis l'espagnol sur les pieds parce que ça me permis d'aller en Espagne, pour faire un voyage en Espagne*]

belonging at school in France. When looking at Saloum's portraits, one can deduce that perhaps he has some feelings of belonging because of the colours he uses to represent school languages. Pink and yellow (English and Spanish respectively) evoke happiness. When speaking of Spanish in particular, Saloum says (individual interview), "…I understood- the link with Portuguese. So, it became easy, and I liked it. And for me, it's part of me"[69]. Spanish is a part of who he is, a part of his identity, but he made that connection through the fact that Portuguese is the language he spoke very frequently in his home country, Angola. Thus, this linguistic practice feels familiar to him, drawing on the linguistic feeling of belonging (Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022).

When speaking about French, he talks about the opportunities French has afforded him, as mentioned above. It can be seen that having a francophone identity allowed him to build relationships in France and Senegal as these are both Francophone countries (Vigouroux 2013). French makes up the bulk of his school language portrait because he was educated both in Senegal and France. So, it is evident through his language portraits that Saloum makes visible differing identities to belong in different linguistic and ideological spaces. Saloum's home and migrant identities, although different, both make up who he is and how he has accomplished things in his life, it even talks to who he would like to be in the future (Preece 2020: 2; Busch 2021, 2012).

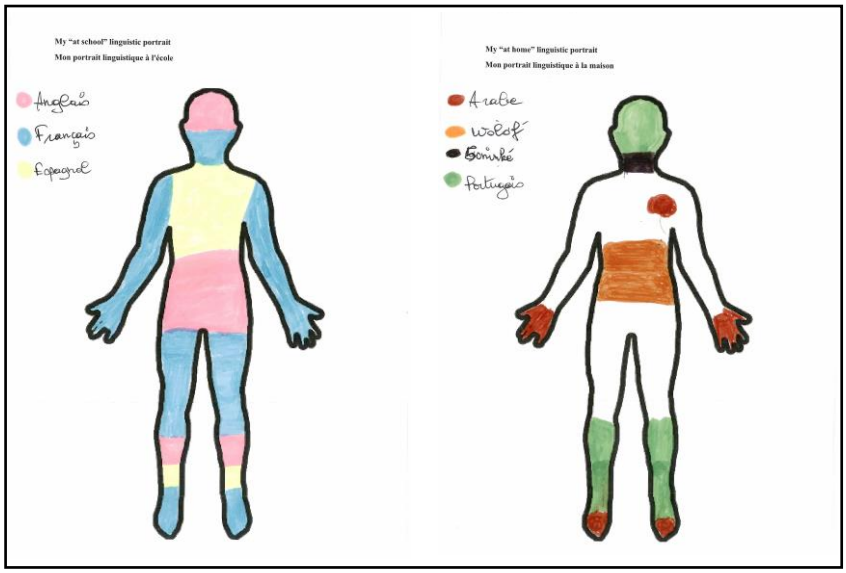

Figure 5.13: Saloum's at school (left) and at home (right) language portraits.

[69] […*j'avais compris que- du lien avec le Portugais. Bah, du coup, c'est devenu facile, voilà ça m'a plu. Et pour moi, ça fait partie de moi*]

5.4.4 Written language in the language portraits: writing language names

On the language portrait, the participants included keys for the names of the languages and colours used to represent the languages. This is some of the only writing included in the data sets. Saloum, Liliane, Assmina, Jules, and Nathalie used only French to write all the names of the languages. Takita used English (French), French (*Anglais* and *Espagnol*) and the Latin alphabet for Dioula when it can also be written in Arabic and N'ko orthography (Donaldson 2017). Agathe used English (Japanese), French (for *Arabe*, *Anglais*, *Français*) and Spanish (***Español***). Emmanuel and Pauline wrote all the languages in English. Emmanuel said this was because he wanted to make it easy for me as an Anglophone to read. Pauline might not have known how to spell Hungarian and instead chose to represent the language by the country that it originates from (Hungary). Maëlys wrote everything in English except Slovak (*Slovaque*) which she might have put in French because she didn't know the English translation. The participants possibly code-switched rather than translanguaged because they felt more comfortable naming languages in an autonomous 'named way' (Velasco and García 2014; Canagarajah 2011). Façoil is an interesting case (Figure 5.10), because upon closer inspection, he writes Spanish as [*espagñol*]. This orthography is a mix of the French spelling of Spanish [*espagnol or espagnole* depending on the gender needed for the adjective], and the Spanish [***español***]. This shows that Façoil is perhaps sub-consciously translanguaging because the sound of the "***ñ***" in Spanish and the "*gn*" in French is the same, thus in mixing these two orthographical features of the language as well as the language sounds (García and Otheguy 2017: 61). Canagarajah (2015: 12) states that multilingual learners like the participants of this thesis bring their resources together in this way and defy their monolingual-biased environment as they mesh their languages and their subsequent norms naturally.

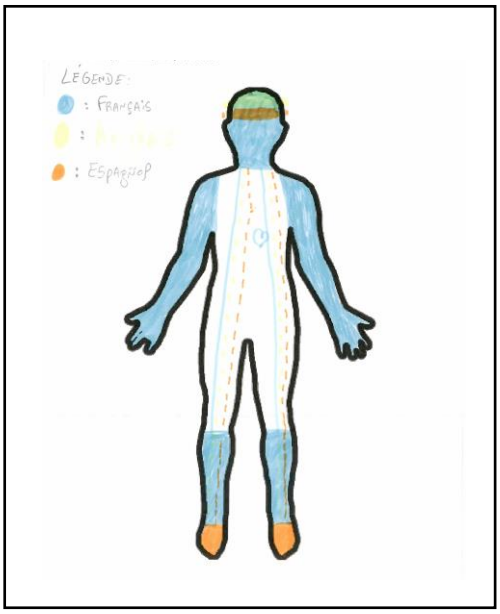

Figure 5.14: Façoil's school language portrait which reads from top to bottom: Légende [key], Français, Anglais, Espagñol

5.5. Revealing (to themselves and each other)

In performing the language portrait exercise, the participants revealed their *Spracherleben* to themselves first, then to each other in the group interview and overall, to me as the researcher. In order to reveal this personal information, the research created a third space in between the binaries of the participants' homes and their school spaces, in which they could discuss these sensitive topics (Guzula 2022: 128). This space can be termed a "space of reflection" in that it allowed the participants to reflect on themselves and their peers in new ways. It also allowed and encouraged translingual practices which the participants did not even realise that they had been performing all their lives because their home and school spaces often limit their understanding of how they use their languages. In welcoming the participants' full linguistic repertoires into this third space, the participants can fully 'make visible' themselves, their language ontologies and ideologies.

5.5.1 Revealing to themselves

The table in Appendix 2a lists the answers that the participants gave when asked what they learnt about themselves through the process of this research, if the way they saw

themselves or their languages had changed and what they consider to be the most unique part of their linguistic repertoire[70]. Busch (2015: 10) in her writing on the *Spracherleben* theorises that in taking stock of oneself, one's linguistic resources and one's lived experiences as one understands them in a particular space and time, one can begin "knowing thyself". The participants begin this process of knowing themselves through the creation of language portraits. After the participants introduced their language portraits to the group, they were asked what they considered to be the most unique thing about their linguistic repertoire. Some of the participants like Assmina, Takita, Facoil, Liliane, Emmanuel and Nathalie chose to name a particular language or languages as the most unique feature of their linguistic repertoire. This is perhaps the most literal understanding of the question as these participants reflected on their own linguistic resources in comparison to their peers' linguistic resources. This shows that the majority of the participants are mirroring each other's responses (Johnstone 2002). There were a few participants, like Agathe, Saloum, Maëlys and Jules who reflect on the uniqueness of their repertoires and how they afford them particular experiences. For example, Saloum's response shows that he is grateful for the fact that he has such a diverse linguistic repertoire. This shows that he understands that in diversifying his linguistic competences and learning language which carries linguistic capital, like French and English, he can be granted objectively better opportunities than if he only spoke languages with less linguistic capital (Blommaert 2010b; Bourdieu 1977).

Agathe, Maëlys and Jules speak similarly about being exposed to culture through language. Agathe talks to the fact that through Arabic she is exposed to other cultures like her Algerian family's culture. Maëlys says something similar in that she has family all over the world and is therefore exposed to diverse cultures and languages. Jules looks at the fact that sport has given him mobility, for example he was able to move to France to finish his studies through basketball. Through this sport, he states he was able to "diversify his culture". This shows that all three of these participants understand that culture and language go hand in hand. When asked a question about their linguistic repertoires, they respond with their ability to recognise, acknowledge and be sensitive to different cultures. This shows that

[70] It must be noted that Pauline was not present at the group interview and thus no answers were recorded for her for these questions.

their understandings of language is embedded within culture, and is an ideological view rather than an autonomous view (Street 2006).

The second question that the participants were asked was a direct one in relation to if they feel changed after having completed the language portrait exercise and group discussion. The answers to this question were quite split, some of the participants felt that nothing had changed, and their thinking was very much the same as it had always been. This could be because these participants had always felt quite self-aware. Agathe, for example, states that she recognises that language has always been a part of her daily life and thus she didn't feel that taking stock of her linguistic resources made anything new visible to her. Jules states that his viewpoint had not changed and showed that when representing his linguistic repertoire on the language portrait, the visual he created was very "purposeful" in that it represented how he views and uses languages every day. He states that his three languages (Creole, English and French) all form part of his world view. This shows that he had reflected upon his language use and possibly his language ideologies previously.

Other participants answered that their "eyes had opened" revealing their linguistic resources "richness". Nathalie's comment is poignant especially as she had been told previously that she is not a "good language learner" (Norton and Toohey 2001: 307). She says that she had not realised how many languages surround her and how much she loved them. Assmina who felt similarly about not being able to learn English because it "did not stick" to her, says that she realised how much she loved languages like Spanish and her mother tongue and how it is a great richness for her. The idea of "richness" is interesting as it alludes to the fact that there is linguistic importance, and ultimately linguistic capital in having a diverse linguistic repertoire. This goes against the idea that a learner needs to "master" a language to call themselves a speaker of that language. This is a very widely held language ontology in schools, for example (Council of Europe Portal n.d.; Little 2008; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). This language portrait exercise instead made the participants aware that there is richness and worth in all their linguistic resources.

5.5.2 Revealing to each other

The table in Appendix 2b indicates the comments of the participants on their peers' presentations of their language portraits, linguistic repertoires, and histories. The

participants were asked to comment on something that they did not know about their peers previously but since hearing their presentations, learnt or they could mention something they felt was unique about them[71].

Many of the comments show that there are linguistic resources made invisible by the monolingual policy in France (Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Flom and Young 2022). For example, many of the participants did not know that Agathe or Emmanuel had Arabic in their linguistic repertoires, and one comment demonstrated their peer's shock towards this information ("Agathe and the Arabic a bit shocking"[72]). This could be because both participants are native to France, and white, thus it could be very likely that they do not have ties to Arabic. This could allude to what kind of information the participants have shared about themselves to each other previously as well as to participants' preconceptions regarding their peers' home countries, its demographics and linguistic diversity. Perhaps Agathe and Emmanuel had never shared their upbringing and family lives with their peers in this way before, and thus their peers had never known this about them. Many of the other participants have similar revelations being made about them. A participant did not know that Jules could speak Creole and that it was his heritage language. Another participant did not know that Nathalie loved ancient languages like Patois because of her family's language practices. Some participants did not know that Takita and Assmina spoke their heritage languages as well. What is very interesting here is that the languages that are the least visible to the other participants are the heritage languages and languages with very little linguistic capital. These participants, as seen in a previous section understand that language and culture go hand in hand. One of the classes in their B.T.S. is the history and culture of French and France, but there is a clear lack with regards to other linguistic resources. Hélot and Young (2006a: 69) state that this kind of language education policy upholds the monolingual bias and maintains a hierarchy of languages where French supersedes other languages.

5.6 Conclusion

[71] As this was being done during the participants' presentations, there is an unequal number of comments per participant. Saloum for example did not receive comments on his portraits, so his section of the table is blank. Pauline was not present at the group interview; thus, she will also not be mentioned here.

[72] [*Agathe et l'arabe un peu choquer*]

This chapter has introduced an overview of all 11 participants, exploring their linguistic repertoires, their histories and their identities which they shared through the research process. Thereafter, it discussed four of these participants' linguistic repertoires, histories and language trajectories in great detail. In this way, the participants' *Spracherleben* were described through their description of their linguistic repertoires and through their personal repertoires (trajectories). The visual aspect to the language portrait and how the participants represented their linguistic repertoires have also been examined, and it describes how through the language portrait exercise, unknown facets of the participants' linguistic repertoires were made visible. The following chapter will analyse the participants language ontologies that were made visible through this process.

Chapter 6: The participants' language ontologies : entanglements of north and south

6.1 Introduction

In completing the language portrait exercise, the participants made visible their linguistic repertoire. The data that was discovered through this exercise and the subsequent sharing in their individual interview and thereafter in the group interview, reveals the larger concepts of language ontologies and ideologies that are both held by, and that circulate around, the participants, especially as these are framed in the greater context of France (Baxter 2020: 34; McKinney 2016; Cavanaugh 2020; Hélot 2003; Blackledge 2000; Young 2017). There were some strong differences between the participants' different ontological understandings of language. Some participants' held strong language ontologies along the lines of language being viewed autonomously or along the lines of language being viewed in an "embodied" manner; still other participants espoused differing language ontologies depending on the language itself (Kell and Budach 2023: 191; Pennycook 2020; Busch 2021). While their language ontologies were often divided, they were not strictly north and south dichotomies, instead these are entangled and constantly shifting. While this chapter explores the language ontologies, the language ideologies which were made visible through the language portrait exercise are analysed in chapter 7.

6.2 Ontologies reflecting the Global North

6.2.1 Language as autonomous: a reflection of the Republic

France's monolingual policy affects how languages are viewed by students and by the greater public. The idea of a one nation, one language is an old one, but France has upheld this ideology, possibly to counter the growing sentiment of English as the universal language and the fact that French is seen to unify the state thus is especially important in ensuring France's political and economic stability (Council of Europe Portal n.d.; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Maklakova et al. 2017; Costa and Lambert 2009; Little 2008). This ideology is theorised through an ontology of language which understands language as abstract and

autonomous, as an entity external to the self to be grasped and mastered (Wolff 2017). Through their representation and construction of their linguistic repertoires, the participants showed that they saw the European languages as autonomous and named. This means that language is understood outside of its social context, as something which is made up of phonetics, syntax and grammar and as something that can be acquired in whole, to a degree of fluency (Blommaert 2010a: 102). This is highlighted by the manner in which language is learnt in French schools, in that they are learnt as separate from one another (Jeoffrion et al. 2014) and the proficiency obtained by learners is a large part of the guidelines for language progression (Council of Europe Portal n.d.; Little 2008).

As seen in chapter 5, most participants used the colour blue to signify French in their language portraits. Saloum says, "…we name them [the French], the blues, so I chose that for French[73]. Nathalie states, "French, well I put it in blue because it's kind of the colour of France"[74]. Façoil's words are quite poignant, "French because it makes me think of France. It's a French country. So, it makes me think of blue"[75]. As French is seen by the participants through the ontology of "language as object" (Demuro and Gurney 2021, as cited in Kell and Budach 2023: 7 - 8), it is viewed by the participants as a singular named thing which can be related to France as a country embodying certain values such as *la liberté, l'égalité, la fraternité*[76]. France uses these ideals to symbolise their country and their people and due to Franconormativity and *Francophonie*, these ideals are tied to the French language (Vigouroux 2013). Blue is thus a signifier as Saussure would say for the signified "France and the French ideology" which the participants drew upon in making this choice (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams 2007; De Saussure 1966). It is crucial to remember that all the migrant participants' home countries have French as an official language[77], but none of them viewed French as tied to their home countries.

The participants did not consider language practices like code-switching and translanguaging to represent on their language portraits (García and Wei 2014). Instead,

[73] […*on les appelle [les français], les bleus donc, j'ai pris ça pour le français*]
[74] [*Le français, bah j'ai le mis en bleu parce que c'est un peu la couleur de la France*]
[75] [*Uh, le français car ça me pense à la France. C'est un pays français. Du coup ça me fait penser au bleu*]
[76] liberty, equality, fraternity
[77] Though Maelys was born in Guatemala, her home country can also be considered France as she lived there all her life

the way in which the participants separated languages on the body, in the head, in the ear, the mouth, the eyes, the hands, shows that the way in which they think about language is similar to the CECR 4 language competences and the pedagogical language assessment they had been accustomed to (speaking, listening, reading and writing) (Little 2008). This shows that language can be acquired or gained, thus it is viewed as external and autonomous. This was also tied strongly to ideas about the ranking of academic performance and there was a consensus in the group interview that one cannot call themselves a particular language speaker if they were not academically strong in that subject. Nathalie says, "the most gifted in the class was doing well in their grades. And that's a clear reinforcement"[78]. Thus, academic assessment is seen to reinforce language ontologies and language norms. Language ontologies impact pedagogy as well. Canagarajah (2015) and Preece (2020: 4) state that in schools where language is viewed autonomously, learners will be integrated into an additive or subtractive form of multilingualism. This is where either their L1 or maternal language will be mastered first and thereafter additional languages can be added to these resources if the learner's maternal language is the language of learning and teaching. What could also happen in the case of subtractive multilingualism is that learners will discard their L1 resources at school if it is not the language of learning and teaching and thereafter adopt the language of learning and teaching. This can be seen in Saloum's example when he moved from Angola to Senegal.

As language is viewed autonomously, the participants made it clear that learning languages at school is the way to gain competency in them. Nathalie for example says that she wished she had started English earlier and because she started late, she has "a lot of catching up to do"[79]. This is exemplified by the fact that French education policy dictates that incoming migrants and refugees are placed into a rigorous French course in which language is understood and taught through an autonomous lens (Brun and le Caignec 2019). Migrants who have some French competence can be examined through various linguistic exams[80]. These are also critiqued as focusing largely on language as divided into proficiencies such as A1 (pure beginner) to C2 (mother-tongue proficiency) as well as focusing largely on

[78] [*la plus doué de la classe c'est bien débrouillé fin, c'étaient dans des notes. Et c'est une claire renforcé*]
[79] [*j'ai beaucoup à rattrape*]
[80] These exams include DILF (*diplôme initial de langue française* [Initial French Language Diploma]), DELF (*Diplôme d'Etudes en Langue Française* [Diploma of French Language Studies]), or DALF (*Diplôme Approfondi de Langue Française* [Advanced Diploma in French Language])(France Education International n.d.-a)

evaluating academic written language over other forms of language practices and registers (Mercier 2017: 395 - 400). When I applied to complete my *sejour* in France teaching English as an assistant teacher, I was asked to show proof of at least a B1 level French proficiency, according to the CEFR guidelines (Little 2008), in order to be considered for the role (France Education International n.d.-b). This standardisation of the French assessment shows that all French as a Second or Foreign Language learners are subjected to European standards of assessment and quantifying of their language competency level, regardless of which country they come from and what the standard language practices and assessment criteria are there.

Through the participants' representation and construction of their linguistic repertoires, it was clear that the schools they attended in their home countries and France employed both additive and subtractive bilingualism. Whether the language policy is seen as additive or subtractive is dependent on the heritage language and mother tongue language of the participants. For native participants like Liliane, Pauline and Agathe and migrant participants like Maëlys, who mostly speak French with their family members, the policy is additive as they are able to build on their mother tongue (L1) knowledge and add additional languages to their set of linguistic resources, although these languages are added as separate sets of skills. For other native participants like Emmanuel and Nathalie and migrant participants like Saloum, Façoil, Jules, Takita and Assmina, the policy can be seen as subtractive because their heritage languages or mother tongue languages are discontinued in their education. Hélot and Young (2002: 97) state that this is often because these languages are seen as interfering with learners' French acquisition. For the migrant participants, they may have experienced loss of their heritage language to a certain degree when they moved to France (Canagarajah 2015; Hélot and García 2019).

6.2.2 Forgotten languages: not-named

It was also clear that because languages were seen autonomously, not-named languages were perceived in a certain way. Nathalie states that she loves Patois but when she is asked to clarify exactly what she means when she says "le patois Poitevin Saintongeais" as she had

written it on her language portrait, she says, "*Saintongeois.* It's here actually. It's towards our house and it just goes to Niort, Parthenay"[81]. When asked if these are three languages, Nathalie responds "No, none of them are. A bit of a mix really"[82]. Here when Nathalie states that "le patois Poitevin Saintongeais" is not three languages, in fact "none of them are", this alludes to the fact that she does not believe that these variations of Patois are their own languages or are languages at all. As someone who loves ancient languages, she perceives them as "not-languages". Sapir (1949 in Johnstone 2002: 33) uses the term "linguistic determinism" to theorise that speakers of a certain language can only formulate their language according to the parameters set by that language, and by their language ontologies to use the conceptual framework used in this thesis. This could show that in French, for languages that are on the borders of named languages there are no ways of describing or categorising them. For example, Patois can be translated into the word "dialect" in English and described as an "essentially oral linguistic system, used in a small area and in a specific community (generally rural), and perceived by its users as inferior to the official language" (Larousse n.d.-b). This definition of Patois could show why Nathalie finds it difficult to define it as a language. When other participants spoke about certain languages which did not fit into an autonomous conceptualisation of language, they also found it difficult to explain what these languages were and how they used them.

Such was true for *Franglais* and *verlan*. The participants used these languages or dialects of French in between their discourse but did not name them as one of their linguistic resources. This could be because France uses *l'Académie Française* to standardise French and this institution's ontologies of language as autonomous entity. These ontologies and the ideologies are intrinsically linked to the spread to the language and the people who use it. Take for example Florenne's (1978) comments on *The Shattered Empire* by H Carrère d'Encausse, who has been the Secretary of *l'Académie Française* since 1990. "Mme Carrère d'Encausse goes to the heart of the problem by questioning the peoples whose religion is indissolubly linked to their national identity. And if this religion is not only belief and practice, but way of life and philosophy of existence". Florenne (1978) writes about how d'Encausse describes that religion and national identity "indissolubly" become conflated,

[81] [*Saintongeois. C'est ici quand. C'est vers chez nous et ça va juste à Niort, Parthenay*]
[82] [*Non, ils ne sont aucune. Un peu mélangé en fait*].

which is maybe one of the reasons that *laïcité* is a popular ideal in France, because one of the leaders in charge of creating the standards of French held strong beliefs about it.

Figure 6.1: The participants' forgotten linguistic resources

	Agathe	Liliane	Emmanuel	Pauline	Nathalie	Jules	Saloum	Façoil	Takita	Maëlys	Assmina
Languages they forgot to include on their language portrait	Franglais, French-Arabic mix	Japanese, Franglais	Franglais, French-*Gitan* mix	Franglais	Franglais, Patois-French mix	Franglais, French-Creole mix, different Creoles	Franglais, Wolof-French mix, French-Arabic mix	Franglais, French-Arabic mix, Shimaore-French mix	Franglais, Dioula-French mix	Franglais	Franglais, Shimaore - French mix

In the group interview, it was discovered that all participants forgot to mention some languages that surround them and that they draw on in their everyday lives. Some of these were named languages, like Liliane watches Japanese *anime* [cartoons] and thus is exposed to Japanese. The other participants did not realise that because they are multilingual and come from countries and families which have mixed language practices, they are likely to translanguage (Street 2006; García and Wei 2014). Thus, certain translanguaging practices they unconsciously use are mixes of French and Arabic, French and *Gitan*, French and Patois, French and Creole, French and Wolof, French and Shimaore and French and Dioula. As French has permeated many different parts of the world, it has accumulated linguistic practices from other languages and cultures, thus changing how speakers language. Therefore, when the participants learned French from their parents and even their teachers, they sub-consciously adopt these practices as well. For example, Saloum code-switched between French, English and Arabic quite seamlessly (individual interview): "Well Arabic, I learned it... yeah, even before the other languages, but it was just for the Quran… simply for the faith, for the faith. And for the feet, well, that means it's thanks to Arabic too. And for the feet I was able to go to many places, in many places like uhm, for others it's quite difficult, hard for them to travel to another country, but for me, it was *alhamdullilah*[83] simple"[84]. When Saloum said "for the faith" in English, he used French intonation, he pulled

[83] [Arabic meaning "thanks to God"]

[84] [*Bah l'arabe, je l'ai appris… oui, avant même les autres langues, mais c'était juste pour le Coran… tout simplement pour la foi,* for the faith. *Et pour les pieds j'ai pu aller dans beaucoup d'endroits, dans beaucoup d'endroits* like uhm, for others it's quite difficult, hard for them to travel to another country, but for me, it was *alhamdullilah* simple]

the “r” sound and split the word faith into 2 syllables as one would do in French for a 2-syllable word like “*laïque*”. When Saloum said *alhamdullilah*, he used Arabic intonation. The “h” sound in Arabic does not exist in French phonology but Saloum used it when he said *alhamdullilah* in between the French and English words[85].

Another translingual commonality that all the participants share is that they use Franglais in their everyday speech. It was common to see other examples of code switching being performed sub-consciously by the participants. They mentioned they would switch between languages, but it was apparent that they categorised each of these languages as separate and autonomous. This is clear when Agathe says (group interview), “…when I write in English, sometimes I can't find the word, so I put it in French”[86]. Assmina adds to this by saying, “It's more that I can't find the word in English, so I'll say it in Spanish”[87]. Thus, the participants view language as autonomous because they use only named languages when they list their languages and when they speak about them. A language like Creole for example, which is Jules’s heritage language, is often essentialised and standardised by France and in the curriculums of countries like Guadeloupe (some schools do not include Creole in their pedagogy) (Maklakova et al. 2017; Preece 2020). There is not one singular Creole (Managan 2016), in fact there are Anglophone creoles and Francophone creoles, and Guadeloupe alone has many different varieties. Jules himself essentialises his language by simply calling it Creole.

6.3 Ontologies reflecting the Global South

6.3.1 Language as not autonomous

Although much of the data points towards the participants viewing language through Global North ontologies, Jules defies the idea of language as autonomous and pushes back against franconormativity when he talks about how he uses and understands his usage of Creole and French. A wonderful depiction of this is Jules’ portrait (seen in figure 6.2) where he uses the entire body of the language portrait to create 2 halves of himself. One half is coloured in

[85] Other translanguaging practices will be discussed in chapter 7
[86] […*quand je rédige en anglais, des fois ci, je ne trouve pas le mot je le met en français*]
[87] [*C’est plus que je ne trouve pas le mot en anglais, bah, je balance en espagnole*]

red for Creole and the other in blue for French. He adds a definitive line in the middle of the body to separate the two languages.

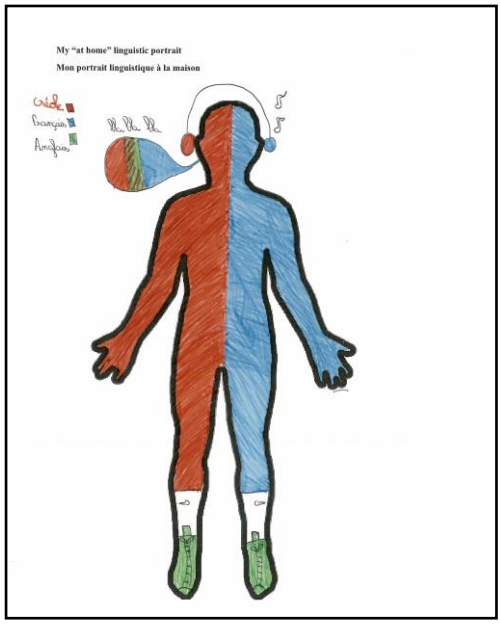

Figure 6.2: Jules' school language portrait[88]

In Busch's (2012: 11) study, her participant Pascal does the same to illustrate that he feels he is not German or French enough to belong in either country or culture, although he speaks both languages. Jules explains this line to separate his 2 halves slightly differently, "You see there are two dominant colours which are blue and red. [ZR: Yes.]… I did a purposeful… colouring, well the two parts. [ZR: Mhmm] To show that... well these two colours are complementary to me in my life. So, red and blue [ZR: Mhmm]. And then the green, which is a little bit down, but it's still there… to show that English is still part of my personal point of view"[89]. So instead of both languages excluding Jules from being French or Guadeloupean like Pascal, he feels that they are complementary to each other (Busch 2012).

[88] Jules lost his home language portrait, but described it in the interviews, thus only his school language portrait will be displayed

[89] [*On voit il y a deux couleurs dominantes qui sont le bleu et le rouge. [**ZR** : Oui]… j'ai fait un exprès… colorier, bah du coup deux parties. [**ZR** : Mhmm] Pour montrer que… bah ces deux couleurs me sont complémentaires dans ma vie. Donc, le rouge et le bleu [**ZR** : Mhmm]. Et bah le vert du coup, qui est un peu en bas, mais qui est quand même là… pour montrer que l'anglais, il fait quand même partie de mon point de vue personnel*]

They form, with English, part of his identity. This unique mix of languages allows him to see the world through a particular lens that is unique to him and his experience. He adds, "That's why I put the left part- the right part in red and the blue part in French because, well, Creole is a language that is really similar to French. [**ZR**: Okay.] There are words that are similar when you speak French and when you speak Creole. [**ZR:** Mm]. It's kind of the same grammatical basis actually. [**ZR**: Yes, exactly, yes]. And uh, so that's why I want to put them both together. Because in Guadeloupe we speak Creole, and we speak French too. [**ZR**: Mm]. Because Guadeloupe was colonized by France."[90]

This kind of thinking also goes against the autonomous ideology of language that France has by limiting language "acquisition" through adding language courses into the curriculum one by one, after having "mastered" French in the hope that by doing so, their population will have a good French competency (Hélot and Young 2002, 2006b; Hélot 2010). Jules' view is possibly different even though the language of teaching and learning is French in Guadeloupe, translingual practices are more common (Smith 2019; Managan 2016). This can be seen as a more "southern" perspective of language, shifting away from the autonomous conceptualisation of language (Street 2006; Busch and Spitzmüller 2021; Blommaert 2010b). It is not how Pascal saw his language use in Busch's (2012) study, and it is also not how most of the participants of this study see their language use. When Jules says that in Guadeloupe it is normal to use both languages, although he divides them on his body, they are somewhat more liquid, and each language permeates the other because his languages come together to make up his identity.

6.3.2 Language as socially embedded and multisemiotic

[90] [*C'est pour ça que j'ai mis en fait, la partie gauche- fin la partie droit rouge et la partie bleue en français parce que en fait, bah le Créole c'est une langue qui vraiment similaire par rapport au français. [**ZR:** D'accord]. Il y a des mots que se ressembles en fait quand on parle le français et quand on parle le créole. [**ZR:** Mm]. C'est un peu la même base grammaticale en fait. [**ZR:** Oui, exactement, oui]. Et uh, donc du coup c'est pour ça que je veux les mettre en fait les deux parties. Parce que en Guadeloupe on parle le Créole et on parle le français aussi. [**ZR:** Mm]. Parce que bah la Guadeloupe a été colonise par la France.*]

Assmina defies the understanding of language as separate or autonomous as well. She puts emphasis on the feeling of laughter when speaking or hearing Spanish and Malgache. With Malgache in particular, she talks about how she signs with her friends, and she uses sign to communicate because she doesn't feel confident enough to speak Malgache. Instead, she may use Shimaore and then sign in Malgache. This shows that she is learning this language solely through social practices and interaction and it alters the way she sees communication and language practices in general. This could come from the geographical positioning in the south and because there are so many mixed communities in Mayotte, for example the French, Madagascan and Arab populations. Thus, in coming together, the people of Mayotte integrate their linguistic resources and social, multisemiotic practices, placing value in them. Assmina states that she understood the gestures of Malgache, but she doesn't know how to speak the language. "I pretty much know the language. I pretty much know everything. Even doing the gestures… because… I had friends of mine when I was in Mayotte, they are deaf… we speak with gestures with them. When they don't understand, we speak with gestures and they understand"[91].

Assmina not only sees that she can understand Malgache through sign and listening to the language, but she also understands that she is learning to use Malgache through sign and not spoken word. This shows that her ontological understanding of Malgache is an "embodied", practiced one (Kell and Budach 2023; Pennycook 2020; Busch 2021: 191). However, she states that Malgache is still a "language that I don't really speak"[92]. This shows that while she sees the 'embodied' as a means to communicate, she views language competence as a more structural, "second order concept" (Kell and Budach 2023: 8). This shows that the way in which Assmina was taught about language and language learning is focused on a structuralist pedagogy much like the CEFR approach (Little 2008), whereas it may have been more helpful for her to learn about language ontologies from the Global

[91] [*Je connais à peu près la langue, je connais à peu près tout. Même en faisant les gestes… Parce que… j'avais des amis à moi quand j'étais à Mayotte. Ils sont- Ils sont muets en fait… on parlait avec les gestes avec eux quand ils ne comprennent pas, on parle avec les gestes et ils comprennent*]

[92] [*c'est vraiment une langue que je ne parle pas vraiment*]

South as well, so that she can make sense of the language practices she embodies and is surrounded by in her home country and family life (Pennycook 2020; Kell and Budach 2023).

6.4 Languages of the heart versus instrumental languages

The table in Appendix 3a shows the languages which the participants considered most important to them. They are listed alongside languages and practices that the participants see as most unique about their linguistic repertoires. Languages that the participants believe are imperative to learn at school or in general are also listed. Understanding the differences between what they feel is important to them or unique about them as individuals and what they believe is crucial for success in school and life is key to analysing their ontological views of languages. Overall, languages they feel are crucial to learn are English, French and Spanish. French is listed mostly for "school success", English for its "universality" and English and Spanish for their ability to be used when "travelling". There was a focus on being understood, being able to be relevant in the job sector and getting good marks on academic assessments, placing emphasis on written competencies. The languages the participants listed as most important to them, however, are a lot of their heritage languages like *gitan*, Dioula, Spanish, *Shimaoré* and French and so forth. Instead of the focus being on other speakers and institutions, the focus of the languages important to them is individual, connected to their hearts and core beliefs.

These heritage languages can be termed the "languages of their hearts", the languages they possibly identify with the most. This term is exemplified by the heart symbol on many of the participants' language portraits as mentioned in the previous chapter. Nathalie was the participant to use the term when she spoke about her affinity for Patois. She says (group interview), "And the language here, the patois. [**ZR:** Yes.] That's it. It's an old language. [**Nathalie** laughs]. I use it because my family comes from here. She speaks this language a lot, especially my grandmother and uh, and my uncles, who are old. So, by the older people in my family. And it's a language that I learned as a child… it's the language of my heart"[93]. Here Nathalie is explaining that her Patois is linked to her family and how it played a big part

[93] [*Et la langue d'ici, le patois du coup. [**ZR** : Oui] Voilà. C'est une langue un peu vieille. [**Nathalie** rit]. Je la pratique parce que ma famille a les origines d'ici. Elle parle beaucoup cette langue, surtout ma grand-mère et uh, et mes oncles, qui sont âgés. Fin, par les personnes âgées de ma famille quoi. Et c'est une langue bah que j'ai apprise toute, toute petite… c'est ma langue de cœur*]

in her childhood emphasises its importance in her life. This emotive language is displayed by other participants when they talk about their "languages of the heart" as well. Assmina says something similar when explaining her relationship with *Shimaoré*, "It's part of me because it's- it's my mother, my family that taught me. And like my family, it's in my heart"[94]. She states that this language is a part of her much like a characteristic of her personality is part of who she is as a person. When she states that her mother taught her the language and this is part of the reason that it is so special to her, it shows that the love she holds for her mother also translates into the memory of her mother teaching her this language.

As seen above, heritage languages are very important to many of the participants as they make up their identity and are crucial to their family lives. Seven participants either stated that their heritage language(s) were the most important language to them or that it was one of the most unique parts of their linguistic repertoires. Their heritage languages were important because they helped them create bonds with family members. Emmanuel states that Gitanes, "…allows me to move forward with my Gitanes family, to speak, communicate"[95]. Having family who speak a certain language can make that language more accessible to participants, for example, Takita states, "…I understand English and also because I have family in England. So they only speak English"[96]. Nathalie states that she speaks Patois because of her family as well, "And the language here, the patois… I use it because my family comes from here"[97]. When focusing on uniqueness and importance to them, the participants identified language as being lived, "embodied" and practiced, similar to the 1st order ontological view of language, or "language as practice" (Demuro and Gurney 2021 as cited in Kell and Budach 2023: 7 – 8; Busch 2021: 191).

Competence is not as important regarding these languages, instead the focus is on the feeling of using the language. For example, Takita states (group interview), "Well, even my family speaks Dioula. I understand it very, very well. I understand all the words. I can be given an instruction to do, I understand them. But when I speak it, I can't make my

[94] [*Ça fait partie de moi parce que c'est- c'est ma mère, ma famille qui me l'a appris. Et comme ma famille, c'est dans mon cœur*]

[95] [*…me permet aussi fin d'avancer avec ma famille gitane, de parler, communiquer*]

[96] [*…je comprends l'anglais et aussi parce que j'ai de la famille qui en Angleterre. Du coup, ils parlent qu'en anglais*]

[97] [*Et la langue d'ici, le patois… Je la pratique parce que ma famille a les origines d'ici*]

sentences correctly, but I understand everything that is said in it"[98]. Assmina makes a very interesting comment when discussing how she understands her heritage languages and her instrumental, school subject languages differently. Although she did mention that she does not speak Malgache very well, she is not penalised for her lack of linguistic resources at home as she would be at school, "…basically, at home, we speak more- more my native language than like, French or Spanish. But with like- with my family here, there- there too. Well, we speak a little bit of everything actually. We speak both French and English, and a little Spanish and Shimaoré as well"[99]. The fact that Assmina says, "we speak a little bit of everything" shows that there are translingual practices in her home, where all her family members draw upon their full linguistic resources and employ them wherever they see necessary. Whereas at school, she may take subjects of languages like French, English and Spanish and use these languages for a longer time, she still feels that her discourse at home is less constricted, and she is able to use her full linguistic resources, despite possibly acquiring her L1 or heritage languages to a lesser degree than French (Tracy 2017).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that through the process of this research, the participants' language practices and ontologies were made visible which illustrates that using the language portrait exercise to uncover language ontologies is a novel idea. While the participants' language ontologies were often-times seen as divided, they cannot be completely dichotomised, they are entangled and shifting. Pennycook (2020: 363) states that ontologies and epistemologies cannot be theorised without taking into account their ideological positioning. How do ontologies develop, for and by whom, and with whose interests in mind? The participants innately purport language ontologies they have been taught through those who teach and pass on language. In educational spaces, the pedagogies and policies reflect the state and thus reflect political ideologies. In home spaces, caregivers pass down their ways of languaging and thinking about languaging to the participants, which are also moulded by

[98] [*Bah, même ma famille parle, parle le dioula. Je le comprends très, très bien. Je comprends tous les mots. On peut me donner une consigne à faire, je les comprendre. Mais le parler, je n'arrive pas à faire mes phrases correctement, mais je comprends tout ce qu'on va dire dedans*]

[99] [*…de base, chez moi, on parle plus- plus ma langue maternelle que genre, le français ou l'espagnol. Mais avec genre- avec ma famille ici, là- là aussi. Bah, on parle un peu de tout en fait. On parle à la fois français et foi, un peu espagnol et mahorais aussi du coup*]

language ontologies and ideologies, sometimes political and sometimes familial or cultural, sometimes deeply hybridised. The next chapter will discuss the participants' ideologies in more detail, how they mirror and differ from France's republican ideologies and what they reveal about France as a monolingual state and French as a hegemonic language.

Chapter 7: The participants' language ideologies: being multilingual in a Francophone world

7.1 Introduction

The first two data chapters worked with the idea of visibility and how the language portrait exercise made visible the participants' linguistic repertoires, their *Spracherleben* and their language ontologies. This chapter will again explore the aspect of visibility, but with regards to the language ideologies of the participants. The language ideologies of individuals are indexical to the groups which hold power over people such as racial groups, nation groups, religious affiliations and so forth (Spitzmüller 2022: 255). Analysing these ideologies and what they index enables this chapter to delve into how language ideologies are disseminated through French institutions, how and if the participants' language ideologies reflect or refute those of the Republic and what the effects of France's language policies (like Franconormativity) are on the participants. The first effect that will be explored is how France's language ideologies create a dichotomy of invisible and visible linguistic resources which not only impact mainland France, but its overseas departments and territories as well. The second effect is how these language ideologies create hidden linguistic resources. These invisible and hidden linguistic resources in turn contribute to issues of integration of migrants and black bodies into French society, creating the notion of only one type of francophone belonging while anything deemed "other" cannot belong (Busch and Morys 2016; Oostendorp 2022; Badwan 2021: 195).

7.2. The "unspoken"[100] rule at school, how policy disseminates

How does linguistic hegemony and power affect speakers' language ideologies in their beliefs held and their practices on the ground, in their communities and in their schools? Subconsciously, speakers understand that they actively choose how they perform language and that others do the same (Stroud 2014; Blommaert 2014: 132). As language cannot be viewed without the lens of hegemony and power, speakers position themselves not only through the linguistic resources at their disposal, but also through ideologies they carry due

[100] (Flom and Young 2022: 8)

to norms created and maintained by these hegemonic powers (Hélot and Young 2006b). The linguistic resources that speakers have access to are also dictated by these powers, particularly when taking into account histories of colonialism and oppression of the "other" (Badwan 2021: 194). These linguistic norms are maintained by institutions such as schools, language academies, teacher training institutions and these thus filter down into families through intergenerational language practices (McKinney 2022; Heath 1983; Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). Linguistic norms such as school acceptable languages, language practices and ontologies of bi/multilingualism are reproduced at school but also in the home, creating narratives of what and who bi/multilinguals are and what they represent (Flom and Young 2022; Norton and Toohey 2001).

One such language ideology maintained by French schools and the Republic is the "monolingual habitus" (Young 2017: 17) or Franconormativity. As mentioned previously, France is well-known for its monolingual policy and heavy focus on *La Francophonie* (Vigouroux 2013; Nikolovski 2018). As a result, heritage languages and languages with little linguistic capital are not welcomed into school spaces through an "unspoken" rule (Flom and Young 2022: 8). The home and school language portraits made this rule visible, as was seen with Saloum's example in chapter 5. But many other participants' portraits showed languages which were present in their repertoires but did not cross over into the school space at all (Arabic, different dialects of Patois, Dioula, Wolof, Gitanes, Esperanto and Malgache). School spaces as mentioned by the participants include the classroom, recreational areas, and administrative school spaces. Therefore, both formal and informal spaces can be affected by this "unspoken" rule (Flom and Young 2022: 8). This polarisation of French and home languages leads to a "policy of devaluing home languages, as they are neither welcomed nor recognized as having a place in the school or a possible utility for children's learning" (Flom and Young 2022: 8). Thus, home linguistic resources and linguistic diversity of learners become invisible, which can lead to "glottophobia" (Blanchet 2013 in Flom and Young 2022: 3). Defined as hostility or hatred towards specific linguistic resources as they are understood to be 'subpar' to the visible linguistic resources.

It is not only students who are affected by the franconormative school environments. Learners' families are also subjected to communicating only in French with school staff, which makes the chasm between home languages and school languages even wider. This

policy also reinforces the ideology that the languages learnt at school are the norm whereas the home languages are inferior and should be hidden. Flom and Young (2022: 4) state that should a parent use French with a low competency, it is viewed in a negative light. Parents who migrated recently to France without any French language knowledge are placed in an initiative called *Ouvir l'école aux parents pour la réussite des enfants*[101]. This initiative forms part of the *Grande Mobilisation* scheme of 2015, where parents are taught French to aid their children with their schoolwork and communicate with school staff members and other members of the school community. This course also highlights the values of the Republic in the hopes of improved integration of families into French society (Busch and Morys 2016).

The participants reflected on migrant parents' linguistic resources:

Agathe: "But it's true that when you see, for example, English people coming to France, the children speak very, very good French. [**Saloum**: Yes] [**ZR** nods] [**Liliane**: Mmhmm]. But the parents still have trouble, eh? [**Saloum**: Mm mm] [**Liliane** nods]. What, they can't learn while the children directly, well they can because they were children. They say they speak French very well, while the parents don't speak French at all. [**Saloum**: Mmhmm, that's it]. [**ZR** nods] [**ZR**: Okay]"[102].

Liliane continues the conversation: **Liliane:** "In my sister's high school, where I was in 10th grade. *Bah* well, there are a lot of English families who arrived with their children at a very young age… So, in my class, there were several Englishmen. They spoke French very, very well and you could hardly tell that they were English, and in the end, they had been in it since they were young. [**Saloum**: That's it]"[103].

[101] Open the school to parents for the success of children

[102] [*Mais, c'est vrai que quand on voit, par exemple des Anglais qui viennent en France, les enfants parlent très, très bien en français du coût. [**Saloum :** Oui] [**ZR** hoche la tête] [**Liliane :** Mmhmm]. Mais les parents ils ont toujours du mal eh ? [**Saloum :** Mm mm] [**Liliane** hoche la tête]. Quoi, ils n'arrivent pas à apprendre alors que les enfants directs, bah parce qu'ils étaient enfants. On dit ils parlent très bien français, alors que les parents, pas du tout. [**Saloum :** Mmhmm, c'est ça]. [**ZR** hoche la tête] [**ZR :** Ok].*]

[103] [*Dans lycée de ma sœur, où j'ai été dans seconde. Bah du coup, il y a- il y a pas mal de familles anglaises qui sont arrivées avec les enfants en bas âge et rendu compte… Du coup, dans ma classe, on- il y avait plusieurs d'Anglais. Il parlait très, très bien français et ça ne se voyait pratiquement pas qu'ils étaient anglais et finalement, tellement ils y baignaient depuis jeune. [**Saloum :** C'est ça]*].

The fact that Liliane states here, "you could hardly tell that they were English"[104] shows that to integrate into French society, migrants are required to speak French at a high-enough level that they are perceived to be native speakers. This puts emphasis on the way in which a migrant pronounces French phonemes, the kinds of discourse markers that they use in their speech as well as any translanguaging practices that are seen as "other" (Badwan 2021: 194). The ability to separate and index groups of people by audible means is what Busch and Spitzmüller call an "indexical border" and relate to language ideologies and how power and those in power can choose who belongs and who does not belong (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021: 127).

7.3 Revealing the participants' language ideologies

Nation-state language ideologies such as Franconormativity are not only embedded within state structures like schools, but they pervade into intergenerational family ideologies, global online communities and other media forms (Wolff 2017; Cavanaugh 2020; Spitzmüller 2022). They are also not solely present in France, but in French overseas departments and territories as well as previous French colonies (Maklakova et al. 2017). As mentioned in chapter 2, this is likely due to the fact that the French Republic has placed emphasis on *La Francophonie* as one of its core tenets and thus wherever it has placed its flag, the French language has disseminated as a means of colonial expansion (Vigouroux 2013; McKinney 2022). Many of the participants' language ideologies seem to reflect France's Franconormative ideologies.

7.3.1 One nation, one language

As seen in chapter 5, the participants were grouped according to the terms 'migrant' and 'native'. Their places of birth were noted, and they listed their heritage languages. Interestingly, some participants named their heritage languages as the official nation-state languages from the country in which they were born. For example, Agathe from France

[104] [*ça ne se voyait pratiquement pas qu'ils étaient anglais*]

states that her only heritage language is French despite having Arabic as a familial language, and Jules from Guadeloupe states Creole and French are his heritage languages.

Speakers from previous French colonies will name colonial languages (like French) as one of their heritage languages because they become embedded in the culture of the colony. This was seen in the case of Jules, Takita and Maëlys. The fact that language and the nation-state are linked in a "one nation - one language" ideology is a Euro-centric idea reflected in linguistic hegemony and imperialism, which may have influenced previous colonies to have similar language ideologies (Wolff 2017: 15). This is similar to the ideology of Francophonie being used to unite the francophone peoples by virtue of the fact that their previous colonial power was France (Vigouroux 2013). In this way, the participants reflected the ideologies of the French Republic. Badwan (2021: 115) states that the one nation - one language ideology "not only reduces the dynamic and complex nature of language to limited structural systems but also continues to adhere to nationalistic concerns over linguistic sovereignty" and the kinds of linguistic communities that have sovereignty over these languages within these spaces. For example, the native participants could have named French their heritage language due to this linguistic sovereignty within the confines of the Republic. Emmanuel and Nathalie were the only two native participants who included languages other than French as their heritage languages. While some migrant participants also named French a heritage language, they all included another language tied to their home countries, their families or home culture. The table below (which is a copy of the one in chapter 5) shows this:

Figure 7.1: The participants' home countries and heritage languages

	Migrant or Native Participant	**Place of birth**	**Heritage language**
Agathe	Native	France	French
Liliane	Native	France	French
Emmanuel	Native	France	French, Portuguese, gitan
Pauline	Native	France	French
Nathalie	Native	France	French, Patois Poitevin - Saintongeais
Jules	Migrant	Guadeloupe	Creole, French
Saloum	Migrant	Angola	Soninke
Façoil	Migrant	Mayotte	Shimaoré

Takita	Migrant	Ivory Coast	French, Dioula
Maëlys	Migrant	Guatemala	French, Spanish
Assmina	Migrant	Mayotte	Shimaoré

7.3.2 "Elevated languages": desired languages for success and mobility

The other language ideology presented by the participants was that there were certain elevated languages that they desired to have the ability to use. These were elevated languages that they needed for success and to be mobile citizens. The table below speaks to the languages that the participants believe should be learnt at school as well as languages they have a desire to learn in the future.

Figure 7.2: The languages participants believe are imperative to learn at school and the participants' desired languages

	Language they think is imperative to learn at school	**Desired languages**
Agathe	English, French, Spanish	Arabic
Liliane	English,	French Sign language (she wishes she could do a course in it, but didn't mention that it should be part of the school syllabus)
Emmanuel	N/A	Portuguese
Pauline	English, because she may need it for a job later	N/A
Nathalie	French for school success, English is very important. "Not the old languages, the dialect is going away soon…"	She would have liked to learn Italian and Portuguese. "Not the old languages, the dialect is going away soon…"
Jules	English because he enjoys it	N/A

Saloum	English, because it's universal and to travel and French for school success	N/A
Façoil	N/A	N/A
Takita	English	Korean
Maëlys	N/A	Italian wasn't available but she thinks it's a beautiful language and it's close to Spanish
Assmina	English	N/A

Three common languages shared by all the participants in their linguistic repertoires were French, English, and Spanish. These were all present in their school language portraits, even though many of the migrant participants started their educational journey in countries other than France. Those who completed all their education in France, like many of the native participants, moved between different schools and provinces in France and also shared these languages. For some participants, like Emmanuel, Pauline, Saloum, Façoil and Takita, these three languages are the only languages they mentioned that they've been exposed to at school. French is the obvious commonality between the participants as it is the language of teaching and learning in France and many francophone countries (Nikolovski 2018; Maklakova et al. 2017). For the participants to succeed academically and gain access to tertiary studies, they need to use French for all their school tasks, to communicate with teachers and friends.

When looking at the "traditional sociolinguistic" profiles of countries surrounding France, there are a few languages which have significance in social spaces besides French due to their linguistic hegemony both in Europe and in other parts of the world (Badwan 2021: 115). These are English, Spanish, German and possibly Italian. The countries traditionally represented by these languages have strong relations with France through the European Union and trade, and follow the norm of one nation, one language which France adheres to (Wolff 2017; Flom and Young 2022; Euronews 2022; Moyer 2023). England, Spain and

Germany all follow the same national framework as France when it comes to language learning and thus it is easy to integrate these languages as optional foreign languages within France's current curriculum (Council of Europe Portal n.d.). Students in France are able to choose a "modern foreign language" as a first additional language in elementary school (between the ages of 9 – 11), but as Hélot and Young (2006b: 70) state, theoretically, there is not much of a choice at most schools. Liliane lists the options students have for additional languages, "since we are in France… Spanish, English, German"[105]. This could also influence the participants' language ideologies as these languages are seemingly more important than other home languages.

English is the more popular choice for students, all the participants of this study had been doing English since elementary school. "English is both the arch-enemy, and also a most desirable language to possess in one's linguistic repertoire" (Costa and Lambert 2009: 7). English and the Anglophone world are often seen as direct competitors to France and the expansion of the French project (Weinstein 1976), but English according to Saloum is known as a "universal" [106] language. As seen in the table above, majority of the participants felt that either English was the most important language to them personally or that it was an imperative language to learn at school for their future success. This was because English is seen as "very important"[107] (Agathe) and it is also seen as important to speak multiple languages for job prospects, "in a job later I may need it"[108] (Pauline).

Some participants added that English also allowed them to make friends online when they play games or in different social groups online, for example Liliane states, "I've done that before, even on Facebook, to communicate. I'm in groups. For example, for a show that I like, I'm going to be in an American group, not a French one. So I'm going to speak English with them"[109]. In order to better connect with these groups of people online, it is crucial that Liliane be able to communicate in English, which grants her social capital. The participants see French as a language which they can use in France, particularly for

[105] [*vu qu'on est en France… ` Espagnols, Anglais, Allemands*]
[106] [*universel*]
[107] [*c'est hyper important*]
[108] [*dans un travail plus tard je peux en avoir besoin]*
[109] [*Ça m'est déjà arrivé, même sur Facebook, de communiquer. Je suis dans des groupes. Par exemple, pour une série que j'aime bien, je vais être dans un groupe américain, pas français. Du coup, je vais parler anglais avec eux*]

educational and career success within the country, whereas English is the language that they need to travel, be a global citizen and achieve success in their careers on the global stage (Costa and Lambert 2009; Badwan 2021). Many of the participants see Spanish as one of those languages which are desirable due to travel and media.

There were other languages that the participants would have liked to learn at school. Maëlys for example would like to learn Italian as it is linguistically close to Spanish and Nathalie would like to learn Portuguese and Italian. All the languages that the participants named are named languages and many of them are European languages which are considered to have higher linguistic capital. Learning languages like these would help the participants travel more in Europe and gain more social mobility and capital in the region. The only participants who named non-European languages were Agathe and Takita. Agathe states she would like to learn Arabic due to her mother's family roots and Takita would like to learn Korean because she loves watching Korean series.

The above table also shows how the participants did not think it was crucial to learn their home or heritage languages at school. For example, when Nathalie was asked if she would have liked to take Patois as a subject at school, she says, *Patois* is going to go away soon, like the dialect in school, but not in the small schools, I think… Bah, I know a lot already and unfortunately, it's that very few people write it, it's not at work at all"[110]. Therefore, as much as Nathalie expressed her love for Patois and the ancient languages like Gaulish, she would not have chosen to study it at school because of how little linguistic capital it carries. Nathalie also makes an important point when she states that Patois is "not at work at all". It is possibly because Patois is seen as a language which is "going away soon" that it is not used in spaces of work. It also does not carry the same linguistic capital as a language like English for international business use (Hall and Cunningham 2020; Canagarajah and Said 2010). Nathalie emphasises the fact that the only reason it is present in her household is because her family is "old", which highlights the idea that Nathalie's family is the exception or that they are not the norm in comparison to other French families.

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[110] [*Le patois ça va passer bientôt loin un fois comme le patois à l'école mais pas dans les petites d'écoles je pense… Bah, je connais déjà beaucoup et malheureusement c'est que très peu de gens l'écrivent, il n'est pas au travail du tout.*]

There was also an emphasis from participants to speak the correct type of language. This is similar to the idea of "World Englishes" (Canagarajah and Said 2010) with different accents, registers, lexicon and so forth (McKinney 2014). Canagarajah and Said (2010: 158 - 59) state that because English has spread across the world due to globalisation, the world has come to accept different types of Englishes, particularly those from the "outer and expanding circles" of the world, meaning the Global South. Agathe and Liliane have a conversation about phonetic sounds in foreign languages that francophones struggle with, which makes it difficult to succeed in school because only one type of language is accepted. Liliane says, "That people who are less in contact with foreign languages, with French, it's syllables or sounds that don't really exist. [**Agathe**: Yes]. It's really hard to produce, actually. [**Agathe** and Liliane laugh]"[111]. Agathe responds, "I seriously agree, with what I hear. Really, when I was- I remember, I was shocked. I thought, "How can you not know that word? [**Liliane**: Well yeah.]. Last year, there's one. We have an oral in English and instead of saying "about", she said "uh-boot" [**ZR** laughs] [**Liliane**: Mhmm] and I said but how is that possible? Well, even, [**Liliane**: Well, yeah] she couldn't pronounce it"[112].

Here we can see that though Liliane and Agathe state that phonetic sounds that are foreign to one speaker can be difficult, they laugh at how a peer pronounced the word "about" [əˈbaʊt] incorrectly. The pronunciation "uh-boot" [ʌ buːt] is similar to Canadian pronunciation of the word, which remains a centre of English and a country in which English is considered a national language. Thus, since "uh-boot" is not considered the norm which they were taught, these participants found it laughable. What is also important to consider is that the learner who pronounced the word in that manner would be penalised in an oral assessment as pronunciation is one of the factors that indicate academic success in language (Little 2008; Mercier 2017).

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[111] [*Que les personnes qui sont moins en contact avec des langues étrangères, avec le français, c'est des syllabes ou des sons qui n'existent tellement pas. [**Agathe :** Ah oui]. C'est vraiment difficile à produire, en fait. [**Agathe** et **Liliane** rient].*]

[112] [*Je suis grave d'accord, avec ce que j'entends. Vraiment, quand j'étais- je me rappelle, j'étais choquée. Je me suis dit « mais comment c'est possible de pas connaître ce mot ? » [**Liliane :** Bah ouais.]. L'année dernière, il y en a une. On passe un oral en anglais et au lieu de dire «* about *», elle a dit « uh-boot » [**ZR** rit] [**Liliane :** Mhmm] et j'ai dit mais comment c'est possible ? Fin, même, [**Liliane :** Bah oui] elle ne savait pas le prononcer.*]

Due to the ideology that one language holds more linguistic capital than another, especially in the workplace, migrants are often leaving the Global South for the Global North under the assumption that learning languages like English and French will allow for certain "opportunities" and thus, a better quality of life (Badwan 2021: 3). For example, Saloum states that it is a "privilege... being able to speak all these languages"[113]. He also says, "Today, if I'm here, we can say it's thanks to French. And because, on the other hand, I only understood Portuguese. And through French, well, *voila*, I was able to go to many places and go to people and express myself"[114]. The idea that opportunities abound in the Global North and that these doors will be opened once a speaker masters the language of a bounded place remains embedded within the colonialist understanding of the Global North as better and more developed than the Global South (Badwan 2021; McKinney 2022).

7.4 Invisible languages: the disappearance of regional & minority languages

Despite the fact that the world has become globalised and linguistic communities are no longer restricted to one geographical location as was theorised by earlier sociolinguists, historical sociolinguistic mapping is continually used today to legitimise and delegitimise speakers in certain places (Gumperz 1961; Badwan 2021). For example, French started to become the normalised lingua franca in the 1500s and was standardised by the Académie Française in the 1600s. Hundreds of years later, this remains the case even though France's population has changed drastically (Nikolovski 2018; Académie française n.d.; Institut National d'Études Démographiques 2020). "The mobile, the displaced, the replaced, the migrant and the refugee are among those who are not historically linked to a particular place" like France, and thus are excluded particularly when it comes to their linguistic resources and ideas of belonging (Badwan 2021: 116).

7.4.1 Devaluing home languages in France and in the rest of the Francophone world

[113] [*le privilege… de pouvoir parler toutes ces langues*]

[114] [*Aujourd'hui, si j'en suis là, c'est grâce au français, on va dire. Parce que'en revanche, je ne comprenais que le portugais. Et par le biais du français, bah voilà, j'ai pu écrire, compter aller dans beaucoup d'endroits, d'aller vers les gens et m'exprimé*]

As seen above, the effect of language ideologies such as Franconormativity on languages with less linguistic capital leads to them becoming devalued. This thesis posits that many regional and minority languages are beginning to disappear from the linguistic landscape of France due to the emphasis of Franconormativity and this subsequent devaluing. Regional and minority languages become invisible or are intentionally made invisible by speakers due to the pressure to conform to linguistic norms in the spaces they occupy. Muller (2022) states that speakers could intentionally make their linguistic resources invisible and these are speakers' performative acts of dissidence towards the choice and pedagogies of languages in school curriculums. Perhaps speakers can use these rebellious silences against the normative languages of all spaces, such as Franconormativity in all French spaces. School languages which are made visible and valuable enough to use in schools and in public spaces in France are those mentioned as carrying linguistic capital in the above section (French, English, Spanish, German) (Hélot 2008; Reuters 2021; Honeyman 2015).

Saloum makes mention of this when he states how speaking a certain standard of French is shown as a norm by people in power and in the public eye in France, and thus as something to be emulated by other francophones, "well, unfortunately, even the parents themselves don't speak French very well. They say, "Yes, the children should learn it. They learn French from a young age," but the same people, well, to hear them speak- well, we'll say yeah, it doesn't matter if she makes this little mistake, but let's say she was a minister of whatever… And those people make that mistake, well she'll be heckled all over the place uh?"[115].

While Saloum says that making small mistakes is forgivable when it comes to children, if someone who is in the public eye speaks French incorrectly, they will be "heckled all over the place". This shows that it is not just the language that one speaks which is important in France, but the way in which one speaks it can cause someone to be ridiculed and othered (Badwan 2021). This is another example of the audible "shibboleth" which speakers need to cross to be taken seriously as a language speaker and as per Saloum's statement, as someone with a valid opinion worth listening to. In both Saloum's example and the example

[115] [*Bah, malheureusement, fin, même les parents soi, ils ne parlent pas très bien français. Ils disent, « oui il faudrait que les enfants y prennent. Ils apprennent le français depuis le bas âge », mais les mêmes eux enfin, à les entendre parler- fin, on va dire ouais, ce n'est pas grave si elle fait cette petite faute, mais admettons qu'elle était ministre de je ne sais quoi… Et ces personnes fassent cette erreur-là, bah elle sera chahutée de partout uh ?*]

regarding the pronunciation of 'about' in the above section, the shibboleth identified by those in power labels speakers as 'capable or not capable', as speaking a type of language which is 'valued, not valued' and as 'belonging, or not belonging' to certain linguistic communities (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021). In the case of France, the institution with power and control of the French language is l'Académie Française which controls and polices the grammatically and phonetically correct manner in which to use the French language (Académie française n.d.). Due to the strict linguistic norms that l'Académie Française purports alongside the spread of *francophonie*, the one nation - one language ideology has also expanded to France's overseas departments and territories as well as to their previous colonies (Maklakova et al. 2017). This makes France and l'Académie Française the centre for all francophones and those who wish to learn French despite the majority of francophones coming from countries outside of France (ICEF Monitor 2022). These francophones often learn French in the same pedagogical manner as Europeans learn French and are also exposed to many of the same languages at school as their French-educated peers are (Little 2008; Maklakova et al. 2017; Smith 2019). This was shown in the data in chapter 5 where all the participants took French, English and Spanish at school, despite the country in which they completed their primary and high school careers. This shows the power that France still holds in these previous colonies, despite them having complete political independence (Canut 2010; Martin 1995). This could possibly be referred to as a neo-colonial education system that upholds Franconormativity and Eurocentric languages and devalues home languages in all francophone countries.

7.4.2 Assimilating to French language ideologies: beyond Franconormativity

In recent years, there has been a push towards plurilingualism in Europe and a call for it to be adopted in France (Jeoffrion et al. 2014; Moore and Gajo 2009). Flom and Young (2022) state that French policies regarding home languages have changed and schools have started offering minority and heritage languages to their curriculums, particularly for pre-school and primary school learners. This is minimal though, as private schools are most likely to offer bilingual or language-immersion education in regional languages such as Basque, but there is no mention in reports of the same education for minority languages such as Creole, Shimaoré and so forth (Prina, Dunbar, and Gurbo 2020: 79; Hélot and Young 2006b; Bubola

2019; Flom and Young 2022). However, there is a resistance from teachers and the school community to welcome languages other than French within the school space, perpetuating the monolingual habitus in schools. If other languages are included in the curriculum, teachers enforce separate spaces for language learning.

This separateness was experienced by the participants of this study as they had distinct classrooms for different languages and were not encouraged to incorporate their range of linguistic resources between these distinct spaces beyond code switching when they were unable to remember a word in their target language (mentioned in chapter 6). Thus, due to the enduring language ideology of the monolingual habitus in French schools, and the understanding of language as autonomous, the new policies mentioned by Flom and Young (2022) have not altered much in the learning of language in schools.

It has been noted that the participants used some translanguaging practices in the interviews. They notably used discourse markers that could be considered "French". This could be because most of the migrant participants came to France to complete their education and when a young person comes to a foreign country alone, they assimilate to the country's culture and practices. An example of this kind of modelling as seen in the group interview was when Assmina used the word *genre* (like), as a discourse marker in her speech. Many of the other participants, both native and migrant participants like Agathe and Saloum, started modelling that linguistic behaviour. However, when Assmina used the discourse marker « *itou* », which comes from old French and means "also" (Larousse n.d.-a), only Façoil modelled that discourse feature once. This could be because « *itou* » forms part of Assmina's home language practices. Thus, it is possible that participants who moved to France with their families tend to keep their family literacy practices because it is repeated in their home space in their new country, or they start to blend the literacy practices from their home space and their new space. De Fina calls this transnationalism, where migrants make these links between their home countries and the countries in which they have settled (De Fina 2020: 165). Therefore, not only are the participants following Franconormativity by speaking French in French-designated spaces, but they are also subconsciously following the norms of other speakers when they subvert to French discourse markers and separate their languages between spaces.

7.4.3 Resisting Franconormativity subconsciously through translanguaging practices

The previous section shows the participants following Franconormativity in Francophone spaces, but it was found that they resist it at other times. This is because they choose the linguistic resources they want to use in each communicative situation, such as language, register and discourse, altering these according to reactions of other speakers and to match unique norms of the spaces they occupy (Canagarajah 2015; Busch 2012).

Liliane states, "when we watch series of- or when we read books, we find ourselves faced with formulations that are completely different, but which are not false at all"[116]. Here, she complains that language in the real-world and language taught at school differ. This shows that the participants understand that pedagogies based on a structuralist, autonomous language ontology do not represent language in all spaces adequately. Agathe adds to this, "because it's up to us to educate ourselves in French… You have to read books, watch TV, you have to watch the news. [**Liliane**: Mhmm]. Well... I would have preferred to learn all that at school"[117]. Agathe states that if learners use language as they were taught in school with speakers in the real world, they will be "judged a little bit". Therefore, using language in the way it was taught at school in formal settings (at work or educational spaces) is acceptable, but using it with other speakers is not. Thus, they turn to real life examples in media to experience how the language is used between native speakers. This gives them a broader understanding of who native speakers are, how many accents are normalised and how translanguaging practices form part of the language. In terms of media, this is still focused on Hollywood and Eurocentric language, but more media and more stories are being published from the Global South and made known, particularly with the rise in social media usage across the Global South (Badwan 2021; Ngozi Adichie 2009; Ghai et al. 2022).

The participants notably used many translanguaging practices despite doing so unknowingly. As mentioned in the previous section, they codeswitched at school when they did not know some vocabulary in their target language, but even in the interviews they used

[116] [*quand on lit des livres, au face à des formulations qui sont complètement différentes, qui pourtant ne sont pas fausses pour autant*]
[117] [*parce qu'on soit, c'est à nous-mêmes de nous cultiver au niveau du français… Il faut lire des livres pour regarder la télé, faut regarder les informations. [**Liliane :** Mhmm]. Bah… fin, moi, j'aurais préféré apprendre tout ça à l'école*]

translanguaging and mentioned using these practices especially in their home spaces. This is highlighted by Saloum when he reflected on how in his home space, he is allowed to translanguage between their shared home languages because there is no separation between languages as there is at school. He states:

"…it's different, like... the languages you speak at school are different from the languages you'll practice at home. And then, well, what's cool is, at least at my house, it's… three languages, it's very cool… it's normal. Because before uh, in Senegal (since Senegal was colonized by France) [**ZR** nods]. So, for Wolof… there are words… you don't know in Wolof, you don't know… So, naturally, you- you put these words in French. So, it becomes Franco-Wolof"[118].

Saloum gives a name to the translanguaging that happens naturally between Wolof and French (*franco-wolof*) which shows that he is aware of how intertwined these linguistic resources can become, if there is no marked separation created as it is at school. He also notes that certain languages are not even able to be used at school (Wolof being one of these), which adds to the fact that these practices will not occur in school spaces.

However, due to intergenerational language practices at home, some translanguaging practices come through in their school environments and social spaces rather than the formal classroom space. This was seen in the discourse marker examples above and can be seen when Façoil uses translanguaging practices between French and Arabic. He says, "Actually, it's kind of all the same"[119]. The words "kif-kif" [same] here mean "the same" in English, but it comes from the word "kayfa" in Algerian Arabic which also means "same" or "like" (Linternaute n.d.). Facoil's intonation does not change into the Arabic pronunciation here because the word "kif-kif" has been embedded into French linguistic practices. Agathe also translanguages when she writes in the Teams Chat of the group interview. She uses a verlan word "babtou" in the group interview chat. She says, "My white head (the fact that

[118] [*c'est différent, comme… les langues que tu parles à l'école, c'est différent des langues que tu vas pratiquer à la maison. Et après, bah ce qui est cool, c'est fin chez moi- uh fin on va dire, au moins, c'est… trois langues, c'est très cool… c'est normal. Parce que déjà uh, au Sénégal (puisque le Sénégal a été colonisé par la France) [**ZR** hoche la tête]. Bah du coup, pour le wolof… il y a des mots… tu ne connais pas en wolof, tu ne connais pas… Genre, naturellement, tu- tu le mets en français. Du coup, ça fait franco-wolof*]

[119] [*En fait, c'est un peu kif-kif*]

I'm white) also doesn't help"[120]. Verlan became popularized in France during the 1970s by youth in the outskirts of Paris called the *banlieues*. It comes from the word *l'envers* which means the reverse of a word (Najah et al. 2020). Thus, *babtou* [white head] comes from *toubab* which is a Wolof word for European, foreigner or white person (Metzger n.d.). The fact that Agathe uses the word *babtou* shows that she acknowledges that she is different to the migrant participants as she is white, and they are people of colour. It is also interesting because she is not a foreigner in France, but the term "foreigner" is still used by French people or white people to refer to themselves as if they were in Senegal, where the word originated. What is also interesting was that verlan asserted a sense of belonging in France, particularly amongst minority groups (Najah et al. 2020). It can be said that today, francophones use verlan to resist Franconormativity and the standardization of French pushed by l'Académie Française.

There were a few other mentions of the participants possibly using translanguaging practices like Emmanuel who translanguages between Gitanes and French with his cousins, "I speak with Gitanes words"[121]. Nathalie also translanguages between Patois and French often, mentioning that sometimes people don't understand her, "I say words that other people don't understand"[122]. In the Teams Chat, it was interesting to note how the participants used text-speak in between their standard French orthography. For example, Facoil states, "Shocking simply yes lol"[123]. Here he uses the word "lol" or "*mdr*" in French and "*tt court*" instead of "*tout court*" in text-speak. This shows that the participants use translanguaging not only in their spoken communication, but in their digital communication as well, if not more often.

7.5 Hidden languages: Arabic, laïcité and Islamic extremism

The chapter thus far has addressed how the focus on Franconormativity and the inequalities between minority languages and languages with linguistic capital like French, English and Spanish can make linguistic resources invisible. The following section will show how Franconormativity could create purposefully hidden linguistic resources. Like invisible

[120] [*Ma tête de babtou aussi ça aide pas*]
[121] [*je parle avec des mots gitans*]
[122] [*je dis des mots que fins d'autre gens ne comprennent pas*]
[123] [*Choquer tt court oui mdr*]

linguistic resources, these resources are made invisible due to the focus on French and Eurocentric languages. However, beyond just invisibility, the participants who had Arabic as a linguistic resource were notably silencing it, or they shared stories about Arabic speakers who hid their Arabic resources in the French public for fear of being othered (Badwan 2021; Said 2000).

7.5.1 Silence as a form of hiding linguistic resources

The group interview allowed the participants' linguistic repertoires and unique histories to be visible through the process of sharing. This sharing was different to the individual interview as the participants, perhaps due to the presence of their peers, chose to withhold certain information from their presentations which they freely gave during their individual interviews. There were two possible reasons for active silence and withholding of information. One, participants may not have wanted to mention some subjects due to being uncomfortable and two, they may have felt that their opinion did not matter as much as their peers' opinions. One of the examples of this was in the group interview, where Façoil does not include the fact that he is Muslim or that he has friends who are Muslim as he does in the individual interview. This could signal that Façoil thought this information was implied from the fact that he comes from Mayotte, which has a majority Muslim population (Britannica 2022). It is also possible that Façoil was uncomfortable with his peers knowing this information about him. A reason for this is perhaps that Islam could be a topic of contention amongst his peers, in the school environment or in France as a secular state.

When Façoil explains his Arabic use, he does so in the following way, "I put the green one in the middle that means- that means Arabic and I associate it with Islam, because I have friends and I- I am- I am Muslim. So, I practice a little bit of Islam too"[124]. It seems from his speech, and his repetition of "I- I am – I am" that he was perhaps uncomfortable saying that he was Muslim in his interview. Saloum also does not mention that he is Muslim outright, but instead says, "Arabic, just because I use it in my prayers and uhm, *voila*"[125]. Like Saloum, the group interview amongst his peers, Façoil does not use the word "Muslim". He says,

[124] [*J'ai mis le vert au milieu qui veut dire- qui veut signifier l'arabe et j'ai l'associe avec l'Islam, vu que j'ai des amis et je- je suis- je me suis musulmans. Du coup, je pratique un peu d'Islam aussi*]
[125] [*l'Arabe, tout simplement parce que je l'utilise lors de mes prières et uhm, fin voilà*]

"And green signifies Arabic. But I, I associated it with Islam. I put it, I put it for the faith and the heart, and also to the arms for my actions that I do"[126]. He repeats the phrase "I associate it with Islam" from his individual interview. Even on Façoil's language portrait, next to the Arabic key [*Arabe*], he writes Islam in brackets [*Islam*]. This clearly shows the connection he made between Arabic and Islam, but Façoil is not labelling himself Muslim, he is showing what he connects to the Arabic language. Saloum does the same when he says, "…I put it [Arabic] next to the heart, just for the faith, for the faith"[127]. He repeats "for the faith" here, but does not confirm the identity of Muslim, although it is obvious that Saloum and Façoil are Muslim once they explain the way in which they use Arabic to pray and Saloum says the word *alhamdullilah* [praise to God] amongst his French and English speech.

7.5.2 "She hides", "he wants to put up the Arab front": Agathe's story as a reflection of the Arab Francophone

Agathe reveals something personal about her mother and her family's lived experiences being a migrant in France in the group interview. She states:

"She [her mother] will hide, she did not show, when she is young and all. She does not like- she is not- she is not proud of her origins. *Fin*, she hides a lot… My mother is too afraid, I think, of the racism which is ongoing. *Fin*, for example my cousins. They're going to wear Algerian soccer jerseys. My mom doesn't want them to wear them in public. She is always afraid that- that is too much racism when they were young, they arrived- fin they were in France, they suffered too much. And it's true that now she hides. I remember when she went to vote, I went with her and especially, the old people went out, when my mother came home, they said "get out, get out, she'll set off a bomb". At the end, they are completely// [**Liliane**: My God]. Yes, but fortunately she didn't hear them, but unfortunately for me- [**Liliane**: But yes]. Yes. It's- it's tough, my- my uncles, they were here when they

[126] [*Et le vert signifie c'est l'arabe. Mais je, je l'ai associé avec l'islam. Je l'ai mis, je l'ai placé vers la foi et le cœur, et aussi vers les bras pour mes actions que je fais*]
[127] [*…je l'ai mis l'a cote du cœur, tout simplement pour la foi,* for the faith]

were young. They think that France is too closed-minded. I think it's because of racism, we call ourselves secular, but [**Agathe** blows a raspberry] we hide behind this word, in fact"[128].

Here we can clearly see the devastating effects of monolingual policy. As Agathe's mom and her family share Arabic as a linguistic resource, their language and even their bodies index ideologies held in France regarding Arabs and Islamic extremism (Diffley 2020; Young 2017; Oostendorp 2022). Thus, she has guarded her use of Arabic and holds feelings of shame for her culture and linguistic resources. This kind of language ideology has unfortunately spread to much of the Western World, particularly post the 9-11 attack in 2001 (Al Jazeera 2022a, 2022b). Of course, those who understand culture and language in the Middle East will know that Arabic is not synonymous with Islam or Islamic extremism, and thus the idea that having Arabic resources labels one an Islamic extremist is false. However, there is a growing narrative in France that Arabic is synonymous with extremism and there has been debate amongst the school communities and greater public that Arabic should not be taught in schools, but in mosques because of the affiliation it has with Islam (Bubola 2019). Others view teaching Arabic in mosques a greater risk for students to be pulled towards extremist behaviour and would prefer to have control over the language pedagogy, thus including it in the public school system. However, as the language is spoken widely within the *banlieues*, there could be resistance to taking the language as it is not seen as valuable (Diffley 2020).

As Agathe shares the story of her grandfather's migration from Algeria to France, she makes known her own biases towards France's Franconormativity being normal. This is interesting especially as Arabic is one of her familial languages, though she does not label it her heritage or home language.

[128] [*Elle va se cacher, elle n'a pas montré, quand elle est jeune et tout. Elle n'aime pas- elle n'est pas- elle n'est pas fière de ses origines. Fin, elle se cache beaucoup… Ma mère, elle, a trop peur, je pense, du racisme qui subissant. Fin, par exemple mes cousins. Ils vont porter des maillots de foot de l'Algérie. Ma mère ne veut pas qu'ils portent en public. Elle a toujours peur que- qui est trop de racisme quand ils étaient jeunes, ils sont arrivés- fin qu'ils étaient en France, ils ont trop subi. Et c'est vrai que maintenant, elle se cache. Je me rappelle quand elle était partie voter, j'étais allée avec elle et surtout, les vieux sont sortis, quand ma mère rentrait, ils ont dit « sortez, sortez, elle va faire péter une bombe ». Fin, ils sont complètement// [**Liliane** : Mon Dieu]. Oui, mais heureusement, elle n'a pas leur entendu, mais, malheureusement pour moi- [**Liliane :** Mais oui]. Oui. C'est- c'est chaud, mes- mes oncles, ils ont ici quand ils étaient jeunes. Ils pensent que la France est trop fermée d'esprit. Je trouve que c'est à cause de racisme, on se dit laïque, mais [**Agathe** fait un bruit de pet] on se cache derrière ce mot, en fait.*]

Agathe: “It's too much of a handicap. When you go to a country and you don't speak the language and everything, [**Saloum**: Yes] [**Liliane**: Mm] [**ZR** nods]. I have my grandfather. When he came to France, he was completely lost, like. He never went to school when he was in Algeria, but when he arrived in France, it was horrible. He didn't speak French at all. He couldn't write, he couldn't tell time. All that. [**Saloum**: It's hard] [**Liliane** nods]. And then, now he speaks French. But still, he speaks very bad French. He's wants to put up the Arab front, eh? So, [**Liliane**: Mm] but he suffers from it. And I think it's important to learn languages. [**Saloum**: Yes] [**ZR**: Mm]. [**Liliane** nods her head]”[129].

Through Agathe’s grandfather’s story, a few things become clear. Firstly, it was assumed that her grandfather would speak French in France due to the franconormative nature of the country. She says that “it is important to learn languages” [*c'est important d'apprendre les langues*] and describes her grandfather’s inability to speak French as a “handicap”. Secondly, because her grandfather had not gone to school, the other participants understood that this meant his French competence was poor because there is an emphasis on learning language through academic means in France rather than by other means such as family language practices. Thirdly, Agathe states that her grandfather speaks “bad French”, this shows that she believes there is such a thing as “good French”. This could emphasise the difference between academic French and familial French learning or Agathe’s understanding of language competency levels like those which match CEFR practices (Little 2008). Finally, Agathe state that a reason for her grandfather’s “bad French” is because “he wants to do the Arab front” [*Il veut faire du front arabe*], this shows how her grandfather was trying to exert his Algerian or Arab identity while he had migrated into a new space by using “bad French”. This is an example of strategic essentialism. Spivak, a postcolonial theorist, coined this concept as a means for the oppressed to disrupt dominant powers by taking on the stereotypes that are handed to them. By using this stereotype against a dominant group, the marginalised can reclaim their power of it (Eide 2010). Agathe’s

[129] [*C'est trop handicapant. Quand tu vas dans un pays et que tu ne parles pas la langue et tout, [**Saloum :** Oui] [**Liliane :** Mm] [**ZR** hoche la tête]. Moi, j’ai mon grand père. Quand il est arrivé en France, il était complètement largué genre. Dis j’ai il n’a jamais aller à l'école quand il était en Algérie, mais quand il arrive en France, c'était l'horreur. Il y parlait pas du tout français. Il ne savait pas écrire, il ne sait pas lire l'heure. Tout ça. [**Saloum :** C’est dur] [**Liliane** hoche la tête]. Et ensuite, alors actuelle, bon savoir, maintenant, il parle français. Mais encore, il parle très mal français. Il veut faire du front arabe eh ? Du coup, [**Liliane :** Mm] mais il en souffre. Et je pense que c'est important d'apprendre les langues du coup. [**Saloum :** Oui] [**ZR :** Mm]. [**Liliane** hoche la tête]*].

grandfather is making visible his Arab heritage as an act of defiance against the normative French identity and against the migrant identity of assimilating into a new culture, but he "suffers" for trying to maintain his heritage in this way instead of assimilating into Franconormativity. Even when a migrant comes from another country with their family, they can hide their family or heritage literacy practices, much like Agathe's mom did because she was scared that she would be "found out" or targeted as an Algerian, especially because her father had such a difficult time assimilating in France after migrating there from Algeria after the war between Algeria and France (Al Jazeera 2022b; Brown 2018). Migrants could also refuse to learn the language of their new space further than a certain degree like Agathe's grandfather to make their culture known and to resist the norm of conforming (Honeyman 2015).

7.6 Who belongs in France?

When reflecting on the fact that certain linguistic resources, namely regional and minority languages, are made invisible or become hidden due to Franconormativity and French policy, it begins to show that those who are made to belong in France are people who look and sound like they are "French" or whose ancestors look or sound "French" and this is naturally linked to one's race (Hélot and García 2019; Hélot 2008, 2010; Young 2017; Nilsen, Fylkesnes, and Mausethagen 2017). Like Busch and Spitzmüller (2021) make mention of the audible *shibboleth*, race can be a visible *shibboleth*. Interestingly, the participants who labelled themselves native participants were all born in France but were also white. The participants who labelled themselves migrants were the non-white participants. There is clearly a distinction between who is perceived as French and who is not according to the colour of people's skin (Tsai 2023; Mashazi and Oostendorp 2022; Oostendorp 2022; McKinney 2022). Mame-Fatou Niang is an "associate professor of French and Francophone studies" and has generations of family who have been born in France, but writes and speaks extensively about how she does not feel she belongs in France due to being black (Tsai 2023). This is possible because black people are still the minority in France. Many live in the outskirts of cities like the *banlieues* and have their issues swept under the rug by those in power, in favour of the upper class's problems being put front and centre (Busch and Morys

2016). The idea of non-white bodies not belonging in France is not helped by the fact that French was spread as a colonial language and thus the history of coloniality is ultimately a racial issue (Canut 2010; Martin 1995; Vigouroux 2013; Brown 2018). This is emphasised by the fact that the French language is tied to the country due to the "one nation-one language" ideology and how Franconormativity was used to unite the nation after the French revolution (Wolff 2017: 15; Vigouroux 2013). Thus, those who are termed 'other' or non-French are often non-white people (Badwan 2021).

Those who have been in power in France, on the other hand, were white people. What's more, recently there has also been a turn towards conservative policies with many voters leaning towards the right, nationalist policy in France and across much of Europe. For example, leaders like Marine le Pen have gained a large following in France, gaining "41,5% support" in 2022's run for presidency (Tisdall 2023). While this is occurring, there has been a notable increase in migration to France (Institut National d'Études Démographiques 2020). This large migration creates a possessiveness in French nationals regarding their financial and physical security, employment opportunities and national identities (Tisdall 2023). This has been heard around the world as "you don't belong here" (Combs 2018: 46).

Assmina shared a pivotal story regarding race, migration and belonging in France:

"Well, I don't know how to say it actually, because one time we were at the Leclerc [a big supermarket in town] with my girlfriend and everything. And uh... I had just gone to the bathroom and everything. And we were talking and had- I don't know- it was a family, I don't know- if they're Asian, I don't know anymore, but they look like Chinese too. They had also gone into the bathroom and had an old woman, an old woman - I think she's French. She said, 'But what are they still doing here? Always cluttering up France.' I looked at her and said 'pardon'. She said 'no, but still encumbering France like this, stay at home.' And I said 'well, as long as France is not, as long as we have the right to travel in France, we'll come. You do what you want, we don't care'. She looked at me, she said 'no, but you are aggressive, miss.' I said 'Go away' and she left. [**Assmina** laughs] [**Agathe**: Oh la la!] // [**Liliane**: You were aggressive whereas she was not at all] [Note: **Liliane** said this sarcastically] [**Saloum**: Yes, yes]. But, in fact, it was just the fact that she said 'always encumbering France' that made me-… It made me a little bit angry. [**Liliane**: but normal]. I don't know if it's the fact that I'm black and everything, but it pissed me off. It really pissed

me off. My girlfriend was- [**Agathe**: She was an old lady?]. She was an old lady eh? [**Agathe**: Oh well, yeah, well forget about old people]. And my girlfriend. She told me 'go ahead, leave', but I said 'no, that's not right, I'll answer'. And then, well I said, 'you know what? Go f**k yourself'. [**Agathe**: Oh my!] [**Participants** laugh]"[130].

This story that Assmina tells the group is an exceptional resource to view how Assmina asserts her identity, how she takes on a specific role to 'other' one group of people ("they") and belong to another ("we") and also how the participants feed off of each other, thereby marking themselves as part of this group or not. The woman uses the blanket statement "what are they still doing here?" to refer to the fact that the migrants should not remain in France, instead they should "stay at home". This shows that the woman, according to Assmina, felt that France was not home to people who did not look like they belonged, people who perhaps did not look French enough. This shows that the woman is 'othering' this particular group of people by stating that she is not one of "them" (Oostendorp 2022: 69; Nilsen, Fylkesnes, and Mausethagen 2017: 42). Upon hearing what the woman says, Assmina responds by using the pronouns "we" and "you". "We" refers to migrants, people who are supposedly not French, and "you" refers to the people in France who don't want the migrants to remain in France. Assmina uses "we" not "they" here which signifies clearly that she is one of the migrants, she identifies as not seeming to belong in France despite the fact that she comes from a French overseas territory which France considers as an extension of itself (Maklakova et al. 2017). In identifying herself with the group that the woman is

[130] [*Bah moi, je ne sais pas comment le dis en fait, parce qu'une fois, on était au Leclerc [un grand supermarché en ville] avec ma copine et tout. Et uh… je venais de rentrer aux toilettes et tout. Et on était en train de parler et avait- je ne sais pas- c'était une famille, je ne sais pas- s'ils sont asiatiques, ils sont- je ne sais plus, mais on dirait des Chinois itou. Ils étaient aussi rentrés aux toilettes du coup et avait une vieille, une vieille- je pense qu'elle est Française itou. Elle a dit « Mais qu'est-ce qu'ils font encore ici, eux ? Toujours encombrer la France. » Je l'ai, je l'ai regardé et j'ai dit « pardon ». Elle m'a dit « non, mais toujours encombré, la France comme ça, reste chez vous. » Et j'ai dit « bah, tant que la France ne sera pas, tant qu'on aura le droit de voyager en France, on va venir. Vous faites ce que vous voulez, on s'en fout ». Elle m'a regardé, elle me dit « non, mais vous êtes agressif, mademoiselle. » J'ai dit « Allez-vous » et elle est parti. [**Assmina** rit] [**Agathe** : Oh la la !] //[**Liliane** : tu étais agressif alors qu'elle pas du tout] [Note : **Liliane** a dit cela de manière sarcastique]. [**Saloum** : oui, oui]. Mais, en fait, ça m'avait juste le fait qu'elle a dit « toujours en incomberait la France » ça ma-… Ça m'a un peu énervé tout. [**Liliane** : mais normal]. Je ne sais pas si c'est le fait que je suis noir et tout, mais ça m'a énervé. Ça m'a vraiment énervé. Ma copine était- [**Agathe** : c'était une vieille ?]. C'était une vieille eh ? [**Agathe** : Ah bah oui, bah laisse tomber les vieux]. Et ma copine. Elle m'a dit « vas-y, s'en va », mais j'ai dit « non, ça ne va pas, je vais répondre ». Et après, bah je l'ai dit, vous savez quoi ? Allez-vous faire f**tre. [**Agathe** : Ah Oh la la !] [**Les participants** rient]*]

ostracising, Assmina shows solidarity with the family and stands up for everything that migrants as a group represent.

When the woman tells Assmina that she is "aggressive", after Assmina's comment; "as long as we have the right to travel in France, we'll come. You do what you want, we don't care"[131]. According to Spivak (Eide 2010), when Assmina takes a defensive position and marks herself as part of the migrant group, this is another example of strategic essentialism as Assmina takes on the identity of a migrant, a black person, a woman and the "angry black woman" stereotype so often portrayed in the media (Motro et al. 2021). Motro et al (2021: 1 - 2) state that this stereotype often exists in predominantly white spaces where black women can be seen as louder, more aggressive and making more insensitive comments than their white peers. While Assmina is merely standing up for this possibly migrant family, the woman she speaks to immediately tells her that she is being "aggressive" possibly because she is stereotyping her and seeing her as this "angry black woman" archetype.

In another example of strategic essentialism, Liliane takes on the "Karen" or racist French woman archetype when Agathe uses the term, "France to the French" [*La France aux Français*] when trying to make it clear that many French people are racist and xenophobic. In response to this, Liliane states, "Oh God please. No, no... I've judged people who say that. It disgusts me. And then they just say "yes, other countries don't like us… Nya nya nya nya". [**Liliane** puts on a voice to make fun of these people] [**Participants** and **ZR** laugh]"[132]. Liliane puts on an accent and distorts her voice to show her peers that she is pretending to be one of these "people". Agathe's use of the phrase comes from a song of the same name meant to be a poke at extreme nationalists in France but ended up causing major scandal due to its racist lyrics. "*Get out, get out / Go back home / You're messing up / There's no more work / Get out, get out / We've already given / From the broom, from the broom / France belongs to the French, to the French / Where did Paris go? / It's Casa, Djibouti"* (Bornia 2011). This phrase's "emblematic function" is that it has become synonymous with far-right extremists and racist French people who want France to belong to "the French" (Blommaert 2010: 29).

[131] [*tant qu'on aura le droit de voyager en France, on va venir. Vous faites ce que vous voulez, on s'en fout*]
[132] [*Ah Mon Dieu s'il te plait. Non, non... J'ai jugé des gens qui disent ça, ça me dégoutte. Et après vient de dire « oui, les autres pays ne nous aiment pas... Nya nya nya nya nya». [**Liliane** met une voix pour se moquer de ces personnes] [**Les participants** et **ZR** rient]*].

The other participants in the group react in certain ways which indicate their identities, if they would group themselves with Assmina or "other" to her. For example, Liliane says sarcastically, "You were aggressive whereas she was not at all". This shows that she was upset that the woman stereotyped Assmina as an "angry black woman" because Assmina voiced her opinion and Liliane believes that the woman was perhaps the more aggressive of the two as she made xenophobic comments to start with. Saloum agrees with Liliane by repeating "yes". Thereafter Agathe asks Assmina if the woman was "an old lady" and once Assmina confirms this, Agathe says, "oh well, yeah, well forget about old people". This shows that Agathe has the idea that all "old people" in France think in this way about foreigners and migrants and that instead of trying to talk to them about it, one should just "forget" their comments and ideologies as they will never change. This is also an apt manner for Agathe to respond as her mother hides her linguistic resources to better belong in France, whereas Assmina was openly siding with the migrants using the pronoun "we", thus making her identity as a migrant visible. It also shows she would like to try changing the *status quo* whereas Agathe might not feel this is possible.

This short discussion shows that 3 other participants agreed with Assmina's feelings towards the exchange with this woman, and perhaps that they too have felt "othered" in France in different ways. Takita mentions just a few moments before Assmina's story that she is used to the racism in France. She says, "…as usual eh? [**Agathe**: Yeah, racism]. The same stupid things from people"[133]. This collectivity of the participants shows that they feel as though they are a separate group from "people" who are racist, or xenophobic like "old people" in France. Half of the participants are native French citizens; however, it would not be completely accurate to conclude that they all feel that they can be their most authentic self in France and thus feel like they belong, especially since the participants separate themselves from the group of people who make the above racist and xenophobic comments. Mashazi and Oostendorp (2022: 141) state that the idea of "belonging" is theorised too vaguely and is often conflated with ideas of citizenship and identity. These ideas are essentialist in the way they think about identity because they tend to categorise people into different groups according to ethnicity, gender, citizenship, age and so forth. In France, belonging often implies assimilating into French culture. This is especially apparent

[133] [*comme d'habitude eh ? [**Agathe** : Oui, le racisme]. Les mêmes choses débiles des gens*]

when looking at the *Ouvir l'école aux parents pour la réussite des enfants* course[134], or by virtue of the fact that everyone in France is expected to speak French to a certain degree (Busch and Morys 2016; France 1958; Vigouroux 2013). Thus, this thesis will not regard the native participants as "belonging" because they were born in France. Instead, differential belonging as theorised by Mashazi and Oostendorp (2022: 142) shows that there are differing layers to belonging and that the feeling of belonging is not constant but instead changes according to the place, people and experiences one has in any given moment as well as the fact that belonging changes according to the assigned preferences of those in power. Therefore, it cannot be concluded whether any of the participants feel they belong in France as this could change according to changing ideologies, opinions and even between different spaces.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how language ideologies are presented through exploring the participants' linguistic repertoires and how ideologies like Franconormativity have been upheld in France through spoken and "unspoken" policy (Flom and Young 2022) and have disseminated into the rest of the francophone world through neo-colonialism (Maklakova et al. 2017). It has also analysed the effects of Franconormativity, through the examples of the participants, namely how these norms create invisible linguistic resources such as the regional and minority languages as well as how it can contribute to speakers hiding their linguistic resources like Arabic in France due to fears of being othered. Finally, the idea of othering in France was extrapolated on through Assmina's example on belonging in France as a migrant. It is becoming more unclear whether merely speaking French competently will allow one to feel a sense of belonging in hegemonically francophone spaces, or if one needs to 'look' French or European to feel like one belongs (Nilsen, Fylkesnes, and Mausethagen 2017). This is not made easier by the fact that many migrants keep seeking out what they believe to be better opportunities in the Global North and thus, there are more people who face these kinds of challenges (Badwan 2021). The conclusion will summarise these remarks and key takeaways from each of the thesis' chapters and will comment on how studies of

[134] [Open the school to parents for the success of children]

this nature could move forward to better integrate countries like France into the new globalised world of mobile people with mobile linguistic resources.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Overview: the linguistic repertoire, making visible on a personal scale and on a global scale

The broad aim of this thesis was to make visible the experiences of multilinguals who live in France, which has long been known as a monolingual country. It pursued this objective by performing the language portrait exercise and examining participants' linguistic repertoires through individual and focus group discussions (France 1958; Nikolovski 2018; Busch 2012). By examining the linguistic repertoires and histories of the eleven B.T.S. learners attending a high school in a rural part of the *Deux-Sevres* province in France through a post-structural lens, this aim was achieved on a small scale. Another aim of this research was to make the participants' linguistic resources visible to themselves and to their peers as means to educate themselves and each other about the diversity of linguistic resources within their classrooms which they had possibly never considered previously. As it was noted in chapter 2, migration and globalisation has created a new linguistic metropolis, particularly in countries in the Global North like France (Institut National d'Études Démographiques 2020; Council of Europe Portal n.d.). In chapter 4, I noted that grouping the participants as either native or migrant participants helped me to challenge my biases about multilinguals in France and what kinds of experiences I assumed they would have. It also aided in the analysis of the data, particularly with regards to previous colonial languages and colonial entanglements between France, its previous colonies and the French overseas departments and territories.

The research questions directly helped to achieve the aims set out above in that they initially enabled a descriptive overview of the participants' linguistic repertoires and histories thereafter, the chapter described how the process of the language portrait exercise made visible the participants' linguistic repertoires and *Spracherleben* through its visual affordances and how the participants reflected on that visibility. Chapter 6 analyses the participants' language ontologies and the dichotomies found in the different ontologies held by them. Finally, chapter 7 explores how this creation of visibility allowed for a better understanding of the dominance of French in French High schools and how citizens of

France are pressured to conform to monolingual norms. The following section will describe how these questions not only achieved the previously mentioned aims of this thesis, but also began to answer the broad aim: making visible the experiences of multilingual speakers in monolingual France and how making their *Spracherleben* visible allowed the thesis to reveal how social hierarchies are sustained through Franconormativity, sociolinguistic exclusion and silencing of minorities.

8.2 Reflecting on the findings: revealing the dominance of French in French schools and the pressures of monolingualism

Through analysis of the participants' linguistic repertoires and histories, it became apparent that the French linguistic playground is much more complex than my biases had thought and more complex than the French school language policy implies. For example, the number of languages present in both migrant and native participants' repertoires points to a richness of linguistic resources despite France's monolingual policy and additive multilingual school policies (Hélot and García 2019; Hélot 2008; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016). Many previous studies point to richness of learners' linguistic repertoires in French classrooms, particularly those of migrant learners (Hélot 2010; Hélot and Young 2002, 2006b; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016; Young 2017; Muller 2022). It was helpful to also view the participants' linguistic trajectories through time and space as it gave an overview of how migration and norms affected the linguistic repertoire. These showed that non-essentialist views of identity were possibly more helpful to this thesis' understanding of the participants and their linguistic repertoires as each participant had a unique history and *Spracherleben* (Preece 2020; Busch 2015).

By analysing how the participants made their linguistic repertoires and histories visible, namely through representing them on the language portraits and through constructing and performing them for me and their peers, it was revealed that the participants had a particular understanding of language. This kind of analysis was novel in the field of the linguistic repertoire, particularly with regards to studies in France (Hall and Wicaksono 2020; Kell and Budach 2023; Ortega 2018; Pennycook 2020). Most commonly, the participants represented their languages through emotions, bodily functions such as speech, hearing,

sight and so forth and through competency. This showed that their language ontologies reflected those of the Republic. They viewed language more as an object than as practice and mostly relied on Global North oriented language ontologies rather than Global South oriented ontologies (Kell and Budach 2023). However, there were some exceptions particularly when examining Global South ontologies of language which were expressed through the participants' explanations of "embodied" language and translanguaging practices (Busch 2021: 191).

It also became visible through the group interview reflections and its group chat, that the participants were not aware of their own richness of linguistic resources or that of their peers possibly due to the monolingual language policy making their linguistic resources invisible. Therefore, the third space momentarily created during the data collection allowed them to become more linguistically aware and helped them value their resources for different reasons such as their uniqueness, their value within their family or culture or even the linguistic resources' ability to aid them in learning further languages. Creating this third space of reflection was also a novel methodological addition for this thesis, as, as far as I could ascertain, French studies within the field had never done self or group reflection of linguistic repertoires of this kind previously (Guzula 2022).

The differences between the participants' home and school portraits also pointed towards this monolingual policy misrepresenting the population of France and how monolingual school culture also makes linguistic resources invisible. As the participants' language ontologies are indexically linked to their language ideologies, it was apparent that through what was termed Franconormativity, the participants believed certain things about their linguistic repertoires, such as the fact that they were less diverse than in actuality. Through participants' explanations of their experiences in France and French schools, there was a clear dissemination of Franconormativity through French school spaces which led to participants devaluing their home languages in favour of languages with higher linguistic capital. The participants also held particular language ideologies which reflected official views of language of the Republic (similarly to the language ontologies). The participants reflected on nation-state or geographically bound autonomous languages, but did not take into account their natural translanguaging practices even though they used them often (Badwan 2021). The participants also held certain languages in high regard for academic and

career success, like French and English, and sought out languages for mobility such as Euro-centric languages. It was also noted that the participants valued standardised language more highly than others, which is also a reflection of the Republic and its pedagogical approach (Little 2008; Flom and Young 2022).

France claims that it values and promotes multilingualism, but through the research, it became clear that certain languages were being made invisible or purposefully hidden by Franconormative policies and "unspoken" rules (Flom and Young 2022: 8). The idea of visible linguistic resources had been explored in previous research (Soares, Duarte, and Günther-van der Meij 2021), but looking at linguistic resources being made invisible or being purposefully hidden was another novel addition to the field. There was a notable invisibility amongst the participants' regional linguistic resources such as *Patois* and minority languages such as *Shimaoré,* Dioula, Creole and so forth. Arabic linguistic resources were spoken about as being hidden by Agathe and were not spoken about openly by other participants due to the fact that these resources were often conflated with ideas of Islamic extremism in France and speakers held fear around using these resources or, in the case of Agathe's grandfather, wielded the resources as a means to uphold their identities (Eide 2010).

It is possible that Franconormativity essentialises the French population's identity to a particular mould of what being French looks and sounds like. This is enforced by the audible shibboleth (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021). Instead of French identity being viewed as non-essentialist, it is possibly being essentialised as what French looked and sounded like pre-colonialism, which could correlate to the fact that the white participants felt comfortable identifying as native French whereas the non-white participants identified themselves as migrants despite many having come from French overseas departments and territories. This segregation is worsened by the fact that French political ideologies, like many in Europe, are moving towards the conservative ring wing, which could be a possible contribution to issues with integration of migrants and refugees into French society (Tisdall 2023; Busch and Morys 2016; García 2017). There also seems to be a trend developing whereby nation-identity is essentialised alongside linguistic identity. It is seen in this thesis through Franconormativity. This happens alongside this pull towards right-wing political ideologies and nationalism and conforms to historical sociolinguistic mapping (Badwan 2021). This creates and makes apparent othering happening within these countries. France and China,

for example, emphasise secularism which could heighten the understanding of religious extremism in countries that have more secularist ideologies like France.

8.3. Limitations of the thesis

One of the major limitations of the data collection for this thesis was the COVID pandemic and the subsequent lockdowns in France in 2021. This cut the data collection period short and did not allow me to collect other forms of data from the participants' homes for example. This was mentioned in detail in chapter 4, however should I have been able to deepen my data collection in this way, the methodology of the thesis would have possibly changed from a phenomenological study to an ethnographic study. This may have allowed me to view the participants translanguaging in their home environments more or differently than they did in the interviews. Also, if it were possible to complete the interviews in person as opposed to online, there may have been more examples of multimodal translanguaging or the participants may have felt more open to share information with me. Taking into account the fact that I needed to conduct the interviews online and therefore I could not observe this myself, it must be noted that the participants expressed views of language which I have called "structuralist" views of language. Thus, their understanding of their language ontologies was based in structuralist understandings, but this may be not an entirely accurate depiction of what their language ontologies could have been had I been able to observe and interact face to face over more time. Of course, if I had performed interviews over a longer period, the participants understandings of their linguistic repertoire, their ontologies and ideologies may have also changed, particularly as the exercise has been shown to make them more aware of these.

8.4. Recommendations for future research

In terms of future research, there is much that can be taken from this thesis and expanded upon in the future. For one, studies on the linguistic repertoire can begin to speak more widely on hidden and invisible resources, especially when using the language portrait exercise as a means to represent these resources. If the language portrait exercise is used to bring awareness to linguistic resources, it can be used to find commonalities with peers

through reflective exercises in school environments much like Hélot and Young talk about a "language and cultural awareness project" in a school in their 2006 study (2006b: 69). Through studies such as these, students could become exposed to the fact that France is multicultural and multilingual despite its monolingual policy and that they as native or migrant French residents can belong there because others like them belong there too. It also allows students to incorporate higher order thinking, namely understanding that they use all their linguistic resources and not just one target language, into their schooling discourse. By making them aware that they do it already and that it is a resource they use already gives the students access to this critical discourse and makes them feel well-equipped as multilinguals. If this kind of exercise was replicated and performed at other schools, it may help to alleviate possible tensions between native French and migrant students. It helped the participants of this study better understand each other as they shared their personal histories between themselves.

Secondly with regards to migration, this thesis begins to show that epistemologies developed in the Global South can be a means of understanding and shedding light on difficulties encountered in the Global North such as integration of new peoples (García 2017). If we normalise translanguaging practices within more formal environments such as schools and administrative spaces, migrants could begin to not fear their "other" linguistic resources and instead integrate into their new spaces more easily (Badwan 2021: 195).

It would also be interesting to better understand what Badwan talks about with regards to the understanding of better opportunities and mobility with certain linguistic resources (2021). Some of the participants like Saloum and Jules mention affordances that languages like French and English have given them, but it would be interesting to explore the kinds of familial pressures they are under to make the most of these opportunities and how their families perceive their abilities to have a better life due to their competencies within high linguistic capital languages. Also, due to the migration of many families from the Global South to the Global North for these perceived better opportunities, there is sure to be a shortage of skills in these migrants' home countries. One could consider how this shortage affects the relation between the Global South and Global North, particularly between previous colonial powers and previous colonies.

If future studies take these factors into consideration, the Global North and countries like France may more successfully be able to integrate themselves into the new globalized world of mobile individuals and mobile language resources. They would also hopefully be able to better integrate their migrant and native citizens under the French flag.

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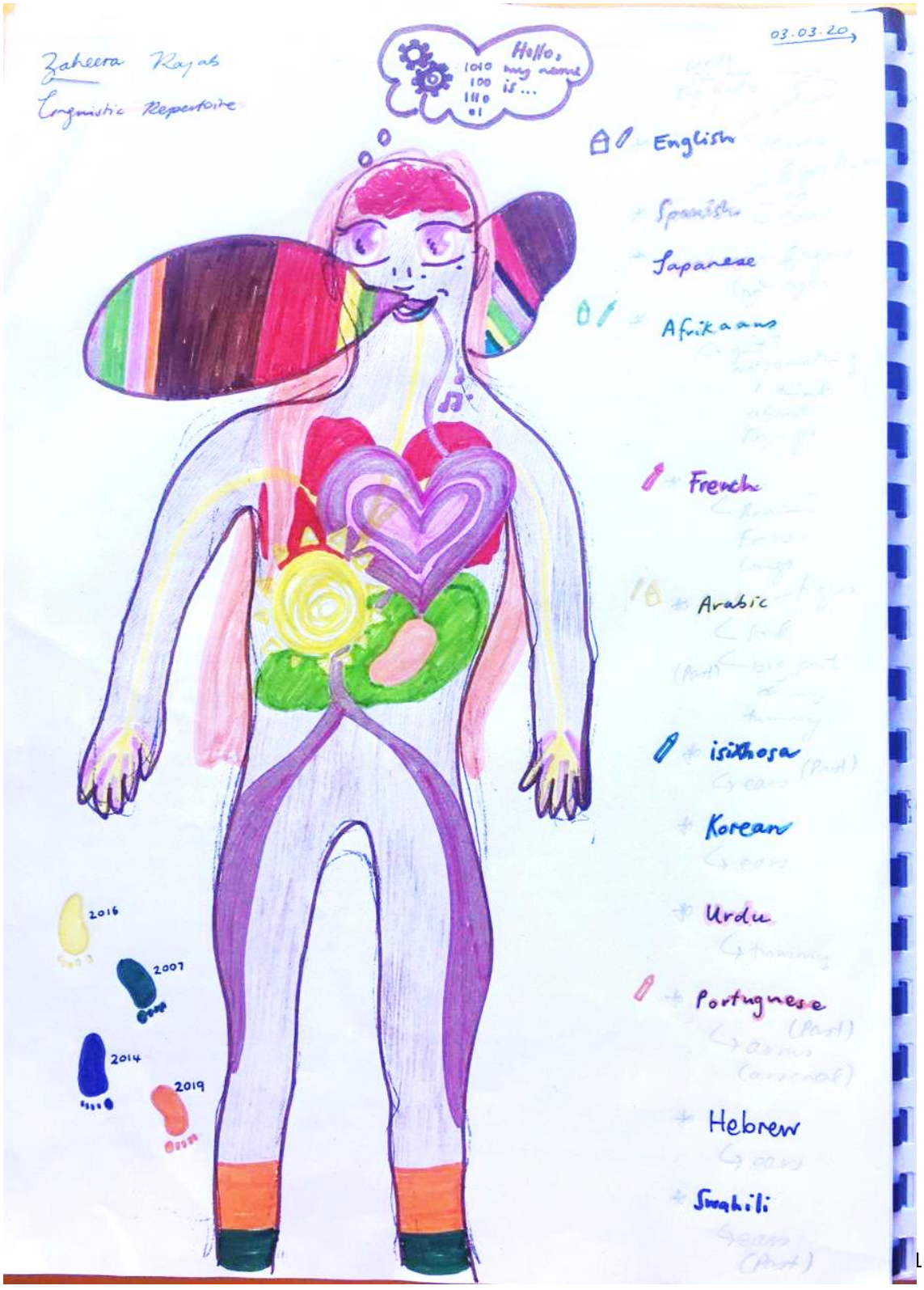
Appendices

Appendix 1a)

ZR's language portrait presentation. This was presented to the participants in the first session on 1 April 2021.

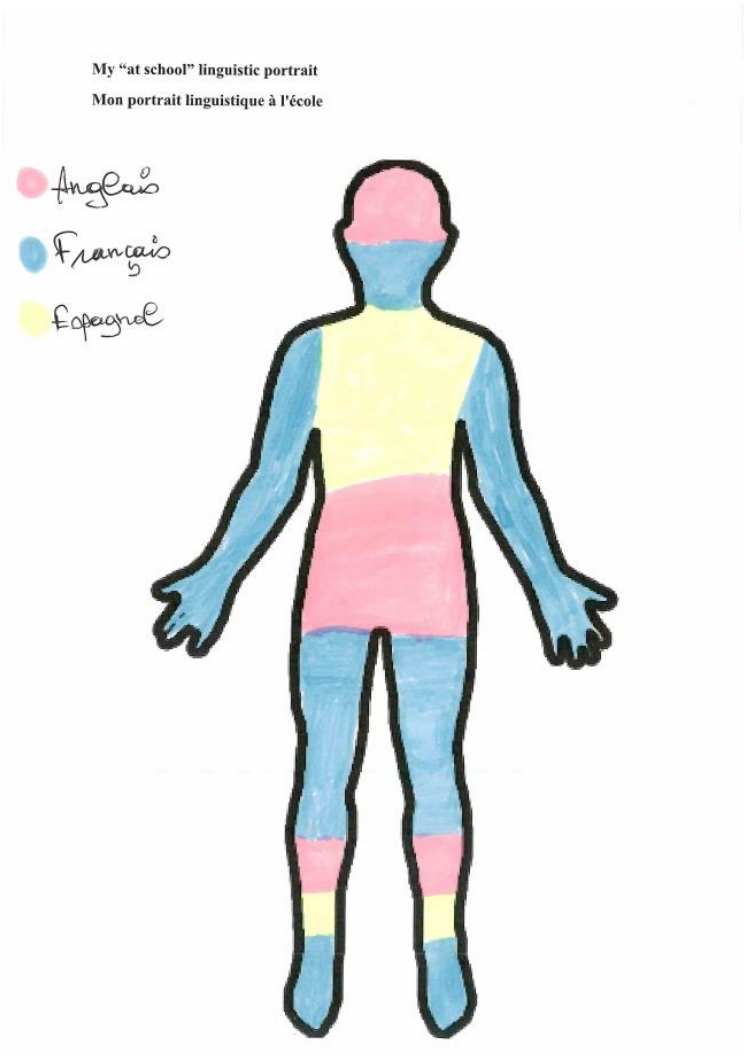


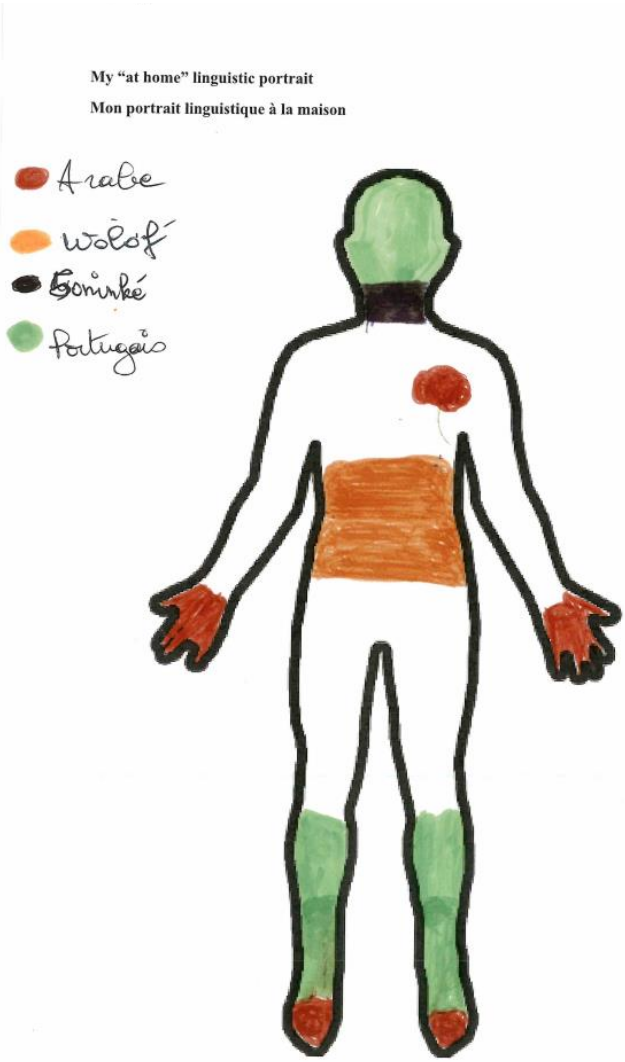
Appendix 1b)

The participants' language portraits and a short description about them

Saloum

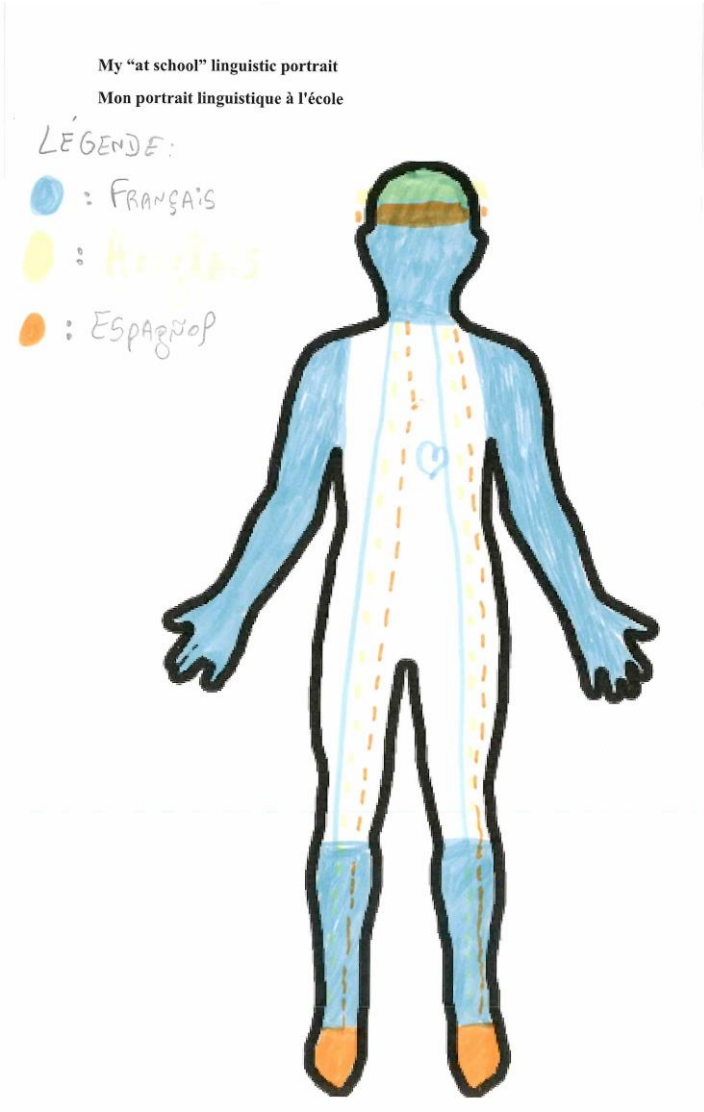
Saloum is a non-French citizen. He comes from Angola but grew up in Senegal from the age of 7. In Senegal, French became the language of learning and teaching at school, and he had to learn French to keep up with his classes and his peers. He talked about how languages that he's used at school, like French and Spanish allowed him to traverse certain boundaries or places more easily as well as do things that otherwise, he wouldn't have been able to do. At home, he talked about using Arabic to pray and read the Quran. He talked about having to learn Wolof when he moved to Senegal, about using Portuguese in Angola which helped him learn Spanish, and about his maternal language Soninke, which he used only when absolutely necessary. This is because he didn't feel like he agreed with the way in which some of his family from Angola conduct themselves, and he felt distanced from them when he doesn't speak the language.

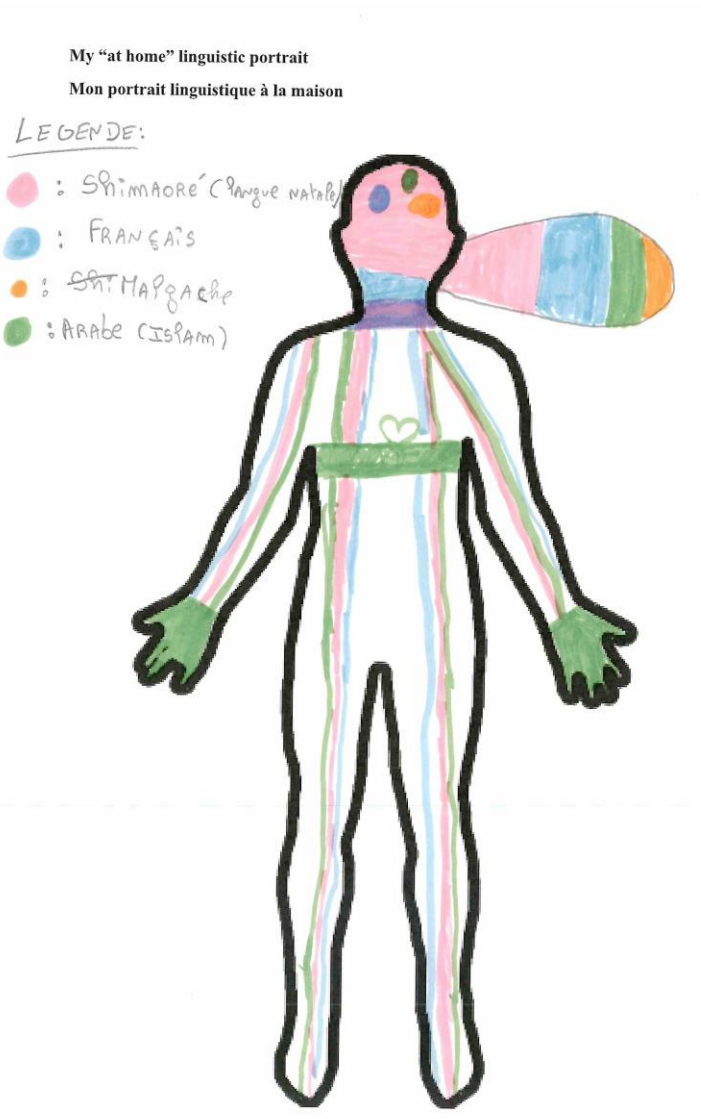




Façoil

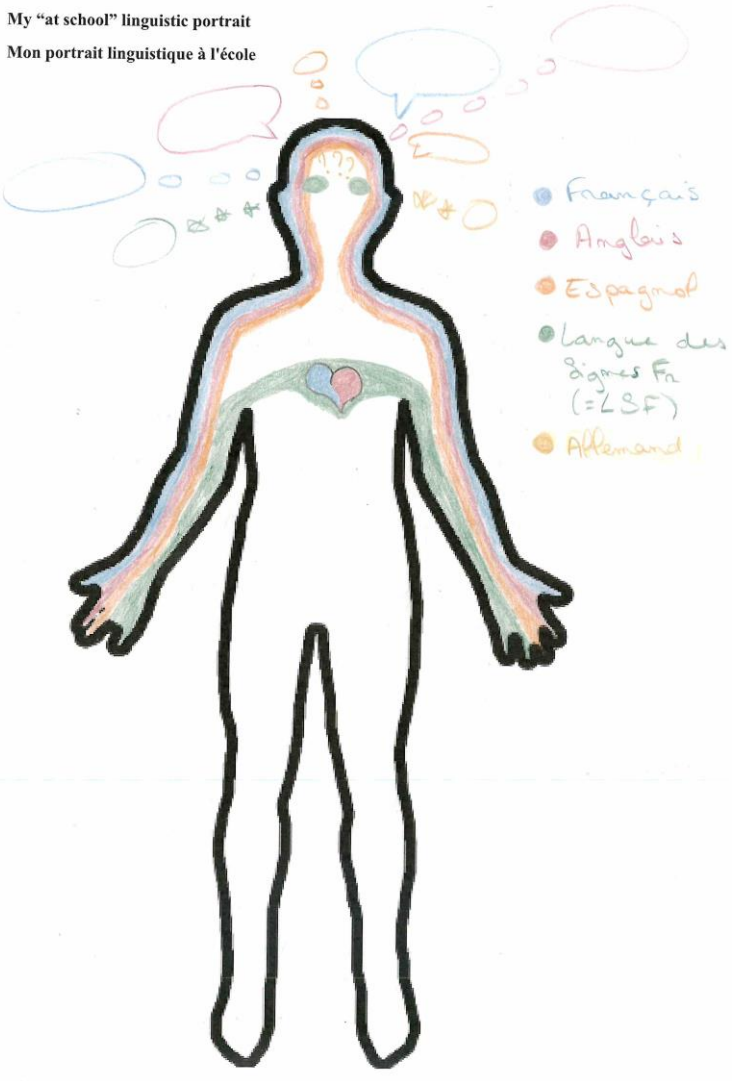
Façoil is a non-French citizen. He comes from the French overseas region called Mayotte. He explained that his maternal language is *Shimaoré,* but he used French very frequently at home as well. He used Malgache (Malagasy) a little too, because in Mayotte, there are a lot of Malagasy speakers from Madagascar. Like Saloum, Façoil also used Arabic to pray, and it is a language that is very much a part of his daily life. At school, Façoil included Spanish and English. He stated that he's a lot more at ease using French at school in his classes and with his friends, but that Spanish allowed him to travel to Spain which he enjoyed doing.

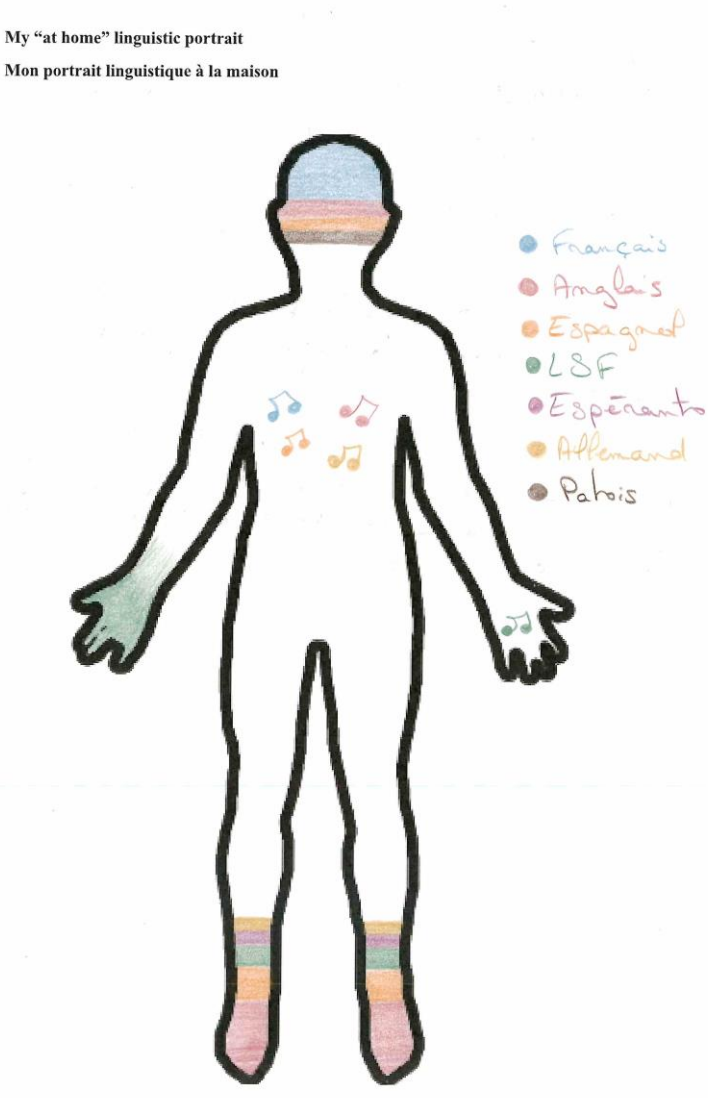




Liliane

Liliane is a French citizen. She lived in the town where the school was, but her family was in Poitiers, a nearby city. She spoke about all the languages she included in her portrait very passionately. She was the only participant who included notes about her portraits at the back of each of them. A few of the languages she included at home were also included at school, like French, English, Spanish, German and French Sign Language. Her extra home languages were Patois and Esperanto. Patois she learnt since she was a child with her grands-parents de Coeur (these are non-biological grandparents one treats like part of the family in France). She also uses Patois with her father and states that it feels very natural to her. She learnt French Sign Language at university for a year but is now using it in her everyday life, through watching *chansignes* (sign language songs) which she really enjoys. She would like to become an interpreter one day, and so languages are very important to her. Many languages formed part of her everyday life, through music, movies and language learning apps like Duolingo. For example, she was learning Esperanto out of interest. It is known as a language to help one learn other languages more easily.





Liliane's notes on the back of her language portraits (page 1 of 2)

- French = made it in blue just because of the French flag. It's my maternal language so I put it first and on my thumb
- English = made it in red only because of the flag too. It's my second language so it's the second line from the index finger
- Spanish = in orange to refer at the sun and the hot weather. It's my third language for eight years so it starts from the middle finger.
- French Sign language = I began this language at University so it's the last one and it start from the ring finger to the pinkie
- German: just put in the head because I participated at one class and really liked it so I wish I could continue later.

The lines from fingers which join in head are those I use to speack and think, the green eyes exist because LSF is a gestual language and interogation points are here because German is a wish.

In the heart there are French and English because they're my main languages and LSF is around because I would love to become interprete.

Liliane's notes on the back of her language portraits (page 2 of 2)

Colors: chose the same that the "at school" portrait for the same reasons.

In the head there are the languages I speak by priority, in order of importance. I have the chance to speack, sometimes, in english or spanish with my sisters because they learn those languages too and my mother loves english.

I used green for LSF because I think it's a very "natural" language and put it in the hands because it's a gestual language.

The music notes are for the music I'm used to listen in different languages but the green one is in the hand because, in LSF, they do music with signs.

Takita

Takita is a non-French citizen. She comes from Ivory Coast but moved to France when she was 6 years old. She did most of her schooling in France, save for her pre-school or “creche” years as she calls it. She used Dioula with her family, but she stated that she has “lost” the ability to speak the language after she moved to France and now can only understand it and responds in French. She used French across her home and school life, with friends and family. This is why most of her school and home portraits are covered in French. Dioula was only a small part of her portrait, but it remained a firm part of her identity. She also used some English at home as she had some family who live in England, and she spoke English with them. She says that she had some difficulty expressing herself in English, but she had many English words floating around in her head because she watched English series and listened to English music a lot. In her school portrait, she also placed French and English, and replaced Dioula for Spanish. Her Spanish and English covered her arms for writing, though she might have been more comfortable with English than Spanish as she stated that her right arm was more dominant, thus illustrating the languages she was more comfortable using. She had never thought of using Dioula at school but stated that she would have loved to learn Korean, as she loved watching Korean dramas.

Assmina

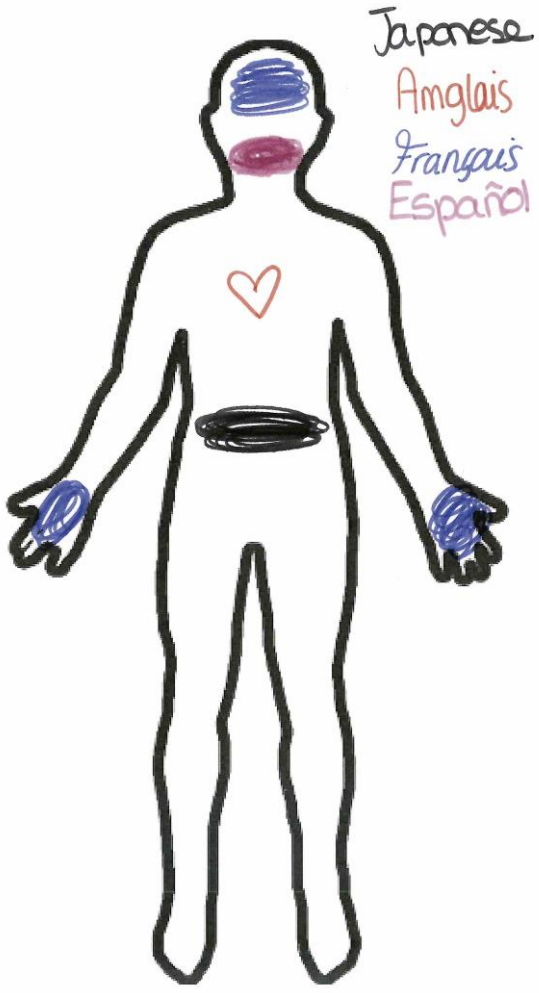
Assmina is a non-French citizen. She comes from Mayotte, like Façoil. She gave me a lot of information about what it was like for her to move from Mayotte and schooling there, to France and what the differences were like for her. She states that most of the schooling was the same in terms of the languages they learnt and were assessed in. She states that the biggest difference for her was that in Mayotte, the "language in the road was *Shimaoré"* wherever you went. She was able to give me in depth information because she did most of her schooling (both middle and high school) in Mayotte. She went to France only to do her B.T.S. certificate. She spoke to me about the "elevated languages" in Mayotte versus in France. In Mayotte, she said that the more elevated languages were English, Spanish and Arabic as there were many Muslim people there. But in France, it's English and French. Her maternal language is *Shimaoré,* but she was able to understand Malagasy and could speak it a little. She was the only participant to mention that she understood the gestures of a language (Malagasy). She has many languages in her portrait but stated that she had many problems learning language and called herself the only family member who could not speak Malgache. She also had many problems learning English and was very hesitant to try and speak English. In the interview, she said that English and her "did not stick together".

Agathe

Agathe is a French citizen. She came from an area around the school's province and her mother came from the nearby city, Poitiers. Agathe's maternal language is French and most of what she does and surrounds herself with is French, which is why she put French in her head and hands. However, she stated that she had a Scottish friend who she would practice English with when she went to visit her. She also spoke about how she loved English songs and films, and often listened to more English songs than French songs. She also loved "oriental", Algerian music in particular, because it reminds her of her mother's roots. Her grandparents came from Algeria to France where her mother was born. Her grandparents and her mother speak Arabic with her, and she will hear it a lot in their house. Her dad speaks French though, as he comes from France. She spoke about Arabic in French schools, and why it's not taught very commonly, despite there being many Algerians in France (amongst other nationalities who speak Arabic). She stated that she was aware of some schools that offered it, but it was not available everywhere. She also added that there was some talk about Arabic being offered at primary school level, but it never came into effect. In school, Agathe learnt most things in French, but also learnt some Spanish, English and did 2-3 classes of Japanese for fun. She did sometimes use Spanish at home, in music, but mostly spoke Spanish at school during class.

My "at school" linguistic portrait

Mon portrait linguistique à l'école

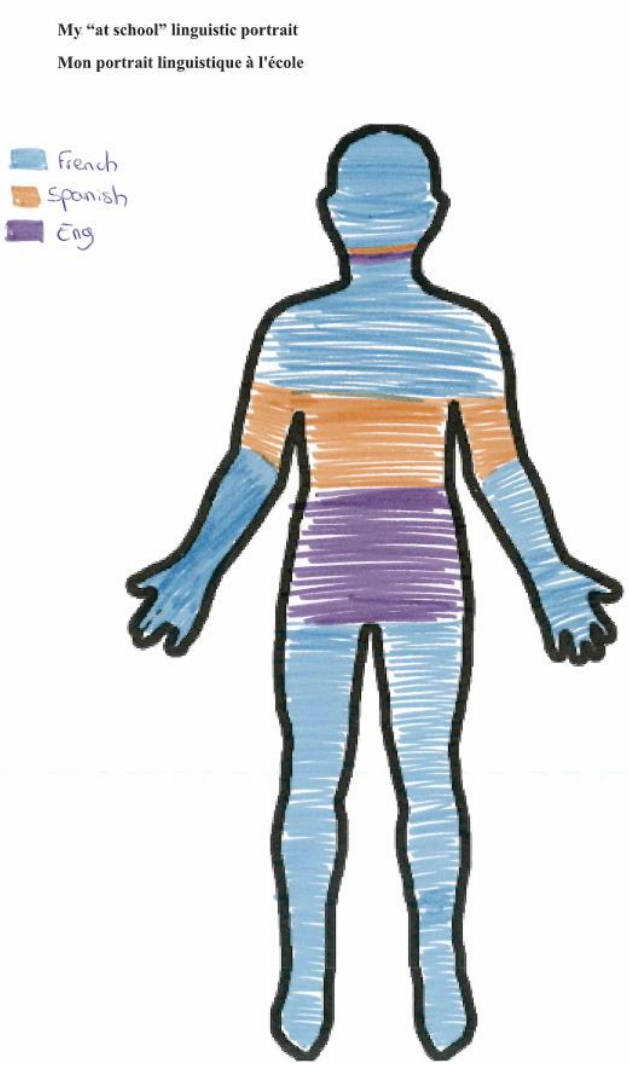


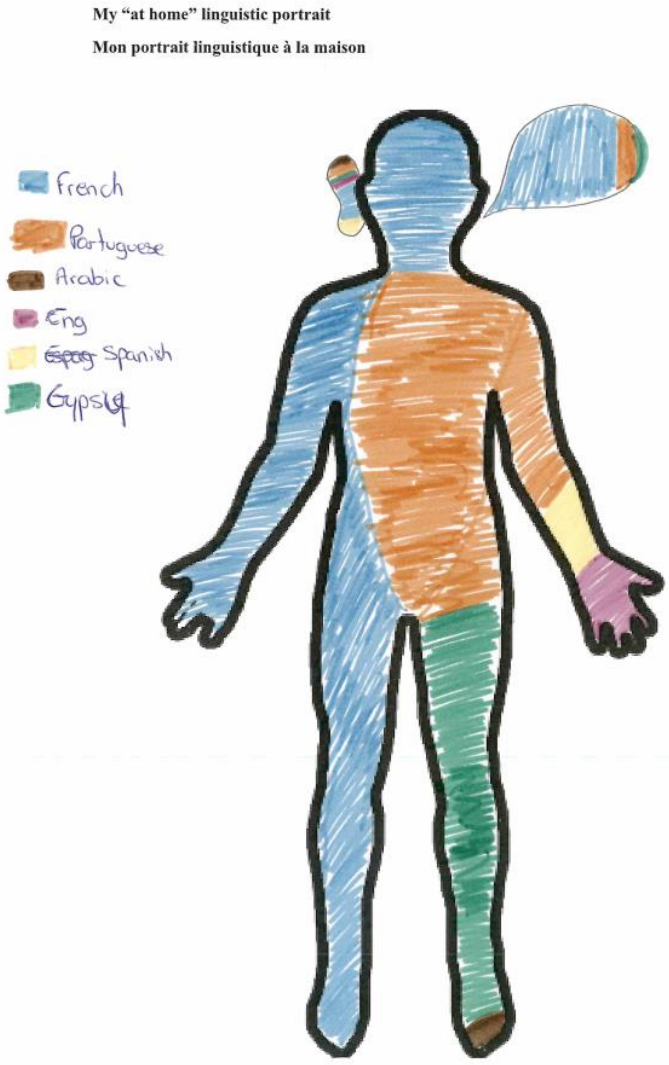
My "at home" linguistic portrait

Mon portrait linguistique à la maison

Emmanuel

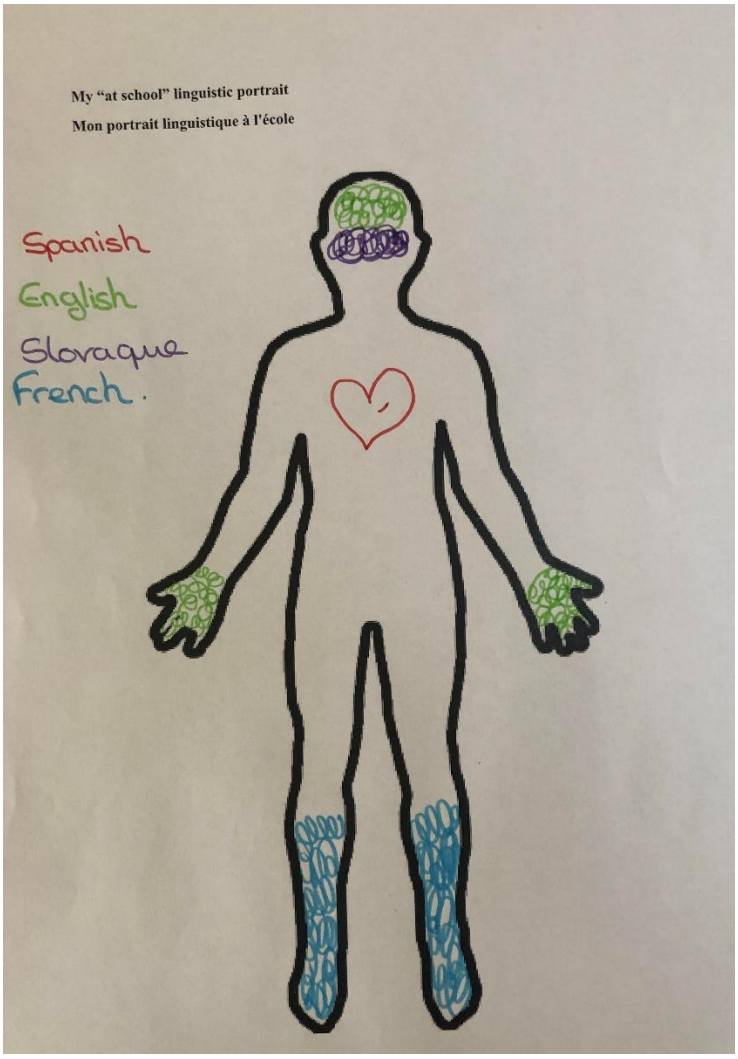
Emmanuel is a French citizen. He grew up in Paris, but now attends school in the Deux-Sevres province. In Paris, he grew up around Arabic speakers as the city is so cosmopolitan. This allowed him to learn a couple of phrases. He talked about his father who was Portuguese, and how he wanted to learn more Portuguese to be able to talk more to his father's family and visit Portugal. At home, him and his father watched sport (mostly football) in Portuguese. He also watched the English championship in English which he stated allowed him to learn the language more easily. His family listened to a lot of music, especially in Spanish, and he included it in his home portrait as well. His mother is what he calls *Gitan* or Gitanes, meaning that she speaks *Gitan.* Emmanuel stated that he uses *Gitan* to move forward with his family. He doesn't speak it fluently but uses words here and there when he speaks with his family members. At school, Emmanuel mostly uses French. He said that he used it in everything he did for school, "I breathe it". He added that it allowed him to advance in his studies and so he included it in his portrait's legs. He stated that he enjoyed eating Spanish food and so he included Spanish at the mouth and stomach. He also spoke and participated in Spanish class a lot. He learnt English since primary school, but it covers slightly less of the portrait than Spanish. He stated that French is still one of the more difficult languages that he has learnt.

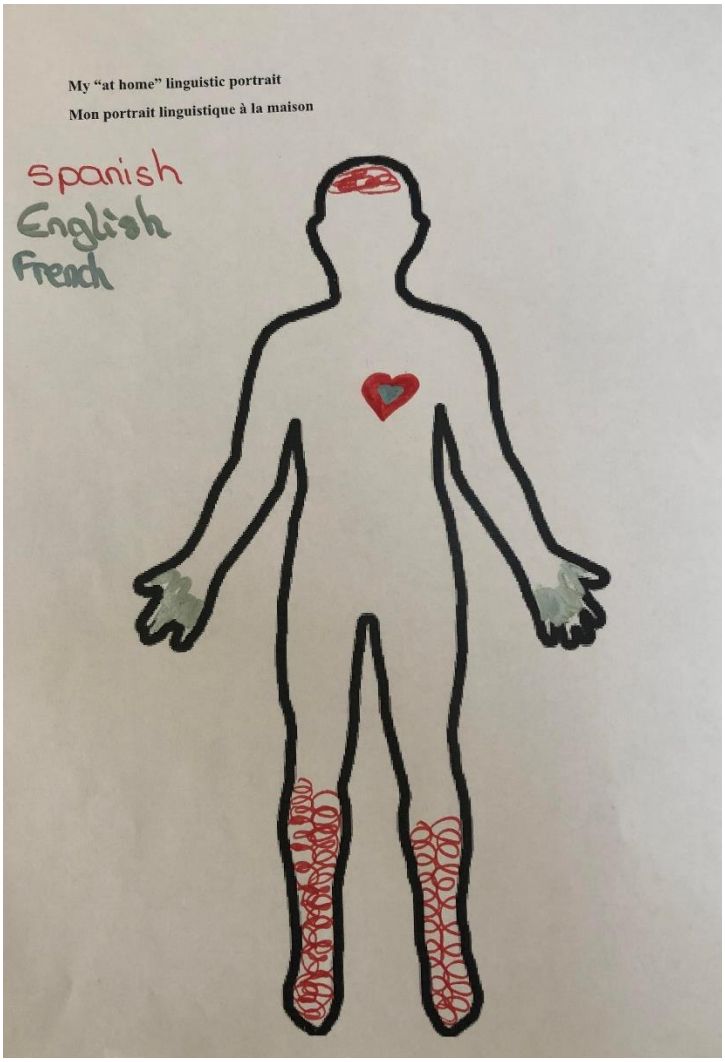




Maëlys

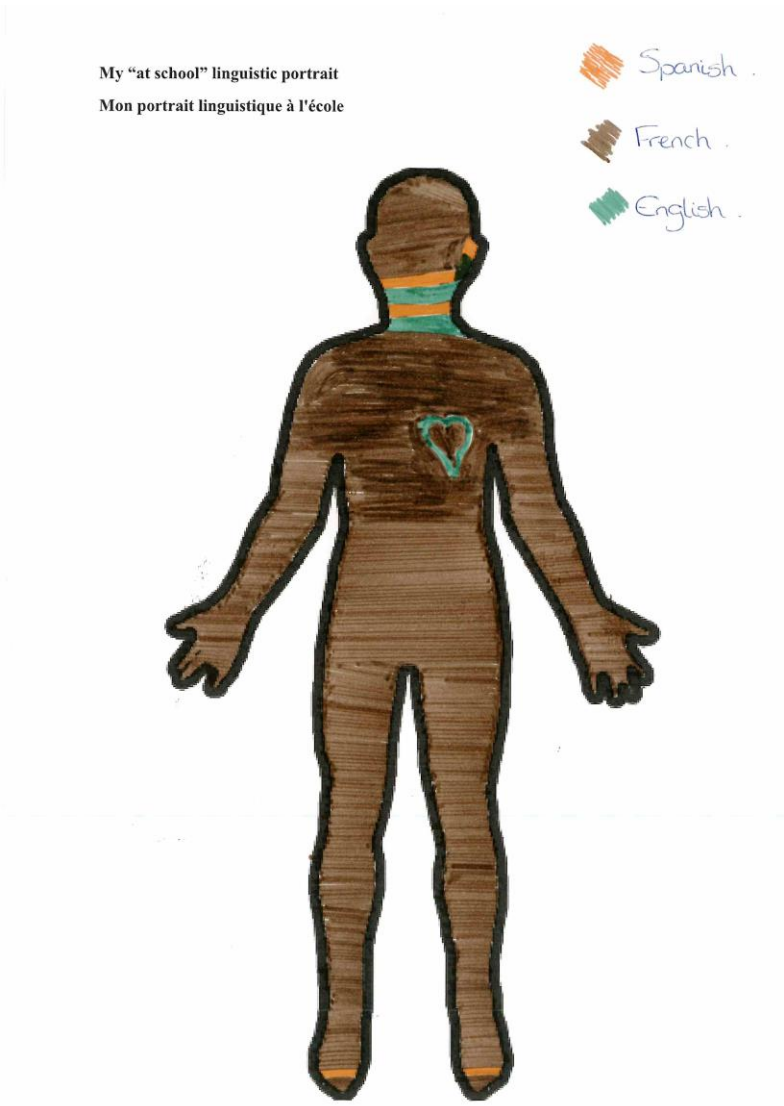
Maëlys is a non-French citizen. She comes from Guatemala but has lived in France for most of her life as she was adopted by a French family. She did all her schooling in France as well. Although her first language was French, she also considered Spanish her maternal language. It was something she held very close to her heart as it reminded her of her roots. She was still learning Spanish and was doing it as one of her school courses in her B.T.S. studies. She was in the more advanced course. She had some family who lived in the United States, and she used social media or wrote letters to them and practiced her English like that. She also practiced her Spanish by talking with her uncle who lived in Ecuador. Maëlys also loves to listen to Latin music and practices listening to Spanish in that way. She considers French the one language she is fluent in as she's used it since birth. She uses French in almost all her schooling activities. She started Spanish at the age of 14, in middle school, and aims to "take it all in" because it's her favourite language. She also learned English at school because it's part of the mandatory courses in France. She added in the head and hands because "it forces me to think and write". She learnt a bit of Slovak from a classmate who she befriended when she was in high school. She also stated that she would love to learn Italian because of its close roots to Spanish and because she thought it was a beautiful language.

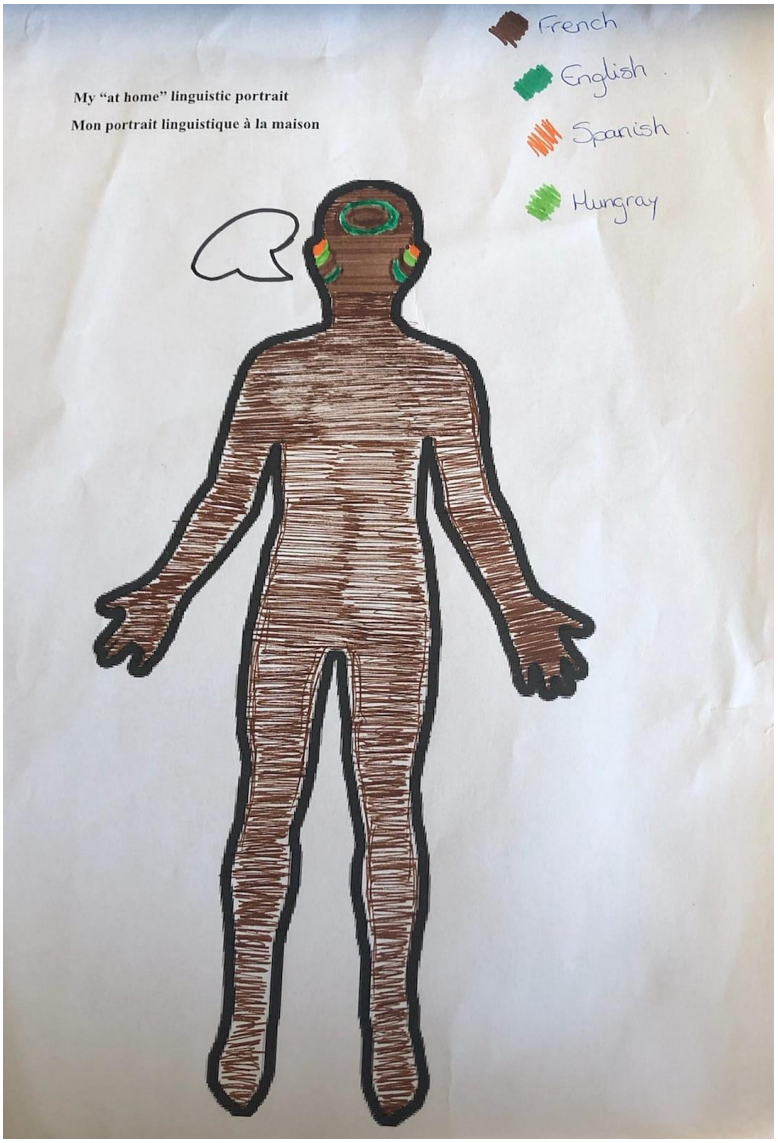




Pauline

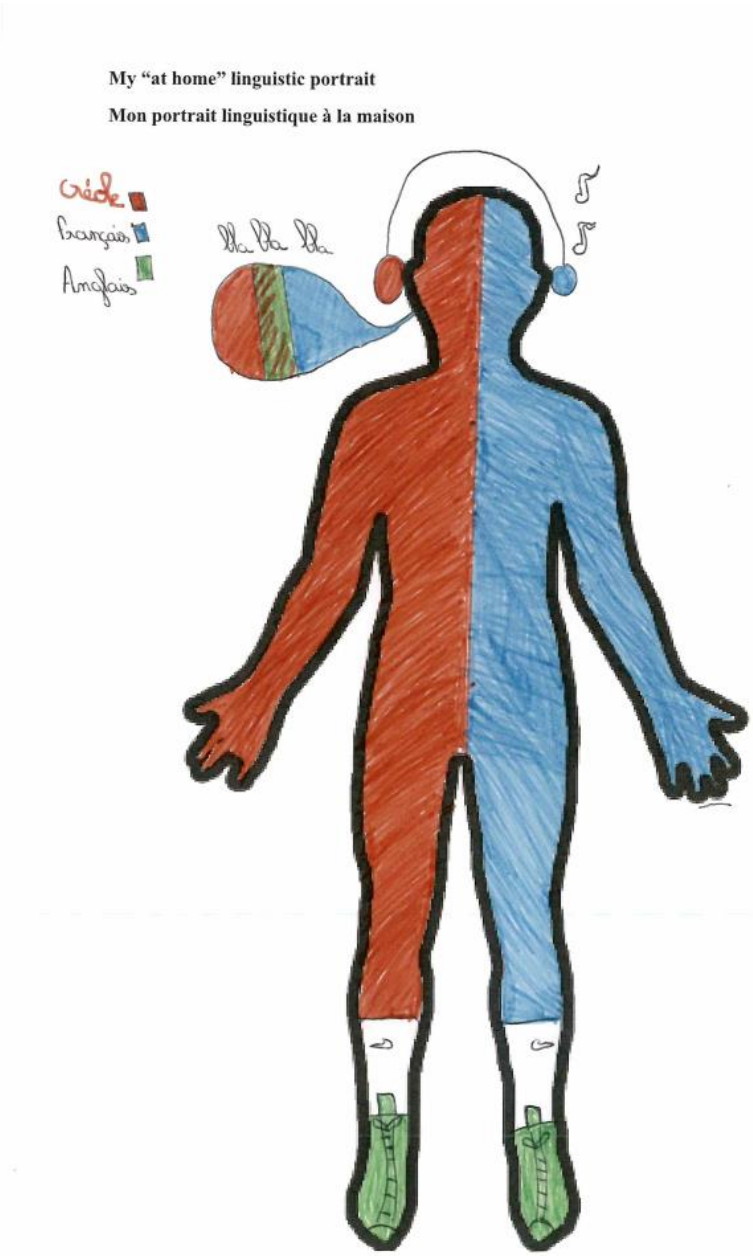
Pauline is a French citizen. She was the only participant to use brown to represent French instead of blue. She stated that she really likes the colour and that she felt that French was so much part of her identity, she needed to cover the entire portraits, both home and school with brown to represent that. She also stated very early on in the interview that she felt she wasn't "very, very good in other languages", and so she relied on French her whole life to communicate. Even though she stated this, she also stated that she would like to at least speak English "properly" because she knows that it's an international language and she would need it for work. She did use English at home with her friends as some of them are English speakers. She listened to English and Spanish music as well. She also learnt some Hungarian phrases through her parents' friends who did some work in France. Her family would teach them some French words and they would in turn, teach her family some Hungarian. She stated that majority of the time, she spoke French. Even at school, in her English or Spanish classes, she tried to speak in the respective languages but often reverted to French. She stated that her difficulties in learning language started when she learnt to read and write French when she was little. She stated that it's "my handicap, it's always followed me". She added that the language courses at school didn't help her to learn as they were not practical enough to use in the outside world.





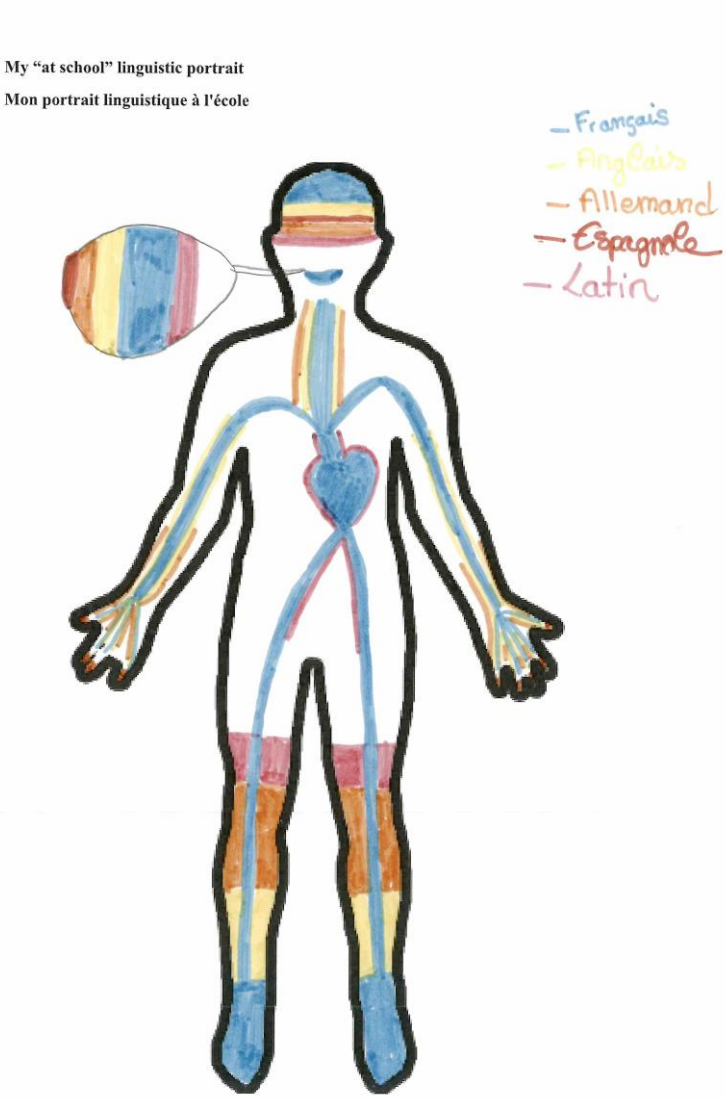
Jules

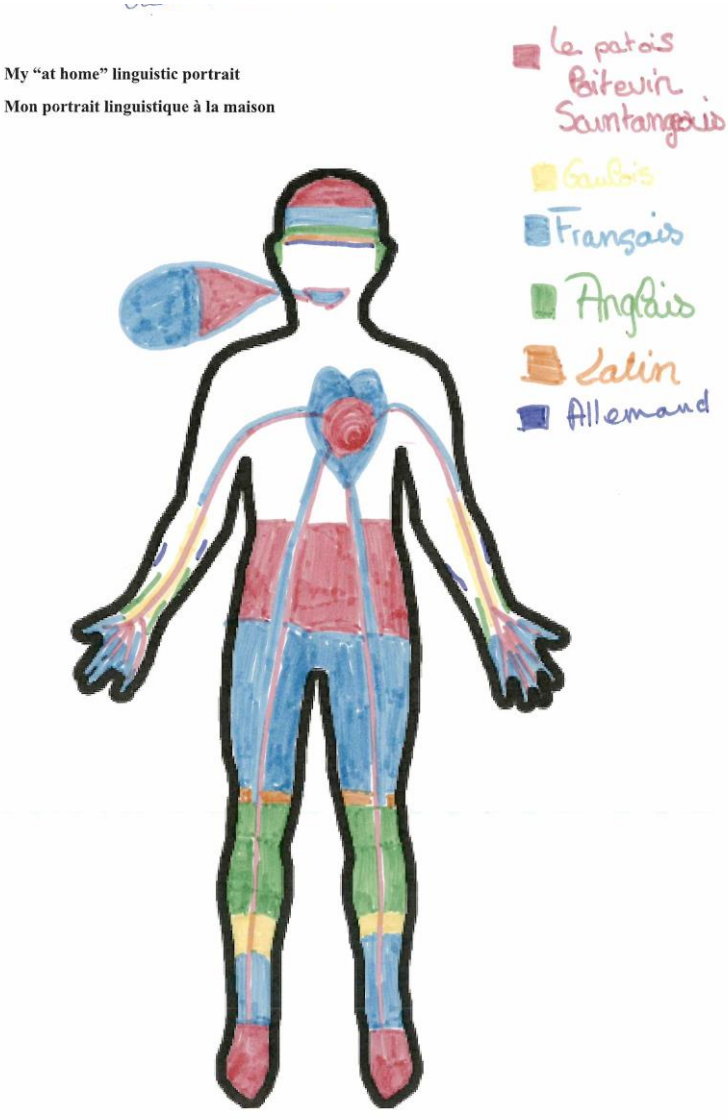
Jules is a non-French citizen. He came from the island of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. It is one of the French overseas territories. His native language was Creole, and he stated that he used it in his everyday life. He compared French and Creole, stating that the language structure and grammatical basis was very similar. This was why he chose to represent French and Creole as two halves of his body, as in Guadeloupe they speak Creole and French interchangeably. He listened to music in both French and Creole as well as a bit of English music too. He was given the opportunity to travel to the United States to play basketball there and he was able to learn English there. This is why he included basketball sneakers on the feet of his portrait, because the sport allowed him to physically move and travel to another country. He also stated that basketball as a sport is very anglophone dominant as it comes from the United States. He stated that he used English and Spanish a lot in class too, as there is a lot of emphasis on speaking. However, a lot of the time with the teachers, he would speak French. He did his elementary and middle schooling in Guadeloupe but completed his high school in France. He mentioned that in Guadeloupe, he did some subjects in Creole. There would be a teacher who would explain concepts in Creole, but they would do their assessments in French. They would also talk in Creole after class.



Nathalie

Nathalie is a French citizen. She comes from a small town called Oiron in the Deux-Sevres province where the school was also located. Her maternal languages are *Patois* and French. Her passion is in what she calls, “ancient languages” like *Patois,* Gaulish and Latin. She has learnt some of these on her own through reading, and also through her grandparents, who speak *Patois.* She has done some Latin in one of her school subjects called History-Geography (*histo-géo).* In explaining her school portrait, she opened up about her difficulties learning language and specifically with writing. She states that her difficulties with French writing have made learning other languages for her very difficult. She doesn’t believe she’s a very strong language learner, or even, French speaker, despite completing the entire interview in French. In the interview, she recalled a few times when teachers told her that she wouldn’t be able to do a language class, or that she wasn’t “getting it”.





Appendix 1c

Saloum's full transcript (individual)

[00:00] **ZR:** We're going to [*on verra melanger les langues* – more informal] use a mixture of languages, I think. Because I have the questions in English, but I am going to translate them. Okay. [ZR and Saloum laugh]. So… uh, [pause], uh… Can you explain to me, maybe, the at school portrait, firstly, [**Saloum:** yes] with the languages and why did you make them in what colours and, did you place them in the body at these points?

*On verra mélanger les langues je pense. Parce que j'ai des questions en anglais, mais je vais le traduire. Ok. [ZR et Saloum rient]. Donc, uh, [pause], uh… tu peux m'expliquer peut être les portraits à l'école, premièrement [**Saloum:** oui] avec les langues et pourquoi tu as les fais dans quelles couleurs et, tu as les placé dans le corps à ces points?*

[00:29] **Saloum:** Okay, uhm, for the choices of colour, *bah* [an informal discourse marker in France, equivalent to *well* in English], it wasn't my… I didn't have too many problems for that, I just took the colours in a rush. (**ZR:** ok). But for French, *quand même,* I got the right ones, if we name them [the French], the blues, so I chose that for French. And, uhm… *bon*, the colours, am I explaining why I put them on the different parts of the body for each language?

Ok, uhm, pour le choix des couleurs, bah ce n'est pas ma.. C'est… je n'ai pas trop de problèmes pour ça. J'ai juste prix les couleurs en le rush. (**ZR:** ok). *Mais pour le français, quand même j'ai me suis les bons. Si on les appelle [les français], les bleus donc, j'ai pris ça pour le français. Et uhm, bon des couleurs je peux expliquer pourquoi je les ai mis sur le corps pour chaque langue ?*

//[00:51] **ZR:** Yes, yes// yes, exactly.

//Oui, oui// oui exactement.

[00:52] **Saloum:** Okay, so, for English, *bah,* English simply put, because I learnt it at school [Saloum points to the portion of English that he placed in pink, at his head on his language portrait]. [**ZR:** yes]. And uhm, it's a language, uh, that I discovered, it pleased me [I enjoyed it]. And I put it [English] at the lower level of the body because you know when you train, when you have to have abs, it takes a lot of effort. [**ZR:** Mm]. So, as a result, that's why I put it there and I said to myself that I have put in so, so, so much of effort to have a level that's not so bad in English.

*Alors pour l'anglais, bah l'anglais tout simplement parce que l'ai appris à l'école. [Saloum montre la portion d'anglais qu'il a placée en rose, à sa tête sur son portrait linguistique]. [**ZR***

*: oui]. Et uhm, c'est une langue on va dire que j'ai découvert du coup après l'avais fait du temps ça m'a plu. Et uhm, je l'ai mis là, au niveau du bas du corps parce que vous savez, quand on fait de l'entraînement, qu'on doit avoir des abdos, on fait beaucoup d'efforts. Donc, du coup, c'est pourquoi je l'ai mis là et je me suis dit que j'ai dû faire beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup d'effort [**ZR** : ok] pour aujourd'hui avoir un niveau pas mal en anglais.*

[01:27] **ZR:** Yes, so for speaking English, [**Saloum:** yes] it took a lot of effort when you were studying?

*Oui, donc c'est pour parler l'anglais, [**Saloum :** oui] ça pris beaucoup d'efforts quand vous étudiez.*

[01:35] **Saloum:** Yes, [**ZR:** okay] during school, I put in a lot of effort for that. *Bah, voila* [another informal discourse marker, similar to: *so, you see*, or *here you are* in English] it is the same for the feet, like I said the last time, that, sometimes, I use English to be able to express myself with my teammates. Uhm, *voila,* that's it for English and as for French, *bah* it's just that… It's a language today we can say that I use every day, all the time, and, uh, it allows me to do many, many, many, many things and which also has given me the willpower, *fin*, the strength. I hope I'm not going too fast! [**ZR:** no, no, it's okay]. It's okay? Okay, yes, it allowed me to learn other languages, especially… Today, if I'm here, we can say it's thanks to French. And because, on the other hand, I only understood Portuguese. And through French, well, there you go, I was able to go to many places and go to people and express myself, [**ZR:** Yes], there you go, that kind of thing.

*Oui, [**ZR** : ok] pendant l'école bah j'ai mis beaucoup d'effort pour ça. Voilà, des même pour fin, pour les pieds j'ai comme je voulais dire la fois dernière, que des fois, il m'arrive d'utiliser l'anglais pour pouvoir m'exprimer avec mes coéquipiers. Voilà pour ce qui est de l'anglais et pour le français, bah tout simplement. C'est une langue aujourd'hui on va dire que j'utilise tous les jours, tout le temps et qui m'a permis de faire beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup de choses et qui m'a aussi donné la volonté, fin, la force… J'espère que je ne vais pas trop vite ! [ZR: non, non, ça va]. Ça va ? Ok, oui, ça m'a permis de faire d'apprendre des autres langues, surtout de fin… Aujourd'hui, si j'en suis là, c'est grâce au français, on va dire. Parce que'en revanche, je ne comprenais que le portugais. Et par le biais du français, bah voilà, j'ai pu écrire, compter aller dans beaucoup d'endroits, d'aller vers les gens et m'exprimé [**ZR** : Oui], voilà, ce genre de choses.*

[02:52] **ZR:** Okay, so does it allow you to go and walk in lots of spaces in your life [pointing towards the part of French in the portrait's feet and legs].

Donc, ça te permettre, d'aller et marcher dans beaucoup des espaces dans la vie ?

[03:00] **Saloum:** That's it. In life uh- go to the people and talk to them. [**ZR:** exactly]. That's it. And uhm, well, Spanish, [**ZR:** yes] I put it there [points to the chest of the portrait] because uhm… me, it makes me think of Portuguese [**ZR:** yes]. And when I think of Portuguese, it makes me think of Angola, it's like a nostalgia. Because they're similar [**ZR**: ah, yes because the languages are kind of the same] Yes, it's a little bit the same. So well, it's like something missing, a nostalgia. I would like to go back there, to see a little bit how things are over there, yes. [**ZR:** Okay]. That's it. [**ZR:** Okay]. And with the feet [he points], it's the same thing.

Oui, c'est ça. Dans la vie uh- go to the people and talk to them*. [**ZR:** exactement]. Voila. Et uhm, bah, l'espagnol. [**ZR:** oui] L'espagnol j'ai le mis la [pointe vers la poitrine du portrait] parce que uhm… moi, ça me fait penser à portugais. [**ZR:** oui]. Et quand je pense aux Portugais, ça me fait penser à l'Angola parce que, quand même, c'est comme une nostalgie. Parce que ça ressemble [**ZR:** ah, oui parce que les langues sont un peu pareil]. Oui, un peu pareil. Du coup, bah, j'en roule tout suite ça ressemble un manque, une nostalgie. J'aimerais retourner là-bas, voir un peu comment les choses là-bas oui. [**ZR:** D'accord]. Voilà. [**ZR:** Ok]. Pour les pieds [il indique] c'est la même chose.*

[03:48]: **ZR:** Yes, this is the effort [Saloum: That's it] [ZR points to the chest]. And also, that [ZR points to the feet and to the Spanish part] allows you to use Spanish in all cases, [**Saloum**: That's it] all spaces?//

*Oui, ça, c'est l'effort. [**Saloum :** C'est ça] [**ZR** pointe à la poitrine]. Et aussi, ça [**ZR** montre les pieds et à la partie d'espagnol] permettre pour toi d'utiliser l'espagnol dans tous les cas, [**Saloum :** C'est ça] toutes les espaces ?//*

//[04:00]: **Saloum:** Also for soccer. [**ZR** Ah, yes?]. I met Brazilians who spoke Portuguese too.

*//Aussi pour le football. [**ZR** Ah oui ?] J'ai croisé des Brésiliens aussi qui parlaient le portugais.*

[03:48]: **ZR:** So, this is Spanish. It's not Portuguese. So, you didn't add Portuguese here?

Donc, ça, c'est l'Espagnol. Ce n'est pas le portugais. Donc, tu n'as pas ajouté le portugais ici ?

[04:11]: **Saloum:** No, the Portuguese, I put it for the home [the home portrait].

Non, le Portugais, je l'ai mis pour la maison.

[04:16]: **ZR:** Okay. Yes, at home. So, at school you learn Spanish languages as a class?

D'accord. Oui, à la maison. Donc, à l'école tu apprends les langues espagnoles comme un cours ?

[04:25]: **Saloum:** Yeah, I, I took it as a- as a subject yeah, that's it. [ZR: Okay, okay]. That's it. I learned over time. Well, sometimes I speak outside, but there are not many people who are interested in Spanish, so it's a little complicated.

*Oui, moi, je l'ai pris pour- comme un cours oui, c'est ça. [**ZR :** Ok, ok]. C'est ça. J'ai appris au fil du temps. Bon, il m'arrive de parler à l'extérieur, mais il y a peu de gens qui sont intéressés par l'espagnol, donc c'est un peu compliqué.*

[04:38]: **ZR:** So, English, you learned it- [**Saloum:** Yes, at school too]- since uh elementary school?

*Donc, anglais, tu as l'appris- [**Saloum :** Oui, à l'école aussi]- depuis uh école élémentaire ?*

[04:49]: **Saloum:** Yeah, that's right. In *CM2*.// [**ZR:** Okay, what's *CM2*?]// I started it in *CM2*.// It's uhm, uh... when you're doing sixth year. [**ZR:** Okay.] The last one, before you go to the college.

*Oui, c'est ça. Au CM2. //[**ZR :** Ok, c'est quoi le CM2 ?]// J'ai le commencé au CM2.// C'est uhm, uh… quand tu fais six ans. [**ZR :** Ok]. Le dernier,* before to go to the *collège.//*

//[05:00]: **ZR:** Is this the preschool? No- elementary school? [**Saloum:** Yes]. Six years is uhm, like it's not- first grade? [**Saloum:** No. Not the first grade. It's uhm- before-]. Before that [**Saloum:** Before going to college.] Okay, I understand, yes. [**Saloum:** That's it]. How do you spell that? [**Saloum:** C.M.2]. Okay, *voilà*. And French?

*Est-ce que c'est l'école maternelle ? Non- école élémentaire ?. [**Saloum :** Oui]. Six ans c'est uhm,* like it's not- first grade? [**Saloum:** No. Not the first grade. It's uhm- before-]. *Avant ça [**Saloum:** Avant aller au collège.] Ok, je comprends, oui. [**Saloum :** C'est ça]. Comment ça s'écrit ?* [**Saloum:** C.M.2]. *Ok, voilà. Et le français ?*

[05:30]: **Saloum:** *Bah* French, I learned it since I started [**ZR:** Ok] from *CI*. The first grade.

*Bah français, je l'ai appris depuis que j'ai commencé [**ZR :** Ok] de CI.* The first grade.

[05:39]: **ZR:** And not from birth?

Ah, et pas de la naissance ?

[05:42]: **Saloum:** No. [**ZR:** Ok, interesting!] No, I learned French when I came to Senegal, well I didn't understand anything. So, I learned it like that.

*Non. [**ZR :** Ok, intéressant !] Non, les Français j'ai l'appris quand je suis venu au Sénégal, bah je ne comprenais rien. Donc, je l'appris comme ça.*

[05:54]: **ZR:** And Spanish?

Ok, et espagnol ?

[05:55]: **Saloum:** Well, Spanish, if it's also in school, [**ZR:** yes], over time, I understood- the link with Portuguese. So, it became easy, and I liked it. And for me, it's part of me. It's just that I can't find someone to talk to every day. [**ZR:** Yeah. Sure.] *Voilà*, that's it.

*Bah l'espagnol, si c'est aussi à l'école, [**ZR :** oui], au fil du temps, j'avais compris que- du lien avec le Portugais. Bah, du coup, c'est devenu facile, voilà ça m'a plu. Et pour moi, ça fait partie de moi. Fin, c'est juste que je ne trouve pas quelqu'un avec qui parle tous les jours avec. [**ZR :** Oui. Bien sûr]. Voilà, C'est ça.*

[06:15]: **ZR:** Okay, cool! So that was since *collège*?

Ok, cool ! Donc, ça c'était depuis collège ?

[06:20]: **Saloum:** That's since- Spanish? [**ZR:** Spanish, yes.] Spanish, that's yes. That's right, [**ZR:** Okay] middle school.

*Ça c'est depuis- L'espagnol ? [**ZR :** l'espagnol oui]. L'espagnol, c'est oui. C'est ça, [**ZR :** Ok] collège.*

[06:26]: **ZR:** That's it. Okay, so that's it for the school portrait. And for the at home one?

Voilà. Ok, donc ça c'est pour l'école et pour la maison ?

[06:34]: **Saloum:** Well, for the house, *voilà*. So, shall we start with Arabic? [**ZR:** Yes, of course.] Well Arabic, I learned it... yeah, even before the other languages, but it was just for the Quran, [**ZR:** Yes], to pray, uhm- that's why I put it next to the heart, just for the faith, for the faith. [**ZR:** Exactly.] For the hands, well when I write, if today I'm- if I'm at this point today, like if I did too much things in my life it's because I pray and I ask to God and he gave me everything. [**ZR:** Oh okay. Like uhm, your blessings?] Yes. Blessings, exactly that's the word. And for the feet, well, that means it's thanks to Arabic too. And for the feet I was able to go to many places, in many places like uhm, for others it's quite difficult, hard for them to travel to another country, but for me, it was *alhamdullilah* [Arabic meaning "thanks to God"] simple. [**ZR:** Mm, yeah that's true]. Yes. That's it.

*Bah pour la maison, voilà. Alors, on va commencer avec l'arabe ? [**ZR :** Oui, bien sûr.]. Bah l'arabe, je l'ai appris… oui, avant même les autres langues, mais c'était juste pour le Coran, [**ZR :** Oui], pour prier, uhm- voilà pourquoi je l'ai mis l'a cote du cœur, tout simplement pour la foi,* for the faith. *[**ZR :** Exactement]. Pour les mains, bah quand j'écris, si aujourd'hui j'en suis- si j'en suis là aujourd'hui,* like if I did too much things in my life it's because I pray and I ask to God and he gave me everything. *[**ZR :** Ah d'accord.* Like uhm, your blessings?*] Oui.* Blessings, exactly that's the word. Pour les pieds fin ça veut dire c'est grâce à l'arabe aussi. Et pour les pieds j'*ai pu aller dans beaucoup d'endroits, dans beaucoup d'endroits* like uhm, for others it's quite difficult, hard for them to travel to another country, but for me, it was *alhamdullilah [L'arabe signifie "merci à Dieu"]* simple. *[**ZR :** Mm,* yeah that's true*].* Yes. Voila

[08:02]: **ZR:** Okay and it's also here for the heart [points to the chest].

*Et c'est aussi ici pour le cœur ? [**ZR** pointe à la poitrine].*

[08:06]: **Saloum:** Yes, that's it. It's for that, it's for the faith and when I'm mad sometimes, I used to listen to the Quran and after that I feel like, very good. [**ZR:** Mm, calm?]. Yes, calm.

*Oui, [**ZR :** Ok] c'est ça, c'est pour ça c'est pour la foi et* when I'm mad sometimes, I used to listen to the Quran and after that I feel like, very good*. [**ZR :** Mm, calm?] Oui,* calm.

[08:25]: **ZR:** Okay, perfect. And uhm, this is the Wolof (**ZR** points to the stomach).

*Ok, parfait. Et uhm, ça c'est le wolof (**ZR** pointe l'estomac).*

[08:30]: **Saloum:** Yes, this is Wolof. Wolof is the same. I know when I left to Senegal, uhm you can say- it was- I don't know if- I don't remember if it was hard or not. But I, as my brother, we did too much for to… How do you say *apprendre?* [**ZR:** To learn] to learn it. Right. [**ZR :** To learn Wolof] Yes. Because it is the most talked language in Senegal- the most spoken language. [**ZR:** Mm, in Senegal?]. Yes, in Senegal. [**ZR:** Yes of course]. That's it. So, it took effort to integrate myself into it//

Oui, ça c'est le wolof. Le wolof c'est pareil. Je sais quand je suis parti au Sénégal uhm… bah on va dire- it was- I don't know if- I don't remember if it was hard or not. But I, as my brother we did too much for to… *comment dire apprendre [**ZR:** to learn] to learn it. Right. [**ZR :** pour apprendre le wolof]* Yes. Because it's the most talked language- *la langue la plus parlé [**ZR :** Mm, au Sénégal ?] Oui, au Sénégal. [**ZR :** Oui, bien sûr]. C'est ça. Donc, il fallait faire un effort pour s'intégrer//*

//[09:20]: **ZR:** Okay, so which country are you from? [**Saloum:** Angola]. Angola, yes! Ok, so, you left Angola for Senegal at what age? [**Saloum:** 7 years old] 7 years old? Okay. Yes, that's really hard. [**Saloum:** Yes]. [Saloum laughs]. So, you have to change the languages at school too, because of these moves?

*//D'accord, donc tu viens duquel pays ? [**Saloum :** Angola]. Angola, oui ! Ok, donc, tu as sorti Angola pour Sénégal à quel âge ? [**Saloum :** à 7 ans.] 7 ans ? Ok. Oui, ça, c'est vraiment difficile. [**Saloum :** oui]. [Saloum rit]. Donc, tu dois changer les langues à l'école aussi, à cause de ces déplacements ?*

[09:52]: **Saloum:** That's it. You have to speak French [**ZR:** Yes] well, at the beginning. Uh… Do you understand? [ZR: Yes.] *Voilà*.

*C'est ça. Il faut que tu parles le français [**ZR :** Oui] fin, au début. Uh… Tu comprends ? [**ZR :** Ah oui]. Voilà.*

[10:00]: **ZR:** Yes, yes, because in Senegal, the language in school is French. [**Saloum:** It's French]. It's not really Wolof.

*Oui, oui, parce qu'au Sénégal, la langue à l'école est française. [**Saloum :** C'est français.] Ce n'est pas vraiment le wolof.*

[10:07]: **Saloum:** No, it's not Wolof. Because uhm it's a former French colony. [**ZR:** Yes.] That's right.

Non, ce n'est pas le wolof. Because uhm *c'est une ancienne colonie française. [**ZR :** Oui]. C'est ça.*

[10:12]: **ZR:** Okay, this is interesting! And uh I can't read this. [**Saloum:** Soninke?] Yes, Soninke.

*Ok, ça c'est intéressant ! Et uh je ne peux pas le lire. [**Saloum :** soninké ?] Oui, soninké.*

[10:20]: **Saloum:** That's Soninke. It's my- it's my maternal language- maternal language. [**ZR:** Yes]. It's like that? [**ZR:** Yes, maternal language, exactly]. Yes. Uhm… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. [**ZR:** Yeah?]. There's too much hypocrisy, me- *fin*, I don't think at all in the same way of how they think. [**ZR:** Okay.] Well, at the same time, it's very, very complicated too.

Ca c'est le soninké. It's my- *c'est ma langue maternelle*- maternal language*. [**ZR :** Oui].* It's like that ? *[**ZR :** Oui,* maternal language, exactement*].* Yes. Uhm… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family. *[**ZR :** Yeah?]. Il y a trop d''hypocrisie, moi, fin je ne pense pas du tout de la même façon de comment ils pensent. [**ZR :** d'accord]. Bon, en même temps, c'est très, très compliqué aussi.*

[11:12]: **ZR:** So, it's because of the people and how they… What's the word- how they live their lives?

Donc, c'est à cause de gens et comment ils… What's the word- how they live their lives?

[11.24]: **Saloum:** Yes, yes. That's it. There are too many things that happened, uh... that today I hate. We have to yes, to understand the language in part to do what is needed. [Saloum sighs]. [*note:* It seemed really difficult for Saloum to bring this up in the interview. He became a little more guarded as he spoke about Soninke and lowered his voice when speaking].

Yes, yes. *C'est ça. Il y a trop de choses qui se sont passées, uh… qui aujourd'hui me sont détestées. Nous devons oui, de comprendre la langue en part pour faire les besoins. [Saloum soupire]. [Note : Il semblait vraiment difficile pour Saloum d'aborder ce sujet dans l'interview. Il est devenu un peu plus réservé lorsqu'il a parlé de Soninke et a baissé la voix en parlant].*

[11:39]: **ZR:** So, you have a little bit of shame for this language?

Donc tu as un peu de honte pour ça langue ?

[11:42]: **Saloum:** That's it. Uh- not shame, but hate actually. [**ZR:** Hate?] No, not hate too, but how can I say it... [**ZR:** Uhm... It's not like discontentment?] Yes. That kind (of thing) yes. It's not a hatred in fact, it's fine I, I don't- I tell myself that maybe fine, I don't find the interest in speaking the language because, people- they are not well done. [note: now Saloum speaks very softly]. [**ZR:** Mm]. Me, I find that the people are not good and that's it. I am not motivated to speak this language.

*C'est ça. Uh- pas honte, mais d'haine en fait. [**ZR :** Haine ?] Non, pas d'haine aussi, mais comment je peux le dire… [**ZR :** Uhm… Ce n'est pas comme* discontentment?*]. Oui. Ce genre oui. Ce n'est pas une haine en fait, c'est fin je, je n'ai pas- je me dis que peut-être fin, je ne trouve pas l'intérêt de parler la langue la parce que, les gens- ils ne sont pas bien faites. [note : maintenant Saloum parle très doucement]. [**ZR :** Mm]. Moi, je trouve que les gens ne sont pas bien et voilà. Je ne suis pas motivé pour parle cette langue.*

[12:26]: **ZR:** So, it's here, why? Uh, for what reason? [**ZR** points to the neck of the portrait].

*Donc, c'est ici pourquoi ? Pour quelle raison ? [**ZR** montre au cou du portrait].*

[12:28]: **Saloum:** Well, it's just here because I'm just talking about it. [**ZR:** Oh, okay.] I talk it just to talk it. [**ZR:** Okay.] Well, it can mean that I don't like my family. I like them. But sometimes- they did too much things that- they stick in my head so…

*Bah, c'est ici tout simplement parce je le parler juste pour le parler en fait. [**ZR :** Ah, ok.] Voila. Je le parler juste pour le parler. [**ZR :** Ok]. Fin, ça peut dire que je n'aime pas ma famille.* I like them. But sometimes- they did too much things that- *ça m'est resté à la tête du coup alors...*

[12:51]: **ZR:** All right. And that's French? [**ZR** points to the head] [**Saloum:** No, that's Portuguese]. Portuguese.

*D'accord. Et, ça c'est le français ? [**ZR** Point vers la tête] [**Saloum :** Non, c'est le portugais]. Portugais.*

[12:55]: **Saloum:** That's it. Well, Portuguese, I grew up with. [**ZR:** Yes.] So, I grew up with it. And uhm, it's thanks to the Portuguese too- you could say that thanks to the Portuguese, maybe if I wouldn't have been born in Angola, I wouldn't have spoken all these languages here. I wouldn't have spoken Portuguese or Spanish. Me, I think that people who were born outside the country, they don't have much ease in understanding other languages, well in comparison to for example, those who were born in Senegal. [**ZR:** Yes]. That's it. So, me - this is the basis of today, if I speak all these languages here.

*Voila. Bah, le portugais, j'ai grandi avec. [**ZR :** Oui]. Voilà, j'ai grandi avec. Et uhm, voilà grâce aux Portugais aussi- on peut dire que grâce aux Portugais, peut-être que si je ne serai pas né en Angola, je n'aurai pas parlé toutes ces langues-là. Je n'aurai pas parlé le portugais ni l'espagnol. Moi, je trouve que les gens qui sont un peu nés à l'extérieur, ils ont peu une facilité à comprendre, à comprendre les autres langues, fin par rapport par exemple, à ceux qui sont né au Sénégal. [**ZR :** Oui]. Voila. Donc, moi- c'est la base d'aujourd'hui, si je parle toutes ces langues-là.*

[13:48]: **ZR:** Because, in Angola, Portuguese is the language of colonisation, right?

C'est parce qu'en Angola, le Portugais est la langue de colonisation, oui ?

[13:54]: **Saloum:** Yes, that's right. [**ZR:** Yes.] And that's all I was speaking. I didn't even speak Soninke. No, all that, I only spoke Portuguese, that's it.

*Oui, c'est ça. [**ZR :** Oui]. Et c'est tous ce que je parlais. Je ne parlais même pas soninké. Non, tout ça, je parlais que le portugais, voilà.*

[14:05]: **ZR:** Okay, so in Angola, for schools or for administrative things, you use or you use Portuguese or Soninke?

Ok, donc, en Angola, pour les écoles ou pour les choses administratives, tu utilises ou vous utilisez le portugais ou soninké ?

[14:16]: **Saloum:** It was the port- Ah, well, I didn't explain everything. It's Portuguese. In Angola, it's Portuguese.

C'était le port- Ah ! Bon, je n'ai pas expliqué tout. Ça fait le portugais. En Angola, c'est le portugais.

[14:23]: **ZR:** So, for administrative things, with an office, banks, things like that. [**Saloum:** yes, Portuguese]. Okay, interesting.

*Donc, pour les choses administratives, avec un bureau, les banques, des choses comme ça. [**Saloum :** oui, portugais]. Ok, intéressant.*

[14:32]: **Saloum:** In fact, now, for all that Wolof, Soninke, all that is in Senegal. [**ZR:** Okay]. That's because in Senegal, there are several cultures. [**ZR:** Yes]. Several languages, so there you go. So, Soninke is for kindergarten. Wolof is uh they use Wolof and French they alternate.

*En fait, maintenant, pour tous ce qui wolof, soninké, tous ça c'est au Sénégal. [**ZR :** Ok]. Voilà, c'est parce qu'en fait au Sénégal, il y a plusieurs cultures. [**ZR :** Oui]. Plusieurs langues, donc voilà. Du coup, soninké c'est pour maternelle. Le wolof c'est uh ils utilisent le wolof et le français ils alternent.*

[14:58]: **ZR:** Yes? In Senegal? [**Saloum:** Yes, that's it]. Okay, okay, that's really interesting. Thank you. [**Saloum:** Thank you very much].

*Oui ? Au Sénégal ? [**Saloum :** Oui, c'est ça]. D'accord, ok, c'est vraiment intéressant. Merci. [**Saloum :** Merci beaucoup.]*

Appendix 1d)

ZR's one-on-one open interview questions

In the first session the learners will be writing down some notes on their language portrait.

Instruction: *Why did you decide to make your language portrait look like that? Can you tell me what languages you speak and tell me a little bit about how you feel about them? Include why you used the colour to represent that language and why you placed it on a particular body part.*

Interview Questions

**Please note that the order of the below questions could change in the interviews as they are a guideline and the questions will be based around the information that the participants give me. These questions might also be translated into French, or follow a code switching between English and French.*

One-on-one, open interviews questions about the school portraits:

- Can you tell me more about the languages that you speak and use?
- Where did you learn these languages / who did you learn these languages from?
- What languages do you use at school?
- What languages would you like to like to speak at school?
- Can you introduce yourself to me using your language portrait?
- Why did you choose to represent your languages like this in your language portrait?
- What is the significance of the colours you used?
- How do you feel about each language that you use?
- What languages do you use with your friends?
- When you do homework and assignments, what language do you think in and what language are you expected to write in?
- Do you feel like your academic performance is restricted because of language?
    - Do you ever not understand something your teacher says?
    - Which class is this in?

One-on-one, open interviews questions about the family portraits:

- What languages do you use at home?
- Do your parents or siblings use any other languages that are different to the ones you use?
- Do you feel different about the languages that you use at home vs the languages that you use at school?
- Do you feel like you're a different person at home vs at school?
- Can you introduce yourself to me using your home language portrait?
- Why did you choose to represent your languages like this in your language portrait?
- What is the significance of the colours you used?
- What language do you use to speak to your friends?
- How do your parents feel about all the languages that you use?
- How did your parents react to your home language portrait?
- How did your parents react to your school language portrait?
- Do you feel ashamed to use any of the languages that you know?

Appendix 1e)

ZR's preparation for group session on 9 April 2021. Examples of questions that could be asked as well as a breakdown of session's schedule. The questions were open and were changed as necessary.

A note for instructions before the session begins:

- Check that all participants can see the chat function and know how to use it
- Ask for permission to record the call

Stage 1

Firstly, I would like everyone to present their language portraits to us briefly. It should take each of you about 3 - 4 minutes for both of them. I want you to just tell us which languages you speak or which languages surround you at school and at home. Then I'll ask you 2 - 3 questions each about your portraits and we'll move onto the next activity. While everyone is presenting, I would like you to write in the chat something about the person speaking – perhaps something you didn't know before, something unique about their languages or their culture. Is that okay for everyone?

Then run through each person 1 by 1.

Questions for each person:

4. Which is the most important language that you use in your everyday life?
    a. Why?
5. What do think is the most unique thing about your linguistic portraits?
6. After doing the language portraits, how do you feel about the languages you use now? Do you feel any differently about them?

Stage 2

Now you can choose to speak out loud by unmuting your microphones, or you can type answers in the chat box. I would like you all to try and answer these questions if you can.

1. Did any of you speak to your parents about your linguistic portraits or about the languages that you use?

    a. If yes, how did they feel about this activity / What did they think?
    b. If no, why not?
2. Do you think the way that you use languages at home vs at school is very different?
    a. How?
    b. Do you code-switch in class?
    c. Do you code-switch at home?
    d. Which languages do you use interchangeably?
3. Do you feel like one or more of the languages you use makes it easier for you to make friends?
4. Does one of the languages you use make it easier for you to do better at school?
5. Does one of the languages you use make it more difficult to make friends or do well at school?
6. Do you as a group feel that the languages that you learn or use at school can or should change?
7. Have you ever been stereotyped because of where you come from or the languages that you use?
    a. How? In what way?
    b. Where did this happen?
    c. How did this make you feel?
8. After hearing from your camarades about their languages and identity, does that make you feel differently about those languages?
9. Do you feel any differently towards your friends now?
10. Do you think that the languages people use define them?
11. Finally, has doing this exercise and talking about it changed the way you feel about language / identity / culture / anything else?

Appendix 1f

Information letter sent to school and teachers

The linguistic repertoires and histories of a group of B.T.S students in a rural school in France. What do they reveal about the dominance of the French language and the pressures of monolingualism?

I, Zaheera Rajab, am an assistant English teacher at Jean Moulin, but I am also a student working towards a Masters of Education degree at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. I would like to ask your permission to carry out research on language practices, linguistic repertoires and histories amongst a group of students at your school, in a BTS class. My research aims to explore the linguistic repertoires of these learners through the use of language portraits so that I can better understand the histories and language ideologies of the learners.

France is an interesting country when it comes to language in education policy and with such a diverse group of students who attend this school, I am certain that this research will bring forth pertinent results that will be able to fill a gap in the current literature available on this topic. This is particularly true with regards to migrant learners who move to French schools.

If my request is approved, I would like to collect my data during March and April 2021. The date collection will be in the form of four classroom sessions where the learners will create their language portraits, talk about them and then go on to create another language portrait of themselves and their family practices in their homes. The exact dates depend on when the BTS classes return from their internships. The learners' sessions will be audio recorded for transcription purposes, but all their names, the name of the school as well as any other sensitive, personal information will be anonymized and remain confidential. It is also important to mention that participation is voluntary. You may withdraw permission for conducting the research at any time.

If you agree to the request, I kindly ask you to please fill in the slip below to indicate your consent for the research and return it to me. You are welcome to ask any questions of me regarding the research by telephone or through email: +33 60 444 84 65 and zrajab001@gmail.com. You can also contact the supervisor of this research at the University of Cape Town. She is Associate Professor Catherine Kell, at catherine.kell@uct.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Zaheera Rajab

Candidate for Masters in Education, specializing in Applied Language and Literacy Studies

Example consent forms sent to school and teachers

Ms. Rajab's Master's research on: Linguistic Repertoires in a BTS classroom in France.

Consent Form for principal

I, _____, in my power as principal of High School _____, hereby give Zaheera Rajab, assistant English teacher at Jean Moulin for 2020 – 2021 permission to conduct her research at the high school during the period March to April 2021. I agree to the fact that the teacher of the class will be asked for their consent for the project to be conducted with their BTS classes, as well as the fact that the students will be asked for their consent in contributing to this project. I am aware that Ms. Rajab in her duty as a student researcher will keep the names and any personal information about the school, teachers' names and the students confidential. I give consent to the fact that Ms. Rajab will need to use some school property, such as a classroom and computer equipment to conduct her research and will liaise this with the teacher in charge. I give consent that Ms. Rajab can interview and perform activities with the BTS students during class time as long as they give her their personal consent.

Name: (Print)

(Signature)

(Date)

Ms. Rajab's Master's research on: Linguistic Repertoires in a BTS classroom in France.

Consent Form

I, _____, in my power as a teacher of BTS at High School Jean Moulin, hereby give Zaheera Rajab, assistant English teacher at Jean Moulin for 2020 – 2021 permission to conduct her research at the high school during the period March to April 2021. I agree to the fact that the principal of the school will be asked for their consent for the project to be conducted at school, as well as the fact that the students will be asked for their consent in contributing to this project. I am aware that Ms. Rajab in her duty as a student researcher will keep the names and any personal information about the school, teachers' names and the students confidential. I give consent to the fact that Ms. Rajab will need to use some school property, such as a classroom and computer equipment to conduct her research and will liaise this with myself when necessary. I give consent that Ms. Rajab can interview and perform activities with the BTS students during class time as long as they give her their personal consent.

Name: (Print)

(Signature)

(Date)

Appendix 1g

Example information letter sent to participants

Zaheera Rajab

Candidate Masters of Education 2021

12 bis Rue des Epinettes, Thouars, 79100, France

rjbzah001@myuct.ac.za

+33 60 444 8465

Dear student,

Request for permission to conduct research with you as a participant at lycée Jean Moulin

The linguistic repertoires and histories of a group of B.T.S students in a rural school in France. What do they reveal about the dominance of the French language and the pressures of monolingualism?

I, Zaheera Rajab, am an assistant English teacher at Jean Moulin, but I am also a student working towards a Masters of Education degree at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. I would like to ask your permission to be one of my participants in my study on language practices, linguistic repertoires and histories. My research aims to explore the linguistic repertoires of the BTS learners through the use of language portraits so that I can better understand the histories and language ideologies of the learners.

France is an interesting country when it comes to language in education policy and with such a diverse group of students who attend this school, I am certain that this research will bring forth pertinent results that will be able to fill a gap in the current literature available on this topic. This is particularly true with regards to migrant learners who move to French schools.

If my request is approved, I would like to collect my data during March and April 2021. The date collection will be in the form of four classroom sessions where the learners will create their language portraits, talk about them and then go on to create another language portrait of themselves and their family practices in their homes. Each step in the research process will be explained thoroughly to each student who agrees to participate in the study. The exact dates of these sessions depend on when the BTS classes return from their internships. The learners' sessions will be audio recorded for transcription purposes, but all their names, the name of the school as well as any other sensitive, personal information will be anonymized and remain confidential. It is also important to mention that participation is voluntary. You may withdraw permission for conducting the research with you as a participant at any time.

If you agree to the request, I kindly ask you to please fill in the slip below to indicate your consent for the research and return it to me. You are welcome to ask any questions of me regarding the research by telephone or through email: +33 60 444 84 65 and **zrajab001@gmail.com**. You can also contact the supervisor of this research at the University of Cape Town. She is Associate Professor Catherine Kell, at catherine.kell@uct.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Zaheera Rajab

Candidate for Masters in Education, specializing in Applied Language and Literacy Studies

Example consent forms sent to participants

Linguistic Repertoires in a BTS classroom in France.

Consent Form for students, participants of study

Name: (Print)

(Signature)

(Date)

I consent to	YES	NO
My linguistic portrait and all texts which accompany it being analysed for this research		
Being audio-recorded throughout the four sessions for the linguistic portrait and explanations thereof		
Being observed in the sessions and having notes taken of the sessions		

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that my confidentiality and all personal information will be maintained. My personal information will not be shared with anyone outside the sessions that I participate in, other than for writing about in the research project. All my personal details, like my name and anything else about me, will be anonymized so that I cannot be identified. If I feel uncomfortable sharing certain information, I am able to bring this up with Ms. Rajab freely. I can also withdraw my participation at any time.

Appendix 2a

A table listing the participants' reflections on the language portrait exercise. What did the exercise reveal to them?

Name	The most unique thing about their linguistic repertoire (self-reflection)	Did the activity change anything for them? (self-reflection)
Agathe	"…I think it's having an Arab background… and to be able to know other cultures"[135]	"Uh no, it didn't change anything… languages, it's part of my daily life"[136]
Liliane	"I would say *LSF* or Esperanto, but rather *LSF*, because that's what I know more than Esperanto."[137]	"Well, I wouldn't say different. But in any case, I feel like I've opened my eyes more to my passion for languages and the fact that there are… quite a few around me… I don't want to stop learning languages, on the contrary."[138]
Emmanuel	Roma / *Gitan*[139]	"…it allowed me to see that… there are many languages around us. And well, it's a richness, fin it's a great richness actually."[140]
Pauline	N/A	N/A
Nathalie	"The old languages, I would say, because there are not a lot of people that they practice and there are not a lot of people that like them. [Nathalie laughs]"[141]	"Yes, yes, I didn't think I had so many languages around me and that I finally, I liked languages a lot."[142]
Jules	"Well, I would say sports, uh [ZR: Yes? sports]. Because travelling through sports... it allowed me to diversify my culture a bit."[143]	"Mmm, no, because the way I put the colours bah, it's kind of the way I use fin, bah the languages I speak actually… You see there are two dominant colours which are blue and red… I did a purposeful, colouring, actually, well in fact, two parts… To show that... well these two colours are complementary to

[135] […je pense que *c'est le fait d'avoir des origines arabes. C'est- Je trouve ça bien d'avoir des origines et uh- de pouvoir connaître d'autres cultures*]
[136] [*Uh, non ça n'a rien changé. Parce que pour moi, les langues, ça fait partie de mon quotidien*]
[137] [*Bah du coup, je dirais la LCF ou l'espéranto, mais plutôt la LSF, parce que c'est ce que je maîtrise quand même plus que l'espéranto.*]

[138] [*Bah, je dirais pas différente. Mais dans tout cas, je trouve que j'ai l'impression d'avoir plus ouvert les yeux sur ma passion pour les langues et le fait qu'il y en a quand même pas mal, pas mal autour de moi [ZR : Oui] et bah je n'ai pas- je n'ai pas envie d'arrêter d'apprendre les langues, au contraire.*]
[139] [*le gitan*]
[140] [*…ça m'a permis de voir que, en fait, il y a plein de langues, en fait, qui nous entourent. Et bah c'est une richesse, fin c'est une grande richesse quand même.*]
[141] [*Les anciennes langues, je dirais, parce qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup de gens qu'ils pratiquent et il n'y a pas beaucoup de gens qui les aiment. [Nathalie rit]*]
[142] [*Oui, oui, je ne pensais pas que j'avais autant langue qui m'entouraient et que finalement, les langues, ça me plaît bien.*]
[143] [*Bah je dirais du coup le sport, eh ? [ZR : Oui ? Le sport]. Parce que en voyageant grâce au sport… ça m'a permis de diversifier un peu ma culture.*]

		me in my life. So, red and blue… And then the green… to show that English is still part of my personal point of view"[144]
Saloum	"Well, I'll say the privilege already of having- well, of being able to speak all these languages. To understand a little bit. Well, I think that's the most special thing for me."[145]	"Uh yes? Yes, yes, well, it depends. Yes, yes, it depends on the language that, that, that I speak, in fact. It differs a little, actually."[146]
Façoil	"The most unique to me, I said- Actually, it's kind of all the same. It's- people would say French and my native language."[147]	"Not really"[148]
Takita	"Ah well, it's Dioula, so [ZR: Yes] that well it's rare. Fin, we are a lot, but it's not everywhere… Yes, yes, each ethnic group, family, we'll say to its own language and culture - end its language."[149]	"Ah, well, I tell myself that it would be good if I- if I could speak better- better in Dioula especially. What I hope, in fact, is that the families will pass it on, and so it would be a shame [ZR: Yes] if I didn't know what I was saying."[150]
Maëlys	*"To have family all over the world… To travel and learn new languages."*[151]	"Well no, because for me languages have always been important , so it hasn't really changed."[152]
Assmina	"Well, the most unique thing in my portraits is more Shimaoré and Spanish. Because I really like Spanish and everything, so it's still a language that I really appreciate. So- and Shimaoré, which is my mother tongue in fact."[153]	"I didn't know that I liked Spanish so much. But with the portrait, I realize that I really like Spanish. [ZR: Okay.] And that I have a language - my mother tongue, it's very rich, so."[154]

[144] [*Mmm, non, parce que la manière dont j'ai mis les couleurs bah, c'est un peu la manière dont j'utilise fin, bah les langues que je parle en fait… On voit il y a deux couleurs dominantes qui sont le bleu et le rouge… j'ai fait un exprès, en fait, de colorier, bah du coup deux parties… Pour montrer que… bah ces deux couleurs me sont complémentaires dans ma vie. Donc, le rouge et le bleu… Et bah le vert… pour montrer qu'il fait quand même partie de- que montrer que l'anglais, il fait quand même partie de mon point de vue personnel.*]

[145] [*Bah, je vais dire le privilège déjà d'avoir- fin, de pouvoir parler toutes ces langues quoi. Fin, de comprendre un peu. Bah, voilà je pense que c'est pour moi, c'est le truc le plus spécial oui.*]

[146] [*Uh oui ? Oui, oui, fin, ça dépend. Oui, oui, ça dépend de la langue que, que, que je parle, en fait. Voilà, c'est un peu différé en fait.*]

[147] [*La plus unique pour moi, j'ai dit- En fait, c'est un peu kif-kif. C'est- gens diraient le français et ma langue natale.*]

[148] [*pas vraiment*]

[149] [*Ah bah, c'est dioula, du coup, [ZR : Oui] que bah c'est rare quand il y en a beaucoup, mais il y en a pas partout… Oui, oui, chaque ethnie, famille, on va dire à sa propre langue et à sa culture- fin sa langue.*]

[150] [*Ah, bah, je me dis que ce serait bien si je- si j'arrivais à mieux- mieux parler en dioula surtout. Ce que bah j'espère, en fait, c'est les familles qui transmettent ça et du coup, bah ce serait dommage [ZR : Oui] que je ne savais pas ce que je dis.*]

[151] [*D'avoir de la famille un peu partout dans le monde… De voyager du coup et d'apprendre de nouvelles langues.*]

[152] [*Bah non, parce qu'on soit pour moi les langues, ça a toujours été important pour moi, donc ça n'a pas réellement changé.*]

[153] *[Bah la chose la plus unique dans mes portraits c'est plus le shimaoré et l'espagnol, du coup. Parce que j'aime vraiment l'espagnol et tout bah, voilà ça reste une langue que j'apprécie vraiment. Donc- et le shimaoré, qui est ma langue maternelle du coup.]*

Appendix 2b

A table listing the participants' reflections on the language portrait exercise. What did the exercise reveal to them about their peers?

Names	The comment on their portraits from the group
Agathe	"For Agathe: speaks Spanish"[155] "Agathe the Japanese ahahaha"[156] "Agathe Arabic"[157] "Agathe and the Arabic a bit shocking"[158]
Liliane	"I knew a little bit about everything, except sign language. You never told us."[159]

[154] *[Ben, je ne savais pas que j'aimais autant l'espagnol, du coup. Mais avec le portrait, bah je me rends compte que j'apprécie vraiment l'espagnol quoi. [ZR : Ok]. Et que j'ai une langue- ma langue maternelle, elle est très riche, du coup.]*

[155] [*Pour Agathe : parle l'espagnol*]

[156] [*Agathe le japonais ahahahaha*]

[157] [*Agathe l'arabe*]

[158] [*Agathe et l'arabe un peu choquer*]

[159] [*Je savais un peu de tout, sauf la langue des signes. Tu ne nous l'a jamais dit.*]

Emmanuel	"Unique Gitan for Emmanuel"[160] "Arabic for Emmanuel" (this exact comment was made twice by two participants)[161] "I didn't know that Emmanuel had links with the Arabic language"[162] "Emmanuel: I didn't know where he grew up"[163]
Nathalie	"for Nathalie: understanding *patois* which seems to me accessible to few people"[164]
Jules	"For Jules: English is close to his favourite sport which is basketball. And listens to a lot of French and Creole music"[165] "Jules Creole I did not think"[166] "Jules: To be able to speak 2 languages is great"[167] "a heart of quality / a good heart"[168]
Façoil	"He understands Malgache words"[169] "I did not know anything about Facoil"[170] "Facoil: That he understands a little Malagasy"[171]
Takita	"For Takita I learned that she speaks the same language as my aunt"[172]

[160] [*unique gitan pour Emmanuel*]

[161] [*arabe pour Emmanuel*]
[162] [*Je ne savais pas d'Emmanuel avait des "liens" avec la langue arabe*]

[163] [*Emmanuel: Je ne savais pas où il avait grandit*]
[164] [*pour Nathalie : compredn (comprend) le patois qui me semble accessible à peu de personnes*]
[165] [Pour Jules: l'anglais se rapproche à son sport fétiche qui est le basquet. Et écoute beaucoup de musique Français et créole]

[166] [*Jules créole je pensais pas*]

[167] [*Jules: De pouvoir parler 2 langues courrament c'st top*]

[168] [*un coeur de qualité*]
[169] [*Pour Facoil : ils comprends des mots Malgaches*]

[170] [*Je ne savais rien de Facoil*]

[171] [*Facoil: Qu'il comprend un peu le malgache*]
[172] [*Pour Takita j'ai appris qu'elle parle la même langue que ma tante*]

Maëlys	"I didn't know anything about Maëlys, now I know that she understands Slovak. and other languages."[173] "for Maëlys: the chance to have family in Ecuador and to speak with them in Spanish"[174] "Maëlys Spanish too good (she speaks Spanish really well)"[175]
Assmina	"Assmina I did not know about the Malagasy"[176] "Assmina the Malagasy"[177] "Assmina I did not know she spoke Latin"[178]
Saloum	No comments made for Saloum
Pauline	Not present for group interview

[173] [*Je savais rien sur Maëlys maintenant je sais qu'elle comprend le Slovaque. et d'autre langue*]

[174] [*pour Maëlys: la chance d'avoir de la famille en Equateur et de pouvoir parler avec eux en espagnole*]

[175] [*Maëlys espagnol trop bien*]

[176] [*Assmina je savais pas pour le malgache*]

[177] [*Assmina le malgach (malgache)*]

[178] [*Assmina je savais pas qu'elle parler le latin*]

Appendix 2c

As part of the bracketing process, I wrote down my biases regarding the research and any hypotheses I held about the data prior to analysing it.

As literature on France describes the country as a monolingual nation and likely due to my background growing up in a post-apartheid South Africa, where race is tied to linguistic resources due to the country's colonial history (Marjorie 2010; McKinney 2014, 2017), I had the impression that native participants would have only certain European languages in their repertoires, like French, English, Spanish, German, and Italian (Costa and Lambert 2009; France 1958). This is particularly because of the monolingual bias France has which is present in its schools (Nikolovski 2018; Caporal-Ebersold and Young 2016), as well as biases France holds against minority languages, like regional French languages and languages from the overseas departments (Maklakova et al. 2017). I assumed that it would be very clear from the portraits themselves which participants were native participants, and which were migrant participants due to this distinction between their languages. However, upon performing this research it is clear that France as a nation is a lot more complex than I had assumed and identities are not essentialised as literature and the media might portray them (Eide 2010; Preece 2020; Baxter 2020). Even more rural parts of France like where this research was conducted are more culturally and linguistically diverse due to migration and intercultural marriages over generations (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2017: 59). This made the language portraits of the participants very diverse and when looking at both the native and the migrant participants together, it is difficult to say with certainty whom among them is native and who is not.

I had imagined that the native participants would be mostly monolingual. Instead, regional French languages, Latin, Esperanto, Japanese and Gitanes [*gitan*] amongst others were present in their linguistic repertoires. Additionally, when looking at the 11 participants' language portraits side by side, it is impossible to tell exactly who the native participants are and who the migrant participants are. I assumed there would be a clear distinction between the two groups as the native participants would possibly rely more on French resources,

whereas the migrant participants would have more linguistic diversity due to the fact that their language trajectories spanned different geographical linguistic communities (Gumperz 1961; Gumperz 1964). All the participants share school subject languages (English and Spanish), and there is an obvious reliance on French as they live in France. However, the sheer number of languages besides French, present in both native and migrant participants' repertoires demonstrate a kind of equivalent linguistic diversity. The migrant participants' repertoires also challenged my preconceptions as they mentioned how the language in education policies differ between France and its overseas departments and territories, despite being part of France and tied to its ideology (Maklakova et al. 2017).

Appendix 3a

A table listing the participants' reflections on the language portrait exercise. What languages were most important to them, which languages were imperative to learn in school and what was the most unique thing about their linguistic repertoire or language portrait.

	The most important language to them	The most unique thing about their linguistic repertoire or portrait	Imperative languages to learn
Agathe	English – she wants to be fluent	"having an Arab background… and to be able to know other cultures"	English, French, Spanish
Liliane	English - it's universal and to travel	French Sign Language and Esperanto	English
Emmanuel	French for every day *gitan* for family	Gypsy	N/A
Pauline	Most used – French,	N/A	English - for a job
Nathalie	French – "it allows me to communicate" Patois – "it's… getting lost"	"The old languages"	French - school success English - important Not the old languages" the dialect is going away soon… very few people write it, it's not at work"
Jules	French – "I use a lot in France and also at home for- in Guadeloupe… Even though my native language is Creole"	"Traveling through sports… allowed me to diversify my culture"	English - he enjoys it
Saloum	Arabic - prayer	"the privilege of being able to speak all these languages"	English - universal and to travel French - school success
Façoil	French – the easiest language to be understood. "I can't talk to people who don't speak my native language"	"French and my native language"	N/A
Takita	English and Dioula – part of her and her culture	Dioula – "it's rare"	English
Maëlys	Spanish – mother tongue	"to have family all over the world"	N/A
Assmina	Shimaoré – mother tongue, family	Shimaoré, Spanish	English

Appendix 3b

Part of the process of data analysis was understanding how the participants constructed and performed their linguistic repertoires to me and to their peers. This is the analysis of that construction and performance which contributed in how the data chapter themes were developed.

Constructing and Performing the Linguistic Repertoire through the interviews

The participants further deconstructed their language use, their identities, and past experiences in different spaces after having made the language portraits as they had individual interviews with me where they constructed this identity. In this individual interview, the participants had full agency to withhold or freely give as much or as little information about their personal histories as they wished. In the group interview, the participants also constructed themselves for the peers who did not know them very well. Busch (2021: 201) states that during an autobiographical study such as this, participants are performing their identities and thus they construct their identities, represent them and explore them within the contexts the study provides.

This construction and performance are evident in the way in which the participants use language to explain and present themselves and their ideas. When analysing the discourse of the participants in both the individual and the group interviews, there are several different lexical, phonological, and grammatical components which are significant. Firstly, repetition is important because it highlights when a participant is trying to emphasise their point as well as when they are unsure of how to comfortably convey an idea. For example, when Assmina talks about English she repeats herself often to really put emphasis on how much she struggles with the language. She says (individual interview), "And English, English. So there, English, me and English, [**ZR** laughs]. It can't stick together, we can't stick together. [**Assmina** claps her hands]. I put on my fingertips because it can't stick, me and English, it can't. I don't know, it can't. [**ZR:** Okay] And for me it's really, really complicated, really, but really complicated. [**ZR:** Yes?] It's really complicated actually"[179]. Assmina uses repetition,

[179] [*Et l'anglais, l'anglais. Alors là, l'anglais, moi et l'anglais, [**ZR** rit]. Ça ne peut pas coller ensemble, on ne peut pas coller ensemble. [**Assmina** frappe dans ses mains]. J'ai mis sur le bout des doigts parce que ça ne peut pas coller, moi et l'anglais, ça ne peut pas. Je ne sais*

changes her intonation of her words and uses the sound of her clapping and the gesture of clapping to put across the fact that there is nothing she feels she can do to "stick" to English. Her clapping hands emphasise the bodily experience of not being able to speak English and her "body image" of feeling helpless and possibly inferior (Busch 2021).

Repetition was also used in other ways by the participants. They repeated certain words or phrases to agree with a speaker and to mirror or echo the speaker's words to show that they have been listening attentively (Johnstone 2002: 144). For example, Assmina and Agathe mirror each other when they answer the researcher's question in the group interview, "Well, it's kind of the same, too [**Agathe**: No, I think it's the same]"[180]. Here the two participants even use the same wording *« c'est pareil »* to show that they are in agreement.

Secondly, tone is an important part of speech as it gives away a speaker's intentions behind their words. Even if a speaker says one thing, it can index a completely different subject or meaning. Assmina's tone in the example about her struggles for English directly indexed that she felt frustrated and stuck in her English language journey. Another example is when Liliane responds to Assmina's anecdote about her interaction with an older woman by replying (group interview), "You [Assmina] were aggressive whereas she [older woman] was not at all", she said so sarcastically. As she said this sarcastically it was understood that Liliane did not call Assmina aggressive, but instead called the older woman aggressive. If Liliane had said this with a normal tone, she would have been very differently understood. Thus, due to her tone, all of the participants understood what she was indexing (Blommaert 2007).

Another good example is Saloum's tone which changed considerably when he talked about his language portrait in both the individual and group interviews with regards to Soninke. It became clear that Saloum found it difficult to speak about his history with the language and thus he spoke softly, mumbled and sighed, whereas throughout the other parts of the interviews, he spoke louder and laughed. When Saloum described Soninke and his relationship with the people who speak it and how it affected the way in which he uses the

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*pas, ça ne peut pas. [**ZR :** Ok] Et pour moi c'est vraiment, vraiment compliqué, vraiment, mais vraiment compliqué. [**ZR :** Oui ?]. C'est vraiment compliqué en fait.*]

[180] [*Bah c'est un peu pareil en plus, [**Agathe :** Non, c'est pareil je pense]*]

language, he became quite emotional, he repeated himself and stuttered. His intonation also changed to one which was more subdued. As the interview was happening at the back of a classroom where all the other participants were as well, he was speaking very softly when he spoke about Soninke which shows that he did not want his peers to hear everything that he was saying and possibly that he felt ashamed by his feelings, particularly about his heritage language, his family and home nation.

"That's Soninke. It's my- it's my maternal language… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family… I don't think at all in the same way of how they think. [**ZR**: Okay.] Well, at the same time, it's very, very complicated too… There are too many things that happened, uh... that today I hate. We have to yes, to understand the language in part to do what is needed. [Saloum sighs]"[181].

Saloum's particular diction alluded to his feelings and ideologies towards Soninke and the people who speak the language. He used the pronouns "me" and "them" frequently to create a binary between himself and his family who speak Soninke: "How they think, how they see life, how they act", therefore showing that he is not one of "them". This could be linked to how he felt he has moved on from Angola, into new spaces (both Senegal and France). He mentioned how thankful he is for French because it has allowed him to do so many things whereas Soninke is something he does not identify with anymore. His choice of words here shows that as a child migrant, he did not have much of a say in his migration as the decision to leave was in the hands of his parents or other family members.

Thirdly, pauses in speech are also very important in that they give away when a participant is uncomfortable or does not know how to answer the question. It can also be seen when a

[181] [*Ca c'est le soninké.* It's my- *c'est ma langue maternelle*- maternal language*. [**ZR :** Oui].* It's like that ? *[**ZR :** Oui,* maternal language, exactement*].* Yes. Uhm… how can I say that? I don't know but at the moment, but if only it was me, I wish I did not speak this language. Because uhm… I don't know, I don't like too much… uhm how people- how they think, how they see life, how they act with their family… *je ne pense pas du tout de la même façon de comment ils pensent. [**ZR :** d'accord]. Bon, en même temps, c'est très, très compliqué aussi…. Il y a trop de choses qui se sont passées, uh… qui aujourd'hui me sont détestées. Nous devons oui, de comprendre la langue en part pour faire les besoins. [Saloum soupire]*].

participant does not know what else to say and ends their sentences with "so…". Johnstone (2002: 58 - 59) states that silence or the absence of discourse can be very telling with regards to power, social hierarchy and the appropriate norms for a particular space. For example, when the researcher had a short break in the group session, the participants who remained online began having a discussion amongst themselves. Those who gave themselves agency to talk in a group of peers were the participants who led the group conversation throughout the discussion section of the interview. This could be because they were seen as the leaders of the group, as more comfortable in the school setting, or as more confident with something to say. Most of the conversation at this point though, was between Agathe and Liliane who are both native participants. From their conversation, they seemed very comfortable with the group. For example, Agathe says, "Well, all in all, we had already talked about it, [**Liliane:** Yes] so I knew a little bit about everything, except sign language. You never told us"[182]. This shows that Agathe knows the group intimately and has had conversations with her peers as well as the fact that she groups them all together through using the word "us".

Finally, various discourse markers were used by the participants which could show where the participants were from, how they mirrored other participants and revealed their language ideologies showing what they understand as "appropriate classroom talk". These could be used to include or exclude certain speakers from spaces (Busch and Spitzmüller 2021). For example, most of the participants, both native and migrants, used the word *voila* frequently to make their point and finish their sentences. This is a standard practice in French and when the language is taught, or borrowed into other languages like English, *voilà* is a term that is widely used. *Bah* [well] and *genre* [like or sort of], informal terms, were also used by the participants very often (The Local FR 2019b, 2019a). What was interesting was that Assmina started using *genre* first and then the other participants followed her lead and regarded it as appropriate to use while they were speaking. Both *bah* and *genre* are distinctly French (from France) linguistic features that most of the participants used as well. Assmina used a particular discourse marker, *itou* which means "also". What is interesting is that Assmina was the only participant who used this discourse marker which could mean

[182] [*Bah en somme, on avait déjà à peu près tous discuté, [**Liliane** : Oui] donc je savais un peu de tout, sauf la langue des signes. Tu ne nous l'a jamais dit*]

that it is something that people in her family say, or that it is something that comes from Mahore translanguaging practices.

Performing for Each Other

This thesis research not only allowed the participants to draw their language portraits and explain them orally to the researcher, but they were also given the task to present their language portraits to their peers as well as, perhaps, aspects of themselves that their peers did not know about before this exercise. To ascertain if their peers had known about such information, the participants were asked to share these new discoveries by text through the group chat during the group discussion. As I had previously completed the individual interview with each of the participants before conducting the group interview, I knew what the participants each presented for their language portraits when the only audience was myself. As the participants were presenting to their peers who knew them in a school context and perhaps knew them as a friend, it was interesting to see how they performed the same narrative for each other during the group interview. Sometimes the participants changed or omitted information that they had previously shared in the individual interview. Purkarthofer (2022: 28) talks about performance being an integral part of (auto)biographic data collection. She draws on Butler's (2005 as cited in Purkarthofer, 2022: 38) theories of performativity and states that a person's history or "life story" is a performance in that it depends on the audience to shape it as "co-producers". In essence, this is talking to the fact that as speakers, we naturally adapt our discourse to match that of those around us which we view as the norm. Much as Gumperz (1961 as cited in Busch 2012) and Busch herself talk about how the linguistic repertoire is used to gauge listeners' expectations and the norms of the space in which the discourse is being held, the participants perform for each other in the same way (Busch 2012). Within this performance, the participants' individual language ideologies as well as the ideologies of the group and spaces like school were explored.

Reiterations of each others' words

Johnstone's (2002: 33) argument is relevant for Saloum and Façoil who possibly reiterate each other's words because they sub-consciously follow the linguistic habits of their peers. Johnstone draws on the idea of Sapir (1949 in Johnstone 2002: 33) in saying that this is due to "linguistic determinism" in that the language the speaker uses determines the categories in which they can formulate language and subsequently their thoughts. It is not the French language which categorises the way in which these speakers talk about religion, rather it is the centre of secularism, the government and the educational institution which orientates speakers to a particular semiosis or construction of their discourse according to theories of polycentricity (Blommaert 2010b). Agathe uses the phrase (individual interview), "…they are Kabyle"[183] to describe her mother's side of the family when she talks about Arabic in her linguistic portrait. Kabyle is a group of people from Algeria. Agathe is not saying that her mother's family is Muslim. She rather states their family cultural grouping as Kabyle and their nationality as Algerian. The idea of being Muslim is hinted at through this language because majority of the population of Algeria is Muslim. When I started learning French as a foreign language at a university in South Africa, my peers and I were taught how to introduce ourselves. As part of that introduction, they were taught the following: "I am + religious affiliation". The idea of secularism does not extend into the French language itself, but rather in France, the pressure of the norm to not "have or be" a religion through the ideology of *laïcité* (secularism) could result in speakers talking about their religion through euphemism and association rather than through active verbs like "to have" [*avoir*] or "to be" [*être*].

The above section shows that the participants used their audience as "co-producers" of their discourse to gauge the kinds of information they felt was appropriate to share in the group interview (Purkarthofer 2022: 28). In the above examples, Saloum, Façoil and Agathe feed off each other's discourse possibly because they feel a connection to each other through Arabic as one of their languages connected to their families and heritage. It also looked at the participants mirroring each other's discourse to perform and re-construct the norms of the space that was created for and by the research. The ideas of group "co-producing", reiteration and mirroring will be analysed in a later section of this chapter with regards to how these linguistic tools reveal linguistic ideologies and construct identities.

[183] […*ils sont kabyles*]