



**The Lived Experience of Language (Education Policy):
Multimodal Accounts by Primary School Students in
Luxembourg**

Sarah Muller

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Abstract

Globally, student populations are becoming increasingly diverse yet language education policies are usually not adapted to allow for the flexibility that would move towards educational equity for all. In the case of Luxembourg, no major changes to the medium of instruction policy have occurred since the early 20th century and the (student) population has been rapidly diversifying over the last few decades. This has resulted in an education system that is applauded nationally and internationally for its trilingual language regime, but has also been shown time and again to contribute to the reproduction of social stratification. This thesis is a critical sociolinguistic investigation of the lived experience of language of young people who are navigating the Luxembourgish education system, with a specific focus on participants' understandings of their linguistic repertoire, their lived experience of language, and their lived experience of language education policies at school.

Through a mosaic of qualitative, multimodal methods, discursive and visual data for this study was generated in a primary school in Luxembourg city with 34 participants aged 10 – 13 over a 12-week period and analysed thematically. The study contributes to scholarship adopting biographical approaches to multilingualism, and is framed by an expanded conceptual framework to study the lived experience of language that includes the notions of language desire, imagined identity and investment, as well as interactional approaches to language attitudes. This serves to foreground the importance of the affective, emotional dimension of language. The expanded conceptual framework of the lived experience of language is also combined with more critical, discursive approaches in language policy research: an innovative intersection that allows for the conceptualisation of policy as experience. The findings of this study contribute to empirically grounded knowledge about how young people understand, and visually and discursively represent their own linguistic repertoires and their lived experience of language and language education policies, and the connections between the two. This research informs current understandings of language policy as experience and extends our understanding of the lived experience of language by explicitly incorporating language policy. As such, its contributions have implications for sociolinguistic and educational linguistic research in the domains of multilingualism and language policy. It is hoped that the findings will also influence future language education policy planning in Luxembourg and beyond.

Key words: lived experience, language education policy, biographical approaches to multilingualism, research with young people, multimodal research methods, Luxembourg

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This doctoral thesis explores the lived experience of language and language education policy with a focus on primary school students in Luxembourg. In this introductory chapter, section 1.1 provides a brief introduction of the geo-political and sociolinguistic context of Luxembourg and section 1.2 discusses research focused on the Luxembourgish education system. Section 1.3 outlines the rationale for this study and positions myself as a researcher, before presenting the research questions and thesis structure outline.

1.1 Contextual information on Luxembourg

The present study takes place in Luxembourg, one of the six founding member-states of the European Union. Luxembourg is a small state that spans 82km North to South and 57km East to West, and is nestled between Germany, France and Belgium, thus also located on the Romance/Germanic language border (Fehlen 2002). Although the language situation in Luxembourg has always been characterised by various forms of multilingualism, it was only the 1984 Language Law (Mémorial 1984) that officially recognised German, French and Luxembourgish; a Moselle Franconian (Germanic) language variety, as languages of the state. These three languages are integral to the education system as they constitute the basis of the language curriculum through the institutionalisation of this ‘trilingual ideal’ (Horner 2007): (spoken) Luxembourgish with (written) standard German and French, and increasingly also English.

The language situation is more diverse than the official, theoretical triglossia suggests. The population of Luxembourg is highly diverse and of the 626.100 total population in 2020, 47.4% were resident foreigners with over 170 different citizenships (STATEC 2020, p.11; 2019a, p.20). The largest ethnic minority groups include 95.100 Portuguese nationals (including individuals from Cape Verde), followed by 47.800 French, 23.000 Italians and 19.800 Belgians (STATEC 2020, p.11). In addition, the everyday language situation is influenced by the large number of non-resident commuters from Belgium, Germany and France who make up a large part of the workforce in the private sector. In 2020, the number of these *frontaliers* [cross-border commuters]¹ was at 206.000 with 105.200 hailing from France, 48.100 from Belgium, and 47.500 from Germany (ibid., p.15). Some of these *frontaliers* speak or are learning Luxembourgish, but the majority use French, German, or sometimes English in and outside of the workplace. These figures provide an overview of the diverse composition of residents

¹ English translations of Luxembourgish or French terms will be provided in square brackets, see also 4.4.2.

and commuters in Luxembourg who influence the language situation, and highlights the important presence of Romance language speakers.

The sociolinguistic composition of student populations is also diverse and is influenced by the location of the schools. In 2017/18, Esch-sur-Alzette (the second most populated municipality, located in the South) was the municipality with the highest number of foreign students at 64.10%, whereas this number was as low as 14.90% in Garnich (a small rural municipality in the South-West) (MENJE and SCRIPT 2019, pp.30–32). Luxembourg city ranked in fifth place with 58.60% (ibid.). Contrary to some other countries, schools in Luxembourg collect data on students' national and linguistic backgrounds: of the national primary school population in 2019/20, 17.8% of students had a country of birth other than Luxembourg and 44.8% did not have Luxembourgish citizenship (MENJE 2020). 65.5% of students declared a first language other than Luxembourgish, and the majority of these students have a Romance-language, and in many cases lusophone, background (ibid.). It is important to bear in mind that figures and statistics like the ones used above can provide insight into the diversity of student populations through variables such as place of birth, citizenship or first language. However, these are not necessarily reliable indicators of a speaker's linguistic repertoire or language practices, and Weber (2009a, p.63) highlights the inadequacy of essentialist assumptions about links between citizenship, home languages and identity by demonstrating that, for instance and contrary to common assumptions, not all Portuguese-national students in Luxembourg speak only standard Portuguese in the home. One aim of the present study is to highlight the complex linguistic repertoires of young people in Luxembourg through their own visual representations and discursive constructions.

Thus, the case study of Luxembourg is no different from many contexts and education systems around the world, where student populations are diversifying with evolving processes of globalisation. As such, the findings of the present study, although limited to a small number of participants in the particular context of Luxembourg, have implications on a wider, international level.

1.2 Overview of research on the Luxembourgish education system

The education system is a common public and private topic for discussion in Luxembourg, so much so that the Minister for Education published a monograph² in 2018 to explain his policies to the general public. In addition, at the time of data collection for this study, a fictional novel³ that engages with the experiences of a Portuguese student in the Luxembourgish education system who attempts to change the latter was being advertised nationally. In politics too, language is a central discussion point (de Bres,

² Meisch, C. (2018) *Stark Kanner: Eng Häerzenssaach* [translation: Strong children: A matter of the heart]. Luxembourg: Éditions Phi

³ Peters, B. (2017) *Fremde Heimat* [translation: Foreign Homeland]. Luxembourg: Shortgen

Cosme and Remesch 2019), and the education system is often on the agenda and even emerges in debates about migration or citizenship (see e.g. Weber and Horner 2010; Horner and Kremer 2016; Kremer and Horner 2016). Thus, in Luxembourg, issues of language and education are frequently interwoven with other topics in the complex tapestry of political and social discourses.

Based on the trilingual curriculum, some might support a view of the Luxembourgish state education system as a model for multilingual education: Luxembourg is the OECD country with the highest expenditure per pupil in public schools (OECD 2016b), 40.5% of school time is spent on language teaching (Kirsch 2018a, p.40), and students go through an education system which implements the European directive of “mother tongue plus two” (although students’ linguistic repertoires are in actuality often much more complex and diverse than this). This image of the model multilingual education system is not only praised in the European context (Scheer 2017, p.13), but is also highly prevalent within Luxembourg, as the trilingual ideal transmitted through schools is also closely linked to some understandings of national identity (see 3.1.2). However, this very same education system can also play an influencing role in students’ low academic achievement and educational failure and obstruct various career paths for them in the future. In this light, the present study suggests a description of the Luxembourgish education system as Janus-faced, which seems appropriate as it can provide a fantastic springboard for some students to excel academically. However, students whose linguistic and educational needs are not met at school and who do not receive appropriate support may drop out of school early, are streamed into vocationally oriented schools at a young age even if they may wish to pursue a more academically-oriented career, and often accumulate negative experiences along the way. The aim of this section is to summarise what is currently known about how the education system and language curriculum affect the academic trajectories of students in Luxembourg, and how the present study draws on, and adds to, this knowledge. Reference will also be made to research and theoretical developments not directly focused on the Luxembourgish context, although these will be explored in further depth in Chapter 2.

There exists an ample body of quantitative and qualitative research on the Luxembourgish education system and its language curriculum, operating from various degrees of critical perspectives. In a first instance, international studies such as PISA have drawn attention to the fact that the Luxembourgish education system contributes to the reproduction of social stratification by disproportionately disadvantaging students with a low socioeconomic status (SES) and/or a language minoritised background (OECD 2019; SCRIPT and LUCET 2016). The 2016 OECD Education Policy Outlook report on Luxembourg states that “some system-level practices (such as student selection, grade repetition, school choice and early student tracking at age 12) may hamper equity if not managed carefully” and that “Luxembourg could further develop system-level policies to address high levels of grade repetition and support children from low-income and/or foreign-language families” (OECD

2016a, p.4). Quantitative studies within Luxembourg have also explored the extent of these educational inequities (see e.g. Hadjar, Fischbach and Backes 2018).

Educational difficulties may arise from and be influenced by the rigid language curriculum that builds on the assumed proficiency in one Germanic language (Luxembourgish) to teach literacy skills and use as a medium of instruction another Germanic language (German). Indeed, the education system is “designed for students with Luxembourgish as a home language” (De Korne 2012, p.484), and has not undergone any major changes in relation to the languages taught at primary school level or medium of instruction policies since the addition of Luxembourgish to the curriculum in 1912. In this light, students with other, non-Luxembourgish dominant linguistic backgrounds are more likely to be disadvantaged. In addition, structural processes such as early student tracking are also linked to the reproduction of social stratification, as fewer students with non-Luxembourgish citizenship are oriented to attend prestigious *lycées classiques* than vocational *lycées techniques* (see 3.2.2). Inequalities are also apparent when looking at the high levels of grade repetition and early school leavers that are among the highest in the OECD and in which students with non-Luxembourgish citizenship are overrepresented (MENFP 2013).

A productive cognitive psychological research strand in Luxembourg focuses on the domain of education and explores the performances of bilinguals with a specific interest in lusophone students (see e.g. Engel de Abreu *et al.* 2012; Engel de Abreu 2011). Such research can bring forward important generalisable findings, however, comparative studies usually measure students’ performances against a certain monolingual standard which does not necessarily reflect their actual skills. Students may, for instance, be tested for their proficiency in standard Portuguese even if they actually speak a non-standard variety (Weber 2009a, p.49), and flexible multilingual language practices are generally not recognised or valued as legitimate. Large-scale studies also do not explore individual students’ linguistic skills and experiences with language. As such, one of the strengths of smaller qualitative studies, such as the present one, is the ability to focus on the individual and provide an insight into the human, lived experience of social phenomena on the micro level.

Scholars working from within qualitative paradigms have also engaged with the structural disadvantages of the education system in Luxembourg and its contribution to social stratification. In her compelling ethnographic study on the relationship between language policies, language practices and language attitudes in Luxembourg, Davis (1994) sheds light on the role that socio-economic status (SES) plays as a variable in influencing students’ language and literacy practices as well as their academic performance. As such, students from upper- and middle-class Luxembourgish families are more likely to be familiar with language practices that mirror school expectations, which can support their academic achievement. This does not generally apply to families with a low SES, which has also

been documented in other contexts (Bourdieu 1991; Heath 1983). Although the study focused on Luxembourgish families, Davis argues that students from minoritised language backgrounds frequently experience “submersion” in immersive educational contexts if their home languages are not used alongside the school languages “to counteract the negative cognitive and social consequences of their minority status” (1994, p.188). In this light, she calls for the investigation of the “language and social experiences” of students with minoritised language backgrounds and specifically lusophone students, as these make up the largest minority group in the Luxembourgish education system and in society at large, to understand “how these experiences conflict with school expectations, and ways in which to build on children’s language and cultural experiences” (ibid.). The present study responds to this call by working with a group of primary school students where the majority have a transnational background and use other languages than/alongside Luxembourgish at home, yet all have to go through German-medium schooling.

De Korne has highlighted the irony in the fact that many multilingual education systems, including the Luxembourgish one, pride themselves in being multilingual, multicultural and inclusive, when in reality they exclude “many forms of diversity both within and across languages” as such diversity is often seen to be a problem rather than a resource (2012, p.481). In this light, Weber and Horner (2010) discuss the complex interface of language education policies on an international level that proclaim their focus on inclusivity but contribute to exclusion, and Weber (2009a) highlights that the rigid focus on the trilingual ideal in Luxembourg leads to the invisibilisation of many students’ linguistic resources, as other widely used languages such as varieties of Portuguese, Italian or Cape Verdean Creole are not part of the curriculum or valued at school. Thus, multilingual language policies are not inclusive and equitable by default and in the case of Luxembourg, the rigid one-size-fits-all approach of the trilingual curriculum cannot provide the flexibility needed to respond to the linguistic and educational needs of diverse student populations.

The language curriculum in Luxembourgish schools teaches and tests language separately, which reproduces a view of multilingualism as separate monolingualism of discrete bounded entities (Heller 2006; Cummins 2008). In addition, language teaching in primary schools is limited to standard varieties of German and French (with one weekly hour of Luxembourgish, see 3.2.3), which can delegitimise students’ non-standard linguistic resources. In an ethnographic study carried out in an after-school club in Luxembourg, Weber (2009a) explored the experience of language of a small group of lusophone speakers. Many of these young people viewed themselves as Portuguese and/or Luxembourgish, but saw French as “their” language, and Weber highlights that the French spoken by luso-descendant youth is often looked down upon not only because it is frequently a non-standard variety, but also because it is not seen by others as being “their” language (ibid., p.64). The focus on parallel teaching of standard varieties also impacts on how flexible multilingual language practices are perceived and may

delegitimise them. Although flexible language practices have been documented among teachers and students, these are generally not recognised as legitimate language practices in an educational context (Redinger 2010; Muller 2016). The young people who participated in Weber's (2009a) study used their linguistic repertoires in flexible ways that break down "the traditional compartmentalization of languages in Luxembourg" (ibid., p.131), yet they are often interpreted as being the result of linguistic deficiencies. Thus, language teaching in schools is generally not aligned with, nor recognises, the language practices of many students.

Within a longer research tradition on bilingual education (see e.g. Fishman 1982), flexible multilingual language practices and their affordances in education have been the focus of much research over the last decade (see e.g. García 2009; Duarte 2019; Hornberger and Link 2012). Focusing on Luxembourgish secondary school students preparing for an interdisciplinary multilingual theatre project, De Korne (2012) documented flexible multilingual language practices that breached the traditional, rigid language/subject boundaries. Instead, language was used as a means rather than an end, which significantly contributed to meaning making processes and shaped more inclusive participation frameworks that allowed students to co-construct knowledge with all of their (linguistic) resources being equally valued (ibid: 483). Another productive strand of research in Luxembourg analyses students' flexible multilingual language practices in early childhood education and pre-school settings (Kirsch 2018a; 2017; Kirsch and Gretsche 2015) and primary schools (Degano and Kirsch 2020). Demonstrating the affordances of incorporating "translanguaging" in the classroom, Kirsch highlights that in situations where students are allowed to access their entire linguistic repertoire, they demonstrate an openness and motivation for language learning and use "their environment to widen their linguistic repertoire" (2017, p.160). She also stresses the importance for teachers to know their students' "language biographies", as a good understanding thereof can support teachers in making their teaching more flexible and inclusive to better meet students' needs (2018a, p.458; see also Dressler 2014, p.42).

The role that German plays in the Luxembourgish education system as the language used to teach literacy skills and the main medium of instruction throughout primary school has been subject to extensive critique. The "second mother tongue" pedagogic approach taken in the teaching of German and which influences the teaching of literacy skills through German has been described by a number of scholars as inappropriate for a large number of students and can be argued to be a main obstacle in the educational trajectory of many (Weth 2018; Scheer 2017; Beirão 1999; Weber 2009a). Tavares (2020) illustrates how German may play a nefarious role in obstructing academic and professional trajectories by describing how Luxembourg-born students with a transnational background are increasingly replacing a traditionally migrant workforce in the unskilled labour market as a result of academic failure. Weber (2009a) has illustrated that young people with a language minoritised background; luso-descendant youth in his case study, can be acutely aware that the education system does not provide

them with equal opportunities compared to their Luxembourgish dominant/monolingual peers. The majority of these participants reported having difficulties with German and experienced it as an obstacle to their educational trajectory. In addition, they perceived it to be of little relevance or instrumental value in their lives, and their accounts pointed to the disparity between the language curriculum in schools and their language use outside of school: they saw Luxembourgish, French and English as the most important languages in Luxembourg, yet, it was German that was at the basis of most educational difficulties (ibid., pp.122-127). This disparity has also been emphasised by Tavares (2020), who is critical of the value that the trilingual ideal, and especially German, hold in certain spaces on the job market. He illustrates that varieties of Portuguese are much more widely used than German and also points to the importance that English plays on the job market. Yet, German retains its function as a “gatekeeping tool” which begins “in the very beginning of the school system and escalates throughout adulthood” (ibid., p.228).

Thus, the problematic aspects of the Luxembourgish education system and its language curriculum are well documented. However, less research has explored the experiences of the young people navigating this education system. Some findings in this area have been brought forward by Redinger (2010), who combined a quantitative attitudinal approach with ethnographic classroom observations to study the connections between language attitudes and code-switching in a Luxembourgish secondary school. He linked deviations from French as the language of instruction through the use of Luxembourgish in part to students’ reported French speaking competence, and documented the negative repercussions that the switch from German to French-medium education (see 3.2.2) had on participants’ educational achievements as well as their self- and externally-assessed French language competences (ibid., p.283). In a more dated study on the experiences of Portuguese transnationals in Luxembourg, Beirão acknowledges the difficulties, negative experiences, feelings of vulnerability and lack of self-confidence that lusophone students can have as a result of the function of the trilingual curriculum as a “selection filter” (1999, p.126, my translation). More systematic reference to the lived dimension of experiences with language and language education policy can be found in Weber (2009a; 2009b), who highlights the perspectives and attitudes of a group of luso-descendant teenagers.

As such, this study addresses an important gap in the literature not only in relation to Luxembourg Studies, but also sociolinguistics and educational linguistics. Young people constitute a demographic that remains often overlooked (Staksrud 2015), and research *with* rather than *on* them only is only a few decades old (Prasad 2015, p.19; James 2007). To explore the perspectives of primary school students in Luxembourg, the present study adopts a qualitative, multimodal research design that, while drawing on an interdisciplinary range of concepts and approaches, is anchored in critical sociolinguistics and focuses on the lived experience of language and language education policy. Naturally, language is only one element among a myriad of factors influencing academic success. However, in the case of

Luxembourg, the factor of language and language education policy should be given special attention given the central role of languages and language teaching in the education system.

1.3 Research motivation, research questions and thesis structure

In qualitative research, researcher positionality and reflexivity are key elements in ensuring transparency and trustworthiness as “the researcher is the principal instrument in every qualitative inquiry” (Prasad 2014, p.6). A flexible research practice requires “that we be the first to examine and explain the position from which we speak both as social scientists and as persons of our times and places and histories” (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017, p.10). As such, it is important to position myself as the researcher who conducted this study, but equally as someone who went through the Luxembourgish education system herself.

Fitting the “default legitimate student” of the Luxembourgish education system in many ways (Dalmau 2009, p.45), I was able to benefit from the language curriculum that is based on the linguistic repertoires of students growing up in Luxembourgish-speaking monolingual homes. My parents were able to support me in my educational trajectory from a young age onwards because they are proficient in the school languages and familiar with the classroom and literacy practices, themselves having completed their studies in Luxembourg. I was streamed into a prestigious *lycée classique* which enabled me to complete my studies at two universities in the UK. I did not reflect on my academic trajectory until I started my studies, having taken for granted social discourses that normalise the low educational achievements and failures of some students. In the UK, my Luxembourgish background was usually met with curiosity and questions, and I frequently found myself attempting to explain the complexities of the sociolinguistic situation of Luxembourg. This also raised new questions for myself. Why is it that German is used as the main language of instruction in primary school? Why is it that half-way through my secondary school education, the medium of instruction switched from German to French? Why is it that I never wrote an academic essay in Luxembourgish, yet citizenship applicants need to complete language tests in it? As I became more reflexive, I developed a critical perspective on my educational experiences and how it was shaped by wider structures and processes beyond my personal abilities and performances.

Thus, my inspiration to carry out this research is connected to my own experiences with the education system and the knowledge that I was in a privileged position to use it as a springboard; an opportunity that not all students have equal access to. My motivation is to research students’ lived experience in relation to language and language education policies, and provide a platform for the perspectives of young people whose trajectories are directly impacted on by the education system, but whose voices

are frequently not heard or considered, especially by policy makers (Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015, Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018). This study was guided by one main, overarching research question:

What are primary school students' lived experiences with language and language education policies in Luxembourg, and how do they visually represent and discursively construct these?

Three sub-research questions supported the data generation, guided the thematic analysis, and will be addressed in the individual data analysis chapters. The first two sub-research questions will be mostly addressed in separate data analysis chapters, whereas the third one will be present in all data chapters, as the data analysis was underpinned by a more general language ideological approach.

- * How do primary school students in Luxembourg visually represent and discursively construct their linguistic repertoires?
- * What are the lived experiences of language with Luxembourgish, French and German as school languages of primary school students in Luxembourg, how do they relate them to language education policies and the language situation in Luxembourg, and how are they visually represented and discursively constructed?
- * What language ideologies underpin these visual representations and discursive constructions of students' linguistic repertoires and lived experiences of language and language education policy?

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical grounding of this study and situates it within a wider body of critical sociolinguistic research (2.1). Section 2.2 outlines the conceptual framework of the lived experience of language and the notion of the linguistic repertoire (Busch 2015), which inform this study. As the research focuses and expands on the lived experience of language, section 2.3 explains how drawing on the concepts of language desire (Piller and Takahashi 2006, Kramsch 2009), imagined identity (Pavlenko and Norton 2007, Norton 2013) and investment (Darvin and Norton 2015) can support our explorations of the lived experience of language. The discussion then shifts to language policy, which is another focal point of this study. The beginning of section 2.5 traces the development of language policy and planning as a field of inquiry, before discussing the alignment of the present study with discursive approaches to language policy (Barakos 2016). Following on from this, section 2.6 critically engages with the connections between language ideologies (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) and language education policies. The concluding discussion in section 2.7 outlines the innovative combination of the notions of the lived experience of language with discursive approaches to language policy, as this intersection can expand our knowledge of the

influence of language policy on speakers' lived experience of language and conceptualises language policy as experience (Shohamy 2009).

Chapter 3 provides contextual information on Luxembourg and its state education system by tracing their historical development to the present day. As such, section 3.1 outlines a historical overview of the development of Luxembourg as a nation-state and its language situation, and then discusses the current language situation and how it is tied up with various language ideological debates. Section 3.2 focuses on the education system and provides a diachronic (3.2.1) as well as synchronic (3.2.2) overview of language education policies. Subsection 3.2.3 includes a brief excursion on the role of Luxembourgish in the education system, before subsections 3.2.4 and 3.2.5 outline the inequalities in the education system and outline responses that have (not) been brought forward to address them.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methods and methodology that have informed this research. Section 4.1 explains how the methodological research paradigm is based on constructionist and interpretivist views and draws on the principles of ethnography and grounded theory, and briefly addresses the topic of conducting research with young people. The research methods and design are presented in more depth in section 4.2. Following on from this, each of the four research phases will be described in the subsections of 4.3, and a detailed list of participants is presented on pages 71 and 72. The chapter concludes with a discussion of data analysis in section 4.4 that outlines the thematic approach taken in this study, engages with some challenges involved with analysing qualitative data, and presents the transcription conventions used.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 are the core of this study as they present the data analysis. Chapter 5 addresses the first sub-research question and focuses on participants' visual representations and discursive constructions of their linguistic repertoires through the language portrait with a focus on visual silence (5.2) and language desire (5.3). The analysis foregrounds the importance of the lived experience of language in informing participants' decision to exclude linguistic resources from their language portrait, and English emerged as the most commonly named language that participants desired to know, followed by the home languages of participants' friends.

Chapter 6 addresses sub-research question two with a focus on participants' overall lived experience of language with Luxembourgish by analysing discursive as well as visual data and through the lens of a complex inclusionary/exclusionary interface. Section 6.1 explores the vital status that Luxembourgish enjoys among participants, and their overall positive attitudes towards Luxembourgish are contrasted with a case study of the only participant who, as a newcomer to the Luxembourgish education system, expressed a negative attitude and irritation towards Luxembourgish. Section 6.2 focuses on exclusionary functions of Luxembourgish in relation to monolingual Luxembourgish-only language

policies and their policing, and how these are experienced by participants. Finally, section 6.3 analyses participants' discursive constructions of Luxembourgish and German as similar language varieties and explores the reported positive and negative effects that this has had on participants' language learning at school.

Chapter 7 addresses sub-research question two with a focus on the lived experience of language with German and French as school languages, and the perceived (dis)connections on the societal (macro) and school policy (meso) levels. Section 7.1 focuses on participants' positive attitudes to language learning and individual multilingualism, and unpacks how these perspectives are linked to dominant social discourses that construct the trilingual ideal as a national resource and valuable capital. Section 7.2 discusses participants' perspectives on and lived experience of French as a school language that is also widely used on the societal level. Against the backdrop of participants' overall positive attitudes towards language learning and the perceived match between the role and importance of French on the meso and macro levels, section 7.3 engages with participants' critical perspectives towards German. More specifically, it analyses the disparity that some participants perceived between its role and status as an important school language and its relative absence on the wider macro level in Luxembourg.

Chapter 8 addresses all three sub-research questions by shifting the focus to the micro level and analysing participants' lived experience of language with German and French at school, and the influence that this can have on their own perspectives on their linguistic resources and repertoires. By analysing several case studies, this chapter engages with various themes that emerged as important in participants' reported lived experience of language: affective orientation, level of difficulty, self-evaluated proficiency, ability to draw on already existing linguistic resources, and improvement discourses. The case studies allow for deep insights into individual perspectives on a wide spectrum of different types of lived experience.

Chapter 9 constitutes the conclusion of this doctoral thesis. After a brief summary of the four data analysis chapters (9.1), the findings are discussed with regards to their implications for the Luxembourgish as well as international contexts (9.2). Following on from this, the theoretical and methodological contributions of this study are discussed in section 9.3, as well as the limitations of this study and avenues for future research (9.4).

Chapter 2: Framing the lived experience of language (education policy)

This sociolinguistic study explores the lived experience of language of young people in Luxembourg not only in relation to their own linguistic repertoires, but also in relation to language education policies at school. The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter connects scholarship from various disciplines, not limited to sociolinguistics. First, section 2.1 situates the present study within the wider field of critical ethnographic sociolinguistics. Next, section 2.2 engages with the concept of the linguistic repertoire in relation to wider poststructuralist understandings of language, and discusses the notion of the lived experience of language. Following on from this, the concepts of language desire, imagined identity and investment are reviewed as they are connected to the lived experience of language (2.3). Section 2.4 outlines an adapted interactional approach to language attitudes that draws on positioning theory and can be applied to studying the lived experience of language. The discussion then focuses on language policy (2.5), beginning with a brief historical overview of the development of language policy and planning as a field and outlining the discursive approach to language policy adopted by this study. Section 2.6 engages with language education policies more specifically, followed by a detailed discussion of language ideologies and their role in language education policies (2.6.2). Finally, the concluding discussion in 2.7 summarises the theoretical grounding that frames this study.

2.1 Critical ethnographic sociolinguistics

Although drawing on an interdisciplinary theoretical framework and a mosaic of research methods, this study is first and foremost a qualitative sociolinguistic inquiry into young people's lived experience of language with a two-fold focus on their linguistic repertoires and language education policies. More specifically, it is part of a wider body of critical ethnographic sociolinguistic research (Heller 2011; Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017; Duchêne, Moyer and Roberts 2013), which is an approach that will be explored in this section.

Duchêne et al. (2013, p.1) define sociolinguistics as “linguistics concerned with the social meaning of language” and demonstrate how, despite a range of ontological and epistemological stances that co-exist in the field, much sociolinguistic research has addressed, to different degrees, issues of inequality by examining the relationship between language and social life. In fact, the interest in unpacking processes through which social power is maintained and addressing broader political concerns beyond purely linguistic matters is what qualifies some sociolinguistic research as *critical* (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p.57; Pennycook 2010, p.10). The present study aligns with such critical sociolinguistic approaches that have a particular interest in the role of language in social processes such

as the constructions of identity or in/exclusion, and is thus not focused on “language per se” but rather “the conditions and consequences of language for people” (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017, p.4).

Whereas much of earlier sociolinguistic work was based on “stable connections between speakers, places, times, and social position”, these connections have been disrupted by the effects of globalisation and late modernity and can no longer be taken for granted (Heller 2011, p.3). As many scholars have pointed out, globalisation processes are not new in substance but rather novel in “intensity, scope and scale” (Blommaert 2012, p.1). In this light, Duchêne et al. (2013, p.4) highlight that ethnographic approaches that enable nuanced and interpretive understandings are needed to explore contexts marked by processes of globalisation including transnational migration, a new economic order, as well as social and political change linked to the instabilities of late modernity. In his proposed theoretical approach to study sociolinguistics in/of globalisation, Blommaert (2012, p.1) highlights that classic “distinctions and biases” need to be reconsidered in terms of a “sociolinguistics of mobile resources” which circulate in a “tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways”. Indeed, mobility is a major theme preoccupying critical sociolinguistic research which Blommaert defines as “the dislocation of language and language events from the fixed position in time and space attributed to them by a more traditional linguistics and sociolinguistics” (ibid., p.21). Mobility also frames the wider context within which this study takes place, and the vast majority of participants are transnationals⁴ whose families have some degree of a migration background (see 4.3.5), and many participants themselves led mobile lives; both physically and digitally.

In light of the mobility and complexity that mark late modern contexts, critical sociolinguistic approaches that are interested in exploring the role of language as an instrument of power in the perpetuation of social inequalities can adopt ethnographic approaches to generate detailed and nuanced insights. This includes searching for new conceptual and theoretical frameworks, but also methods and ways of interpretation that guide data generation and analysis within increasingly complex contexts (Duchêne, Moyer and Roberts 2013, p.1). Heller’s (2011, p.49) definition of a critical ethnographic sociolinguistic approach includes the principles that it firstly moves issues of social difference and inequality into focus, and secondly is based on an understanding that language is a constitutive element of social processes “both in the ways that it forms part of the social practices that construct social reality, and in the ways in which it serves as a terrain for working out struggles that are fundamentally about other things”. In other words, it is through language that social and political life is organised and that

⁴ The present study aligns with other research (e.g. Weber (2009a), Obojska (2018) and Obojska and Purkarthofer (2018)) in using the term ‘transnational’ rather than ‘migrant’, with the former foregrounding “the importance of the constant mobility and the cultural ties across and beyond national borders in the lives and experiences of [our] participants” (Obojska and Purkarthofer 2018, p.249).

social differences are constructed, and inequality and exclusion are produced and rationalised based on the latter through the use of language as a proxy (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017, p.1). Finally, the critical perspective is also turned inwards: going beyond the acknowledgement of the socio-political situatedness of research, knowledge, research methods and theories, Heller (2011; Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017) highlights the centrality of researcher reflexivity in critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (see 1.3 and 4.3.1). Drawing on these principles, the present study follows a critical ethnographic sociolinguistic approach as it engages with the Luxembourgish education system and language education policies as processes and structures that regulate social order and contribute to the reproduction of social stratification (see 1.2 and 3.3.4). This informed the adoption of an ethnographic, qualitative approach to gain an insight into the lived experience of language of the young people who navigate this education system.

2.2 Linguistic repertoire and lived experience of language

Part of the wider backdrop against which recent expansions of the notion of the linguistic repertoire have taken place is the move away from a nominal view of languages as bounded, separate entities (Makoni and Pennycook 2006). Indeed, poststructuralist influences in sociolinguistics have shaped our understanding of languages as ideological constructs that are heavily embedded in, and influenced by, their sociocultural context (Makoni and Pennycook 2006; Pennycook 2010). In a similar light, May (2014, p.18) highlights that, contrary to popular understandings of language as “autonomous and homogeneous” entities, languages are “a historical produce of the wider politics of nationalism and nation building over the last few centuries” (see also Anderson 2006). As such, there has been an increasing awareness that there are no linguistic (e.g. lexical, grammatical, structural) grounds on which separate ‘languages’ can be distinguished on a dialect continuum; instead, such differentiations are made on socio-political grounds (Otheguy, García and Reid 2015). Rather, it is the abstraction of language (e.g. through grammars, dictionaries) that objectifies language; which can then be “co-opted for other sociopolitical and economic purposes” (ibid.). Adding to this debate, Ortega (2014, p.40) stresses that a language is not an object but rather a process that is “inseparable from the users and the usage events that bring it about”.

As such, a named language (often associated with a nation-state) can be defined as a “cultural object defined by place, memory, identity, history, and, of course, a socially given (though sometimes contested) name” (Otheguy, García and Reid 2015, p.291). Despite, or because of, the sociolinguistic understanding of named languages as socio-cultural constructs, it is important to investigate their meanings for and effects on lay people (Blackledge and Creese 2010, p.16). The exploration of such meanings is part of metalinguistic research which has been developing over several decades in a range of academic fields (see e.g. Coupland and Jaworski 2004), and to which this study contributes by

analysing young people's understandings of their linguistic repertoires. Using the linguistic repertoire; rather than named languages, as a conceptual point of departure for analysis allows us to explore how young people name, understand, and relate to the linguistic resources that are part of their repertoire, and also what beliefs, attitudes and experiences are attached to this.

The concept of the linguistic repertoire is based on the notion of the 'verbal repertoire'. First coined by Gumperz (1964), this concept was framed through an interactional perspective to capture the linguistic repertoires of speakers and the speech communities they lived in. Given the high degree of mobility marking many speakers' lives in late modernity, recent expansions of the linguistic repertoire have aimed to accommodate for the analysis of complex trajectories of mobile speakers who circulate in highly diverse spaces⁵; navigating multiple spaces over time, in one day, or simultaneously. This has been achieved by shifting the focus away from the notion of the speech community onto the individual speaker by adopting either a biographical or spatial approach.

Biographical approaches take the speakers themselves, rather than named languages, as a starting point for analysis. In following such an approach, Blommaert (2012) discusses the notion of the truncated repertoire which highlights how speakers, over the course of their life trajectories, expand their repertoire through formal and informal learning experiences to various "proficiency" levels. Thus, as a critical counterpart to abstract understandings of language, speakerhood and proficiency, the truncated repertoire highlights that speakers' repertoires are "composed of specialized but partially and unevenly developed resources" that reflect their life trajectory (ibid., p.23). In addition, the truncated repertoire foregrounds a speaker's actual semiotic resources; "concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities", rather than limited understandings of linguistic resources as named languages and quantified measurements of proficiency according to an abstract standard (ibid., p.102). In a similar light, Blommaert and Backus (2013, p.1) describe the linguistic repertoire as a "patchwork of competences and skills" and an "indexical biography". These two examples demonstrate that biographical approaches are based on an understanding that "someone's linguistic repertoire reflects a life, and not just birth" and that this is influenced by the sociocultural, historical and political spaces that a speaker navigates over the course of their life (Blommaert 2012, p.171).

An expansion of the linguistic repertoire that follows a predominately spatial approach was proposed by Pennycook and Otsuji's (2014) 'spatial repertoire', which is differentiated from the individual linguistic repertoire by virtue of including only the language practices and linguistic resources that are

⁵ The understanding of space in this study follows Busch's (2017, p.343) adoption of Lefebvre's definition of it "not as something given but as constantly produced and reproduced in repeated social (and linguistic) practices". Thus, not only are individual speakers and their linguistic repertoires key in the socio-linguistic (re-)constitution of spaces, but so are wider discourses, ideologies and policies (see 2.6).

available in a specific space. This might include only a fraction of a speaker's individual linguistic repertoire. This distinction is analytically important and it highlights the connection between spatial and individual linguistic repertoires: on one hand, the former can restrict the use of the latter as not all linguistic environments encourage (or allow) speakers to draw on their entire linguistic repertoire. In Luxembourgish primary schools, for instance, the legitimate spatial repertoire is limited to Luxembourgish and standard German and French (see Chapter 3). On the other hand, speakers can also resist or challenge spatial repertoires and dominant discourse associated with them.

The notions of the truncated and spatial repertoire expand our understanding of the continuous linguistic development that individuals experience throughout their lives and in connection to their trajectories, and how these may be valued differently in different spaces. Busch (2017, p.345) highlights that although these notions foreground either biographical or spatial dimensions, both are always present as they are inherently interconnected. The present study adopts Busch's (2012; 2017) biographical understanding of the linguistic repertoire not as a toolbox comprising a set of linguistic competences, but as a multi-layered concept that "interweaves social/interactional elements with historical/political and personal/biographical ones" (2017, p.355). In other words, this notion adopts a holistic understanding that includes not only a speaker's semiotic resources, but also emotional and bodily experiences, attitudes and ideologies and views all of these as interconnected.

Busch (2012) draws on poststructuralist theories to expand the notion of the linguistic repertoire to include aspects of subjectivity and power relations, and adapts principles of phenomenology to foreground the lived experience of language (2017). This refers to emotional and bodily dimensions of language and speakers' perceptions, feelings and desires. In order to capture these various interconnected elements, Busch (2017) proposes a three-levelled perspective. In a first instance, a third person and anthropological, interactional perspective explores the constitution of the linguistic repertoire through social and linguistic interactions. In a second instance, a second person, poststructuralist perspective focuses on language ideologies and discourses; and more specifically how they position speakers and how speakers position themselves in relation to them. Finally, a first person phenomenological and biographical perspective explores a speaker's lived experience of language; the feelings and bodily sensations through which they experience themselves as a speaker. The combination of these three perspectives allows a poststructuralist understanding of the speaker as an individual and subject who is formed in and through discourses, but who can also position herself in relation to these discourses. As such, the repertoire is not conceptualised as a possession, but rather as relational and intersubjective; constantly "formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other" (ibid., p.346). Busch argues that the linguistic repertoire, lived experience of language and language ideologies are interconnected: the feelings experienced when speaking in a certain way in a certain space marked by certain social discourses and (language)

ideologies can become embodied by the speaker if they are regularly made to feel a certain way, or if a particularly powerful experience marks the speaker for a long time after its occurrence. Thus, lived experience, through intensity or frequent recurrence, can become embodied in the linguistic repertoire in the form of attitudes, informed by wider language ideologies and habitualised language practices (ibid., p.11).

The interest in the lived experience of language that connects the individual speaker and their experiences and beliefs to wider social discourses and ideologies is relatively new in sociolinguistic research. Prior research interested in speakers' emotional experiences with language was mostly limited to focusing on the symbolic/identity functions of language, which were constructed as dichotomous to instrumental/communicative functions. However, such a binary understanding of the identity/symbolic and instrumental/communicative functions of languages is untenable, and May reminds us that "all language(s) embody and accomplish both identity and instrumental functions for those who speak them" (2011, p.5). The present study recognises that symbolic and communicative functions of language are closely intertwined in speakers' lived experience of language, linguistic repertoires and language practices, however, it has a specific interest in the symbolic, affective dimensions of language. Indeed, the notion of the lived experience of language developed within a more general growing interest in the dimensions of language that go beyond cognitive, instrumental paradigms. As such, an increasing number of studies have been exploring the lived experience of language in various domains (see e.g. Botsis and Bradbury (2018) on postgraduate students at a University in South Africa, Yassin Iversen (2020) on pre-service teachers in Norway). An affective turn has also taken place in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Pavlenko 2013).

Thus, research that views language (learning) as not just a cognitive process but recognises the importance of the emotional dimension of language has been gaining traction in the last decade. Scholars such as Busch (2017) and Kramersch (2009) have been advocating for the importance of explicitly addressing the intersubjective, social, emotional and bodily; the *lived*, dimension of language, arguing that "far from being perceived as primarily a tool for communication and exchange of information (...) language is first and foremost experienced physically, linguistically, emotionally, artistically" (Kramersch 2009, p.60). In a similar light, Prasad (2015, pp.143, 179) describes language learning as both "cognitively demanding" and "emotionally and socially charged"; two dimensions that cannot be separated, and calls for "greater attention to be directed to the affective dimension of language learning in both teaching and research". In fact, research focusing on language learning and teaching has drawn attention to the fact that a positive emotional language learning experience is a key element for what Kramersch (2009) calls "the appropriation of a new language" and Norton (Norton Peirce 1995; Darwin and Norton 2015) would argue contributes to a learner's investment in the language learning process.

2.3 Language desire, imagined identity and investment

In addition to adopting a biographical understanding of the linguistic repertoire that foregrounds the lived experience of language, this study also draws on an interdisciplinary range of concepts to theorise and analyse elements that are part of, or connected to, these notions. This section will focus on the concepts of language desire, imagined identity and investment, which have become key in SLA research and can support the analysis of the lived experience of language.

Piller (2002) originally coined the term “language desire” to describe the attraction that a speaker feels for a language they want to learn or are learning. Kramsch (2009, p.14) defines it as “the basic drive to self-fulfilment” in language learning, and Takahashi (2013, p.7) expands its theoretical conceptualisation, outlining the “dialectic relationship between public discourse and subjective agency in shaping (...) desires” in a compelling analysis of female Japanese language learners in Australia. There exist two theoretical perspectives in relation to desire which Brown and Deumert (2017, p.581) have called desire-as-wish and desire-as-force. The former can be traced back to Lacanian theorisations of desire as connected to missing or lacking objects that an individual longs for in order to feel complete, whereas the latter conceptualises desire in terms of a drive or energy towards something new. In a critical engagement with language desire for English in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), Motha and Lin (2014, p.335) similarly suggest that “desire is both a lack and an energy, simultaneously productive and oppressive”. Thus, the language desires that speakers experience are never neutral, but connected to the socio-cultural contexts and ideologies they are exposed to and towards which they gravitate. In this light, Darwin and Norton call for the need of critical examinations of language desire and “how worldviews construct learner desires and imagined identities that can be complicit with reproducing social inequalities” (2016, p.26).

Kramsch highlights another dual function of desire in relation to language learning, as it can serve as a means of escape or a means of reinforcement. As reinforcement, desire can “be the urge to survive and to cling to the familiar. Some may have a deep desire not to challenge the language of their environment but to find in the foreign words a confirmation of the meanings they express in their mother tongue” (2009, p.15). However, language learners may also desire to escape from the conformity of their current environment, feeling restricted by their own language(s), culture(s) and wider social and linguistic environment. In these cases, learners desire to escape such confinements to a “state of plenitude and enhanced power” where they can redefine and assert their identity using the new language, together with its symbolic and instrumental dimensions (2009, p.14).

A key component in the escape function of desire is imagination, which provides a means through which learners can express their “imagined identities” (Norton 2013). These allow individuals to explore

“various possibilities of the self in real or imagined encounters with others” (Kramersch 2009, p.15) and to “re-envision how things are as how they want them to be” (Darvin and Norton 2015, p.46). Pavlenko and Norton (2007, p.670) stress the role of imagination in language learning as “a way to appropriate meanings and create new identities (...) to transcend the focus on the learners’ immediate environment”. Thus, desire can be a key element in language learning in that it is focused not only on the “target language”, but also “the identities represented by particular accents and varieties, and the recognition, security and symbolic ties that are associated with the learning of this language” (Darvin and Norton 2016, p.26). Indeed, it is not only a speaker’s individual imagined identity that can act as a driving force in language learning. “Imagined communities” of the speakers of the respective language can also play an influential role and emotional function as language learners imagine the community of “native” speakers of the language they are studying and aspire to belong to (Kramersch 2009; Pavlenko and Norton 2007). These imagined communities may, underpinned by essentialist ideologies, reproduce stereotypes that can also be projected onto the respective language itself.

A speaker with a strong desire to learn a language may be highly committed to the language learning process. A widely used framework used to study the motivations involved in language learning is Norton’s concept of investment (Norton Peirce 1995), which is often described as the sociological complement of motivation. It played an influential role in moving away from traditional SLA conceptualisations of a language learner’s motivation as a stable, measurable personality trait towards reconceptualising motivation as more complex and fluid with an important emotional dimension. Investment captures the relationship between a speaker and the language they are learning as socio-historically constructed “in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual” (ibid., p.12). Within this paradigm, the invested learner at the micro level with their imagined identity and aspirations for the future is connected to the wider social world at the macro level where social structures may position and impact on them in various ways (Norton 2013). Thus, investment provides a comprehensive analytical lens through which individual language learning experiences and trajectories can be conceptualised in relation to wider social structures and interactions (Norton Peirce 1995, p.12).

Motha and Lin (2014, p.341) highlight that desire is a central component of investment, given that it precedes actual commitment to and investment in the language learning process. Due to the young age of participants in this study and their social standing as such, their agency to act on language desires and translate them into actual language learning in which they could invest was limited by the language curriculum at school, and also their ability to engage in language learning outside of school. However, the connection between language desire and imagined identity is not affected by this. As such, the theoretical framework of investment can be applied to conceptualise speakers’ language desire and investment in their imagined identities as located within a wider social context that is marked by

structural inequalities, power imbalances, ideologies and policies that can constrain the actualisation of their desires.

In theoretical perspective, investment is situated at the intersection of its three main anchors; identity, ideology and capital (Darvin and Norton 2015). Darvin and Norton define ideologies as “dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion, and the privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations”, and are “constructed and imposed by structures of power and reproduced through hegemonic practices and consent” (ibid., p.44, see also 2.6). Exploring ideology allows us to analyse how power manifests materially through systemic patterns of control (ibid., p.41), with language education policies being one example of such materialisations (see 2.5.3 and 2.6.1). Identity is conceptualised as “a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities”, and plays an important role in the shape of imagined identity as a key element in language desire and investment in the language learning process (ibid., p.45). The framework of investment also draws on Bourdieu’s (1991) work to acknowledge that learners may seek to acquire economic, social, cultural or symbolic capital by learning a new language. Darvin and Norton simplify the notion of capital by arguing that investment (although this also applies to language desire) is partially motivated by a striving for symbolic and material resources such as friendship, education, or better income.

Investment is based on a fluid understanding of capital that recognises that its value is context-bound: if a learner’s capital is valued in a given space, this can be an “affirmation of their identity, a legitimization of their rightful place in different learning contexts” (Darvin and Norton 2015, pp.46–47). However, a learner’s capital might also not be recognised as such and not given symbolic value in a certain space, which can restrict their access to gaining further capital with symbolic power (ibid.). Thus, not all students’ linguistic resources will be recognised as legitimate capital in their school as a result of structures and discourses that value various resources differently and shape the legitimate linguistic spatial repertoire in a given space. For instance, students may find their home language not valued, or even rejected, at school if it is not part of the language curriculum and in a similar light, non-standard varieties of languages on the curriculum may also not be accepted. On the other hand, the languages or language varieties learnt at school may have different capital in students’ communities or in wider society. If the school and classroom language practices are vastly different to those that students encounter at home and in their communities, this may result in a lack of investment in school languages and practices, and research has documented the negative effects of culturally irrelevant and alienating teaching practices and lesson content on students (see e.g. Ladson-Billings 1994; Phyak and Bui 2014). This can have important consequences given that “if learners are not invested in the language practices of the classroom, learning outcomes are limited and educational inequities perpetuated” (Norton 2013, p.17).

The concept of investment has been subject to critique for its focus on how learners navigate their position at the centre of a micro/macro interface, and for overlooking how learners may personally and socially develop in the language learning process outside of socio-economic and political dimensions (Harvey (2017) citing Clarke and Henning (2013)). Pavlenko (2013, pp.19, 23) also argues that the focus on the wider, social context in investment results in an under-analysis of affect or the emotional dimension of language. The present study counteracts these possible shortcomings by using the theoretical framework of investment in combination with the notion of language desire and an explicit focus on the lived experience of language. In addition, the analysis also draws on interactional approaches to language attitudes and positioning theory to frame and explore the discursive and visual expression of participants' lived experience of language.

2.4 Language attitudes and positioning

In their overview of the development of metalinguistic research, Coupland and Jaworski (2004, p.16) demonstrate that the five main traditions in this field, most having originated from different disciplines, share substantial overlap. Whereas language ideological research developed in linguistic anthropology and is linked to qualitative approaches (2.6), language attitudinal research has traditionally been marked by quantitative, experimental methods. Other concepts related to the study of metalanguage such as positioning theory (e.g. Harré and Van Langenhove 1998) or stance (e.g. Jaffe 2009) also share similarities between themselves, as well as with attitudinal and ideological research. In the mid 1990s, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p.56) highlighted the lack of clear delineation between such research areas and paradigms that explored the “cultural conceptions of language”, and argued for the need of “some coordination” in the field of metalinguistics. Several decades later, this need for coordination is still present to some degree, and researchers pursuing a metalinguistic interest are faced with a wide range of choice in relation to theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks. This section engages with two approaches that can support the analysis of the lived experience of language; an interactional understanding of language attitudes that is supported by positioning theory.

Attitudinal research is a corner stone of social psychology, where attitudes are viewed as fixed cognitive phenomena that are internal to the individual, and whose externalised expressions are observed in certain conditions (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2017, pp.2–3). Studies in this field have traditionally relied on experimental methods and abstract models of attitudes, such as the mentalist paradigm which advocates a tripartite conceptualisation of attitudes consisting of a cognitive component (beliefs), an affective component (emotions and feelings), and a conative/behavioural component (the intentions individuals may have to act in a certain way based on their feelings and beliefs) (McKenzie 2010, pp.22–23). Edwards (2009, p.83) argues for the importance of distinguishing these components, as it prevents the conflation of attitudes as a whole with compositional parts such as beliefs, for example. Although

in agreement with the analytical precision that is offered by this differentiation, this study adopts a more expansive definition of attitudes that goes beyond the mentalist paradigm and cognitive approaches and takes into account their interactional, discursive dimension.

Positivist quantitative approaches still prevail in attitude research, but they have also been subject to critique (see e.g. Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2009, p.196; Rodgers 2017, p.82). The social constructionist turn has given way to qualitative approaches that view attitudes as social, context-dependent “evaluative practices” that are discursively and interactionally constructed (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998, pp.345, 348), and move their conceptualisation away from “an in-the-head notion that has people carrying around the mental equivalent of ready filled-in Likert scales for the attitude objects in their lives, and towards a notion of heterogeneous evaluative practices which are used in different settings for different purposes” (Jonathon Potter quoted in *ibid.*, p.335). The present study draws on such a qualitative approach and aligns with Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain’s (2009, p.217) call to highlight the context within which attitudes are expressed:

language attitudes are context-dependent in at least two ways: they emerge within the context of the interactional structure, and they are expressed under the influence of the situational context, which includes both larger ideologies present in a culture and the immediate context of the interactants and how they are seen by others. Building on this, it can be said that language attitudes are created and transmitted through talk, but they retain power through larger cultural ideologies that are perpetuated through individual instances of talk. In this sense, attitudes are both created and shaped through interaction, and brought to each individual interaction in the form of ideology.

This interactional discursive approach is marked by a highly context-sensitive analysis that focuses on attitudes “at their most contextualised and least abstracted form” (2009, p.201). Influenced by critical discourse analysis, attention is paid to the wider ideological context within which language attitudes are constructed. In this light, both ideologies and attitudes are understood to be “related and interacting” in that the wider ideological context may influence the expression of attitudes, which at the same time also contribute to the reproduction of, or resistance to, ideologies (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2017, p.3, see also 2.6). In order to connect the local, interactional context to wider social discourses and structures, this interactional discursive approach operates on three analytical levels: thematic/content, turn-internal semantic/pragmatic, and interactional. The present study expands on this by adding a visual level in order to respond to the multimodal nature of the data and because the present study is not fully conversation analytically inclined, the semantic/pragmatic level will not be systematically addressed in each analysed data extract.

Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain’s interactional discursive approach also draws on positioning theory, which provides concrete tools to conceptualise how speakers express attitudes through discursive positionings of self and others. Positioning theory was originally developed by Davies and Harré (1990) and has its origins in the Foucauldian notion of ‘subject positions’ (Depperman 2015). Positioning

theory is not only used in interactional approaches to language attitudes, but is also instrumental in research on the wider notion of identity. For instance, Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) discursive, fragmented and relational conceptualisations of identity explicitly draw on positioning theory to frame how individual expressions of identity are constructed interactionally within, and in relation to, wider social structures and discourses. Positioning theory as well as constructionist understandings of identity have highlighted that such positionings can be subject to constraints and restrictions because they are contextually embedded and always exist in relation to wider structures and discourses. As such, positionings can be questioned, rejected or negotiated (see e.g. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). The present study does not employ a conceptual framework of identity per se and limits its focus to individual, interactional discursive positionings that, together with the visual data created by participants, can provide a snapshot into how participants understand their (linguistic) sense of self and how they wish to portray this in the specific time and place of data generation.

More specifically, the positioning theory approach adopted in this study draws on Bamberg's (1997; 2004) interactionally oriented interpretation that adopts a performance-based understanding of narratives and storytelling, focusing on linguistic and extra-linguistic elements as well as the social meanings that they index. Korobov (2001) has pointed out that, on a methodological level, Bamberg's model of positioning theory reconciles the long standing opposition between Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis by taking a performance-based stance that focuses on linguistic interactional performances, but also explores what the indexicality of linguistic and extra-linguistic forms indicates about a speaker's understanding of self with regards to wider social discourses and structures. This allows data analysis to maintain sensitivity to "hearing" individuals as much as possible, while linking what they say to wider social discourses and global contexts (ibid., p.11). Bamberg's model includes three analytical levels where speakers can align or disalign with firstly narrative content, secondly the characters within it, and thirdly the participants in the discursive interaction. Interlocutors can also position themselves with regards to each other and wider social discourses, and express aspects of their understanding of self (1997, p.341). This creates a dialogic understanding of the relationship between 'person' and 'world' through which the researcher is able to observe "how subjects position themselves in relation to the discourses by which they are positioned" (2004, p.137). Although Bamberg's model focuses on narratives and storytelling, it can productively be applied to other types of discourse that do not necessarily aim to tell a story per se but nonetheless constitute an interactive site where speakers interactionally create and negotiate positionings. Discourse and narrative have also become an increasing point of interest in some language policy scholarship, which will be the focus of discussion in the following section.

2.5 Language policy as a field of inquiry

2.5.1 Four waves of language policy and planning

Ricento (2000) has suggested that three separate waves have marked language policy and planning (LPP) research over the last decades and, taking into account more recent developments in the field, Johnson and Ricento (2013) describe four such paradigmatic shifts. The first phase in LPP developed in the 1960s in a wider context of decolonisation, structuralism and pragmatism with a focus on status and corpus planning (see e.g. Fishman et al. 1968). Much of this research tended to view itself, as well as the languages worked with, as removed from socio-political and historical contexts and hence ideologically neutral (Ricento 2000; Johnson and Ricento 2013, pp.7–8). With the start of the second shift from the 1970s to the 1980s, LPP research started to promote “analyses of the social, political, and economic motivations behind language policies as well as the political discourses which serve to advance these policies” (Ricento 2000; Davis 2014, p.84). It was marked by an increasingly critical engagement with the socio-political and ideological underpinnings of language policies, alongside a growing awareness that LPP research needed to expand its scope beyond top-down policies from governing bodies (Johnson and Ricento 2013). Indeed, a seminal publication in this time that was openly engaging with the ideological nature of policy making is Ruíz’s (1984) article on language orientations. He outlines three orientations; language as resource, problem and right, that influence language policy making, and these are closely interlinked with language ideologies (see 2.6). Horner’s (2011) addition of a fourth orientation; duty, constructively reconceptualises the original framework as a continua of orientations, with resource and problem, and right and duty, as the respective ends of the continua.

The third paradigmatic shift in LPP happened in the mid-1980s to early 1990s, and was marked by postmodernism and an increased emphasis on linguistic human rights (Ricento 2000). Critical approaches became firmly established in this wave and pushed the understanding of language policy beyond text-based, top-down, government-issued documents. A new recognition that language policy cannot be viewed as consisting of dichotomous top-down or bottom-up directions; or macro and micro divisions, was also stressed by Hornberger and Ricento (1996), whose metaphorical LPP onion illustrated the many components, agents, levels and processes that interact in a complex multi-layered fashion in LPP. As such, Johnson (2016, pp.13–14) argues that attempts to understand the connections between the power of policy, discourses and “empirical understandings of the agency of policy actors” were a major hallmark of third-wave LPP research. In this light, Spolsky’s (2003) language policy model includes language ideologies and language practices as elements alongside language management, and Shohamy (2006) proposes an even more expanded view of language policy through the concept of language policy mechanisms. In tandem with the third wave, ethnographic studies in multilingual (educational) contexts with an interest in language policy started to increasingly take

political stances and advocate for linguistic minorities and equitable educational opportunities (e.g. Davis 1994, Zentella 1997, Heller 2006).

Research in the fourth and current LPP wave continues to focus on unpacking the micro-macro dialectic through evolving definitions of language policy, the incorporation of empirical data, and a growing focus on research methodology including researcher reflexivity, ethics, positionality, as well as political activism and advocacy (Johnson 2016, p.14). Thus, current LPP research is part of what Johnson and Ricento call critical language policy scholarship which attempts to find “a balance between structure and agency – between critical conceptualizations that focus on the power of language policy and ethnographic and other qualitative work that focuses on the power of language policy agents” (2013, p.13). Much recent and current LPP research has aimed to explore this balance by moving beyond the micro/macro divide and adopting qualitative paradigms that are ethnographic (e.g. McCarty and Liu 2017), discursive (e.g. Barakos and Unger 2016a), and engaged (e.g. Davis 2014). These various approaches overlap to a certain degree and LPP is not, and never has been, a unified field. Such a mix of theories, methods and approaches; or inter- and transdisciplinarity, allows for the flexibility of studies to best meet “the needs of the context in which data is collected” (Johnson and Ricento 2013, p.16).

2.5.2 Critical discursive approaches to language policy

Discursive approaches to language policy are based on an understanding of language policy as a “multiphenomenon that is constituted and enacted in and through discourse” and “constructs, transports and recontextualises ideologies about the value of language and their speakers” (Barakos and Unger 2016a, pp.1, 2; see also Johnson 2016; Barakos 2016). Barakos argues that discursive approaches to language policy are practice-based in that they see the analysis of textual policy data on its own as insufficient to understand “the complex interaction of policy actors, action, and the political, economic and social structures shaping these” (2016, p.24). Within this wide contextual view, language policy is seen as navigating, or connecting, structure and agency. Explaining the critical aspect of discursive approaches to language policy in more depth, Cushing (2019, p.3) highlights that they allow for the tracing of “trajectories and contact points between different policy layers”, through which language policies are devised, implemented, interpreted and appropriated. It is at these contact points where language policies are given “meaning” and where “certain discourses about language emerge” (ibid., p.2).

Barakos and Unger also highlight that, as a critical approach that questions dominant ideologies and normative assumptions, a discursive approach to language policy explores “notions of space and time; engage[s] with the visual, the material, and the affective; and look[s] at these from a diachronic and synchronic perspective and in specific social and discursive contexts” (2016: 2, 3). As such, the

discursive understanding of language policy adopted by this study, through its context-sensitive and language ideological approach, provides an appropriate theoretical framework for the multimodal data generated with participants that focuses on the lived experience of language and language policy. The present study expands discursive approaches to language policy by foregrounding the affective, emotional and subjective experience of language policy and drawing on the notion of the lived experience of language; making use of the overlap between both areas of scholarship. This intersection constitutes an under-researched aspect of language policy and Shohamy (2009) calls for research to include the personal and human dimension of language and language policy. More recently, Cushing (2019, p.21) argued that ethnographic language policy research should explore the “‘social life’ of language policies and better understand the experience of those who are part of them”. Given that the present study focuses on the experiences with language of young people in an educational context, it is important to discuss language education policies and schools as institutions that are, to some degree, structured by the former. This will be the focus of the following section.

2.6 Education, language education policy and ideology

Heller (2006, p.9) has described schools as cultural institutions of nationalism that are “devoted to reproducing the idea of the nation, and to making it function”. Bourdieu (1991) highlighted the role of mainstream education systems as key institutions contributing to the regulation of social and cultural order by, among other things, reproducing and legitimising certain beliefs and practices that are valued by powerful social groups in a given political context. This includes the dominant linguistic habitus; a “set of dispositions, or learned behaviours, which provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives” (Blackledge 2002, p.69), and that is legitimated by, and reproduced through, the education system. Indeed, ethnographic studies as early as Heath (1983), or Davis (1994) focusing on Luxembourg specifically, have found that schools mirror the literacy and language practices of upper- and middle-class families more closely than those of working-class families, and taking into account other variables such as linguistic background, race or ethnicity can highlight even more complex intersections (see e.g. Flores and Rosa 2015). In this light, Dalmau, drawing on Bourdieu, compares schools to sites of struggle “where inequality is transmitted and reproduced under the umbrella of meritocracy” (2009, p.39). In light of differences in students’ academic achievement, these are often “attributed to perceived deficiencies in the student, rather than in the system” (Shapiro 2014, p.390). A key tool through which schools transmit the dominant linguistic habitus and legitimate certain values, beliefs, practices and languages over others is language education policies.

2.6.1 Language education policy and ideology

Shohamy defines language education policy (LEP) as a “mechanism used to create de facto language practices in educational institutions” that can “turn ideology into practice” (2006, p.76). In this light, LEP is an immensely powerful tool that “can create and impose language behavior in a system which it is compulsory for all children to participate in” (ibid., p.77). Engaging with medium-of-instruction policies as a kind of LEP specifically, Tollefson and Tsui demonstrate that these are part of educational agendas that are underpinned by political, social and economic interests and function as a key tool in the distribution of power and reproduction of unequal social structures (2003, p.2). Thus, choices made in relation to the medium of instruction and other language education policies are not only about “educational efficacy” and this warrants that socio-political and historical contexts be taken into consideration when analysing them (ibid., p.17, 3). In addition, Tollefson and Tsui (ibid., p.292) argue for the importance of analysing both pedagogical implications of medium of instruction policies, such as students’ content and language learning, overall academic performance, and development of their linguistic repertoire, but also their wider political implications in relation to the reproduction of social stratification and unequal power relationships.

LEP, however, is not just limited to directives emanating from institutions that represent the interests of certain social groups in an attempt to control the language practices of students at and through school. It is important to adopt a wider perspective when analysing LEP that allows room to also incorporate de facto language practices and the implementation and negotiation of LEP on the ground. Advocating for an expanded view of LP that includes various policy mechanisms, Shohamy highlights that LEP is not limited to explicit and overt policies (e.g. documents, curricula) and that textbooks, teaching practices and tests are some examples of implicit practices from which LEP can also be derived (ibid., p.77). In this light, LEP is a broad concept that includes, for example, the practical organisation of the language curriculum, testing, definitions of proficiency, choice of the medium of instruction, and also what role students’ home languages can play in the education system. In an attempt to further expand our understanding of LEP, other scholars have also advocated for the importance of taking into account the role of educators as agents in the implementation and negotiation of LEP in the classroom (see e.g. Menken and García 2010). Little research has, however, investigated the role of students as implementers and negotiators of LEP (cf. Boyd and Huss 2017).

The majority of the frameworks and concepts reviewed above take, to some degree, an ideological approach. Thus, it is essential to engage with the concept of ideology and language ideologies in order to better understand the connections between language ideologies and LEP. Blommaert describes ideologies as “common sense, the normal perceptions we have of the world as a system, the naturalised activities that sustain social relations and power structures, and the patterns of power that reinforce such

common sense” (2005, pp.158–159). Indeed, power is a key element in my understanding of (language) ideologies as they operate within institutional environments and are, as such, linked to groups with societal power. Although agreeing with a conceptualisation of ideologies as ideational, cognitive phenomena, this research also draws on materialist understandings of ideologies as “processes that require material reality and institutional structures and practices of power and authority” (ibid., p.163), such as Althusser’s (2001) ideological state apparatuses, for example. These are institutions that operate below the state level, such as education systems or the media, and are crucial for the reproduction and validation of ideologies. Blommaert summarises this combination of cognitive and materialist views by arguing that ideologies are “materially mediated ideational phenomena” (2005, p.164); in other words, ideologies operate in and between institutional, societal and individual discursive and interactional domains.

Language ideologies, more specifically, can be defined as forming “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989, p.225). Kroskrity (2000, pp.7–8) describes language ideologies as a “cluster-concept” with many interconnected dimensions that are grounded in socio-political and economic interests, and can be connected to uses of language “as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those interests”. Because ideologies are grounded in social experiences which are innumerable, language ideologies are also multiple with some being subject to contestation and rejection while others are taken for granted or “dominant” (ibid., pp.12-13). Kroskrity stresses that individuals may not be aware of language ideologies and proposes a correlational view of dominant language ideologies that are ‘invisible’ and unchallenged, whereas more salient and “visible” ideologies may be subject to contestation and resistance because of their visibility (ibid., p.19). In addition, Kroskrity draws attention to the fact that “language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk”, which refers to the dialogic relationship that exists between language ideologies and their reproduction, in part, through semiotic interactions (ibid., p.21). A final contribution of Kroskrity that this study adopts is the term ‘language regime’, which invokes the presence of political power in relation to language which can sometimes be viewed as apolitical or asocial (ibid., p.3). Henceforth, the trilingual language curriculum in the Luxembourgish education system will be referred to as a language regime in order to signal that the use of Luxembourgish, German and French in the education system in their current roles is not random or natural, but a politically motivated choice.

2.6.2 Language ideologies

This subsection discusses several language ideologies that dominate popular Western understandings of language and highlights the links between language ideologies, education and language policy. Section 2.2 above described the ideological construction of languages as discrete, self-contained

entities, and this belief is central to all language ideologies reviewed below. The ideology of monolingualism as the norm will serve as a starting point of discussion, as it underpins all other reviewed ideologies to some extent, all of which are also closely intertwined.

In a first instance, the ideology of monolingualism as the norm denotes the belief that monolingual language behaviour is normal or natural (Skutnabb-Kangas 2013; Weber 2009a, p.120), and underpins several other language ideologies. On a basic level, this ideology operates on an understanding of languages as separate, bounded entities. In this light, multilingualism on the individual level is frequently understood as “parallel monolingualism” (Heller 2006); in other words, the co-existence (and preferably native-like mastery) of perceived separate language systems. Frequently, such idealised forms of individual multilingualism can be seen as resources (see e.g. Horner (2011) on the Luxembourgish context), especially if they include languages that are associated with symbolic capital in speakers’ respective contexts. The belief in monolingualism as the norm is not only widespread in popular discourses, but research has also been critiqued for the presence of a monolingual bias (see Ortega (2014) for critique of SLA, Almér (2017)).

The belief that monolingualism is the norm also underpins what Ortega (2014) has termed ideologies of linguistic birth rights, which include the mother tongue ideology and the native speaker ideal. The former is based on the belief that a speaker can have only one mother tongue and foregrounds its moral significance as “the one first and therefore real language of a speaker, transparent to the true self” (Woolard 1998, p.18). As such, the notion of the mother tongue can imply essentialist connections between language, proficiency and identity, and has been critiqued for this. However, the concept of mother tongue also plays an important role in action research supporting linguistic human rights (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Philippon 1989a, 1989b). Connected to the mother tongue is often the notion of the idealised native speaker, which is a Chomskyan notion that is frequently used as a benchmark for assessing proficiency and a goal for language learners (May 2014, p.7). The term denotes “a language user who not only has had exposure to the language by birth (...) but who also had a monolingual upbringing” (Ortega 2014, p.35). Similar to the mother tongue ideology, these two criteria construct the language competence of the native speaker as superior and pure “in the absence of detectable traces of any other languages” (ibid.). In contrast to this, the language competence of other speakers is seen as non-native; a “derivative and approximate kind of linguistic competence” that is not accorded the same sense of legitimacy. Thus, the native speaker ideal not only reinforces the ideology of monolingualism as norm, but also invisibilises or alienates the realities of multilingual speakers and positions “linguistic ownership by birth and monolingual upbringing as superior” to those of non-natives (ibid., p.36).

Terminology such as ‘mother tongue’, ‘native speaker’ or ‘first language’ does not fit with a biographical understanding of the linguistic repertoire, and Rampton (2005, p.312) has critiqued these

notions for their essentialist implications. In a deconstruction of the ‘native speaker’; he proposes a model that differentiates between a speaker’s expertise (linguistic proficiency), affiliation (allegiance or attitude), and inheritance (language transmission within social boundaries) (ibid., p.322-5). This deconstruction enables an analysis of these separate elements that are not taken for granted, and also draws attention to the affective dimension of language under ‘affiliation’. The notion of ‘home language’ has also come to enjoy widespread use and refers to the language(s) “spoken among the members of the family in direct interaction” (Blommaert 2017, p.2), but has equally been critiqued for assuming the role of the home to be the most important one when it comes to language socialisation, seemingly restricted to parent-child interaction focusing on oral language transmission (ibid.). Thus, Blommaert advocates for the importance of establishing the “actual structure of the repertoire of the children” (ibid.), which is one of the aims of the present research (see Chapter 5).

Applying the ideology of monolingualism as the norm onto the communal level translates into the belief in the normality of societal monolingualism. This denotes the one nation, one language ideology, whose origins are usually traced back to German Romanticism and which is based on beliefs in the existence of a natural, essential link between a nation and “its” language (Wright 2004). The true, authentic character of a nation is seen to be inextricably linked to the national language; the mother tongue of the native speakers who constitute the nation. The practical implications of this ideology, for example, are evident in language testing for citizenship, or its influence on discourses around immigration and integration. Here, the “dogma of homogeneity” propagates a view of imagined homogeneity as normal and stipulates that diversity threatens the social cohesion of a group (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). By extension of such views, societal multilingualism is viewed as a problem although, as numerous studies have documented, these beliefs can co-exist with orientations towards individual multilingualism as a resource (Weber 2009b, p.23).

Languages are frequently portrayed as bounded, separate entities, and such popular conceptions of language can also be underpinned by a standard language ideology. This can be defined as “a bias toward an abstract, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the speech of the upper middle class” (Lippi-Green 2011, pp.66–67). Milroy and Milroy point out that it is more useful to think about standardisation as a process and ideology than a variety (2012, pp.19, 45), as such a dynamic view recognises the inherent tensions that exist within the standard language ideology: it conflates spoken and written language when full standardisation can only be achieved in written language, and thus speakers’ ideas of the standard do not reflect actual spoken language use where there always exists variation (Lippi-Green 2011, p.59; Milroy and Milroy 2012, p.18,19). In a similar light, Weth and Juffermans (2018, pp.6, 10–11) highlight the “tyranny” of writing in that humans (ab)use it to create social distinctions such as correct and incorrect, or knowledgeable

and ignorant, and transfer norms of writing to oral communication which is a form of linguistic prescriptivism (ibid., p.12). Beliefs in the existence of only one correct, standard form of language are the result of codification and prescription processes that legitimate the norms of a standard language variety (Milroy and Milroy 2012, p.30), and are underpinned by the belief that “an idealized nation-state has one perfect, homogeneous language” (Lippi-Green 2011, p.67).

Non-standard language use, language practices that are seen to threaten the perceived purity of a language (see e.g. Thomas 1991; Langer and Davies 2005), or any language use that deviates from “monolingual” language use are usually subject to negative evaluations due to the fact that language is often treated as an indicator for identity, aesthetics, morality, “clarity and truthfulness” (Woolard 1998, p.3; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p.64). In relation to multilingualism more specifically, perceptions of “good” individual multilingualism as parallel monolingualism also influence what types of language practices are perceived to be “normal” or legitimate. Multilingual speakers who do not “keep their languages separate” are often stigmatised for doing so, and their language practices are interpreted as signalling a lack of linguistic proficiency rather than as natural linguistic behaviour. Education systems play a key role in perpetuating what is seen as legitimate and “good” language use by, for instance, perpetuating the belief in the superiority of standard language varieties through their teaching instead of other varieties, and promoting “separate bilingualism” through parallel language teaching (Hornberger and Link 2012). Indeed, schools are “at the heart of the standardization process” (Lippi-Green 2011, p.68), which involves processes of subordination of language and language practices that are “non-standard” and by condemning them as morally subordinate and inappropriate (Milroy and Milroy 2012; see also Cushing 2019). Separatist understandings of multilingualism also underpin the majority of LEP in Western mainstream education systems, where parallel monolingualism is favoured and languages are taught in simultaneous or sequential additive forms; all based on models of monolingual literacy (García, Bartlett and Kleifgen 2008, p.219). Cummins (2008) has described such separate language teaching as a “two solitudes approach to bilingualism” which reinforces the conception of languages as distinct and delineable (May 2014, p.8), and also legitimises language practices that are at odds with the actual flexible multilingual practices of many students (Blackledge and Creese 2010, p.113).

Young (2014) has illustrated how a lack of understanding of students’ linguistic repertoires and multilingual language practices can lead teachers to adopt deficit views in relation to their students. This can (subconsciously) translate into low expectations on the part of the teacher which, in turn, may negatively influence their teaching as well as students’ performance (see Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). Deficit views can also be bound up with wider societal discourses that position certain students as linguistically or academically deficient. This links to Davis’ (1994, p.188) caution in relation to the Luxembourgish context that students who are immersed in an educational environment in which their

home languages and cultures are positioned as subordinate experience submersion rather than immersion. Focusing on the US and drawing on critical race theory, Shapiro (2014) illustrates the problematic role that one-size-fits-all education, including standardised testing that is based on a monolithic understanding of legitimate knowledge and skills, play in the perpetuation of such deficit discourses. These construct linguacultural, racial and ethnic differences not as resources but as educational obstacles that cause an “achievement gap” (2014, p.387). In a compelling analysis of English Language Learner’s (ELL) perceptions of deficit discourses that position them as not proficient in English and academically deficient, Shapiro explores how these young people actively reacted and resisted such discourses. However, students may equally internalise and misrecognise such deficit discourses and positionings and believe that they are indeed at fault for low academic achievements, rather than inequitable structures and processes (James 2015).

All of the language ideologies discussed above include, to different degrees, an evaluative element that constructs some language practices as superior to others. Thus, a language ideology that arguably underlies all of them is the language hierarchy ideology, which denotes the belief that some language varieties and practices are inherently better, or worse, than others (Weber 2009a, p.115). As such, the ‘mother tongue’ or ‘native proficiency’ on the micro level, or the national language on the macro level, are seen as the only ones that can truly represent the authentic self of the speaker and the nation and guarantee social cohesion. The language hierarchy ideology can also be bound up with the belief that standard language varieties, ‘native-like proficiency’ or ‘pure’ language practices are superior, both in moral value and linguistic logic, to non-standard, non-native or flexible language practices. In this light, the selection of which languages and language varieties are taught and used in school form “institutionalised language hierarchies” (Hélot and Young 2002). Unless actively counteracted by teachers, these can create situations marked by “ignored bilingualism” (Hélot 2007), where students’ linguistic resources that are not part of the language curriculum are ignored or devalued. Young (2014, p.163) argues that insistence on the languages, language varieties and pedagogies prescribed by official LEP without acknowledging the actual linguistic repertoires, language practices and needs of students constitutes a “covert policy of neglect”. Finally, Martín Rojo (2015) has framed such practices as decapitalisation, which refers simultaneously to processes through which students’ (linguistic) resources are not valued at school, but also how certain educational practices and processes such as early tracking can prevent students from forming further capital in the future.

2.7 Concluding discussion

This chapter has discussed the key theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks that this study is grounded in. Some important commonalities that are shared across the theoretical framework and that are essential to the following data analysis include a discursive approach to both participants’ lived

experience of language and language policies, a critical engagement with language policies and the research process in itself (i.e. researcher reflexivity), and a dialogic understanding of how micro-level interactions and expressions are linked to wider social discourses and ideologies. Finally, the aim to foreground the subjective, affective dimension of language by focusing on the lived experience of language and language policy aligns with a wider trend in sociolinguistics and beyond. Some of the theoretical grounding outlined above will now be applied in the following chapter, which provides more background information on and engages in a critical discussion of language and education in Luxembourg.

Chapter 3: Language and education in Luxembourg

The previous chapter has outlined the theoretical grounding of this study in the notion of the lived experience of language and discursive approaches to language policy. This frames the analytical focus on the perspectives of primary school children in Luxembourg, who go through an education system that uses the three officially recognised languages of the state. Chapter 1 already explored the tensions that exist between Luxembourg often being represented as a harmonically multicultural country in which multilingualism is cherished, and the language situation being complex with language ideological debates frequently bound up with other public debates about education or citizenship, for example. In order to give an insight into the complex context that the participants of this research navigate, both inside the school and outside, this chapter provides an overview of Luxembourg and its language situation, as well as of the state education system. Section 3.1 provides a historical overview of the development of Luxembourg as a nation-state and its language situation, and then discusses the current language situation and how it is tied up with various language ideological debates. Section 3.2 focuses on the education system and provides a diachronic (3.2.1) as well as synchronic (3.2.2) overview of language education policies. Subsection 3.2.3 includes a brief excursion on the role of Luxembourgish in the education system, before subsections 3.2.4 and 3.2.5 outline the inequalities in the education system in further depth and outline responses that have (not) been brought forward to address them.

3.1 Contextual information on Luxembourg

3.1.1 Historical overview: Development of a nation-state and its language situation

Most accounts trace the origins of Luxembourg back to 963 when Count Sigefroi, Count of the Ardennes, exchanged some of his land for a fortification called ‘Lucilinburhuc’ on the ‘Bockfiels’ rock, which is located in what is now Luxembourg city (Péporté 2011, p.21). Luxembourg switched between various ruling houses over the centuries, and its path to full independence started in 1815, when the Congress of Vienna declared the Duchy a Grand Duchy. Through this, Luxembourg was given official independence, but it was still under Dutch rule and entered the German Confederation with the Prussian garrison being stationed in Luxembourg city (Murdock 2016, p.17). After the 1839 Treaty of London, Luxembourg established its own government and defined its current borders after its Western part was ceded to Belgium. In 1867, Luxembourg was declared neutral under the Treaty of London and the Prussian garrison was removed.

As a result of its geographical location on the Germanic/Romance language border, various Germanic and Romance varieties have been used in the territory of present-day Luxembourg over the centuries. In the mid-14th century, the Luxembourgish territory (which exceeded the contemporary one in size)

was divided into a German and a Walloon quarter, each with their own German/French language administrations. It was through the 1839 partition that the last remainders of the (Western) Walloon quarter were ceded to/incorporated by Belgium, thus leaving Luxembourg with its current borders. Horner and Weber (2008, p.90) point out that these two quarters are often presented as the basis of the Luxembourgish trilingualism, in particular regarding the use of German and French as administrative languages. The 1839 partition is often imagined as having left the Grand Duchy linguistically homogeneous with an only Luxembourgish-speaking population remaining after the cession of the Walloon quarter. Such accounts draw on references to historical depth, which Pietikäinen et al. (2016, p.79) argue is a common strategy for authentication and legitimation in cases where these “qualities” are not self-evident. However, Horner and Weber argue that “the population was not homogeneous in this respect as there existed various degrees of bilingualism and (...) various literacy practices among the population” (2008, p.73). Indeed, French generally functioned as the language of prestige and culture for the higher classes, and there existed no widespread understanding of Luxembourgish as a language in its own right prior to the 20th century. Rather, people referred to it as “our German”.

Not only Luxembourg’s geographical location, but also socio-demographic changes have contributed to the evolution of its language situation (and continue to do so). During the Second World War, Luxembourg was incorporated into the Third Reich and subjected, among other things, to processes of Germanicisation (Horner and Weber 2008, p.74). The aftermath of the War was marked by a decline in the status and functional use of German, and governmental attempts to “diminish the cultural relationship with Germany and the German language” (Gilles 2015, p.130). It disappeared, for example, completely from political discourse, and even though Luxembourgish started being used more in this domain, French continued to dominate in the political arena (Péporté *et al.* 2010, p.283). Popular accounts of the Nazi occupation are right to point to the crucial role that Luxembourgish played in resistance movements and in consolidating its link to Luxembourgish national identity, however portrayals of this time as a “pivotal historical moment in solidifying the recognition of Luxembourgish as the national language” need to be engaged with critically (Horner and Wagner 2012, p.448; see also Wagner and Davies 2009). The systematic build-up of momentum surrounding Luxembourgish (arguably culminating in the 1984 Language Law) only started a few decades after the Second World War.

Important socio-demographic changes linked to immigration in the second half of the 20th century played a crucial role in the social movements pushing for the passing of the 1984 Language Law, which marked the first time that the language situation in Luxembourg was officially “regulated”. In the 19th century, Luxembourg used to be a country of emigration but the 20th century was marked by several periods of heavy immigration, most notably from Italy and Portugal. The discovery of mineral deposits in the South in the late 19th century and the consequent rapid development of the steel industry

necessitated the recruitment of (temporary) guest workers mostly from Italy, and to a lesser extent from Germany (Horner and Weber 2008, p.73). Further socio-economic developments in the 20th century led to more (permanent) immigration from Italy, especially between the 1950s and 70s, which continued to target labour in the steel sector. Immigration from Portugal (including Cape Verde) started in the late-60s and targeted the steel, but mostly the building sector to support large infrastructure developments (Murdock 2016, p.34). A guest-worker agreement with Portugal stated the right for immediate family members to move to Luxembourg (Kollwelter 2007), and family unifications were occurring on a de facto level. To date, Portuguese nationals constitute the largest minority group in Luxembourg (including individuals with a Cape Verdean background): in 2019, 15.6% of the population were Portuguese compared to 3.7% Italians (STATEC 2019b).

These periods of immigration left their mark on the language situation in Luxembourg: although various lusophone varieties are still widely spoken today, this true to a lesser degree for Italian. In fact, Italians are largely considered to have “assimilated” over the generations and many have benefitted from opportunities at upward social mobility (Murdock 2016: 34, Davis 1994: 10). This has not applied to the same extent to Portuguese nationals, of which a large number is employed in low-skilled jobs; predominately in the construction and cleaning sectors (Beirão 1999, p.21; see also Tavares 2020). Education plays an important role with regards to the professional opportunities available to students, and schools are a key factor in the perpetuation of disadvantages for students with migrant backgrounds over generations (Piller 2016). In Luxembourg, it is a well-documented fact that students with a language minoritised background, especially luso-descendant students, systematically underperform (see e.g. Davis 1994, Weber 2009a, Hadjar, Fischbach, and Backes 2018, OECD 2016b).

Immigration has steadily been increasing since the 1970s, following the expansion of the banking and investment sector and the establishment of various EU institutions in the capital city (Horner and Weber 2008, p.71), and more recently linked to the moves of big multinational companies to Luxembourg. The majority of these transnationals hail from EU-member states and have contributed to major socio-demographic changes in Luxembourg: the percentage of foreign residents has continuously and rapidly risen from 13% in 1961, to 29.4% in 1991, to 43% in 2011, and 47.5% in 2019 (STATEC 2018; STATEC 2019b). These changes have evidently had repercussions on the language situation: in a first instance, there has been a growing use of spoken French, especially as a lingua franca. Secondly, English has become used increasingly, especially in the professional domain where it is used as a work lingua franca in numerous private sector companies, and in the private domain predominately within the so-called “expat” community.

3.1.2 Contemporary language situation and language ideological debates

Important socio-demographic changes from the 1970s onwards, tied up with the emergence of language ideological debates, contributed to growing public pressure calling for more support for Luxembourgish which was perceived by many to be endangered, especially by the growing presence of French. This momentum eventually influenced the passing of the 1984 Language Law (Mémorial 1984), which marked the first time that Luxembourgish was given official recognition as a language in its own right. The text recognises Luxembourgish as the national language (article 1), French as the legislative language (article 2), and German, French and Luxembourgish as administrative and judicial languages (article 3). The fourth and final article states that state administrators must respond to petitions and queries drawn up in one of these three languages using that same language “as far as possible”. Besides inconsequential articles related to language use in the 1848 and 1948 constitutions (Scheer 2017, pp.18, 19), the 1984 Language Law constituted a first move towards explicit language policy making and was “connected to the perceived need for a legitimate language to justify the continued existence of an autonomous nation-state as well as of Luxembourgish (national) identity” (Horner and Weber 2008, pp.106, 111). It also remains the only explicit language policy in Luxembourg to date.

The 1984 Language Law officially recognised patterns of language use that had been established *de facto* for decades. Horner and Weber (2008, p.70) describe this traditional patterned language use as being marked by a “spoken/written” distinction whereby Luxembourgish is used predominantly for spoken functions, and German and French predominantly for written functions. This distinction, however, has been partially reversed by the fact that French is increasingly used in speaking; some domains (such as catering or retail) are even dominated by French. Additionally, Luxembourgish has started being used more and more in writing since the 1990s, especially in the new media and “hybrid forms of communication” (Horner and Weber 2008, p.99; see also Friedrich 2005; Wagner 2013; de Bres and Franziskus 2014). Both of these developments have been crucial in the emergence of language ideological debates, and will be explored separately in more detail below.

Based on the high visibility of spoken French (especially in the capital) and the increasing number of transnationals living and working in Luxembourg, a discourse of endangerment has developed around fears that Luxembourgish might become an endangered minority language and that “Luxembourgers” risk becoming a minority in “their own country” (Horner and Weber 2008, p.183). These discourses of endangerment question the survival of the Luxembourgish nation on the basis of the status of the Luxembourgish language, thus conflating language and speakers. Horner and Weber unpack the unusualness of this situation because even though Luxembourgish is a small language, it is not a minoritised language: “Luxembourgish is *presented* as an endangered language (...) once we focus on speakers, it becomes clear that *people who speak Luxembourgish as a home language are in no way*

oppressed for this reason” (2010, p.182, added emphasis). These discourses are underpinned by views of societal multilingualism as a problem which co-exist with views of individual multilingualism, especially mastery of the trilingual ideal, as an asset (Horner 2011, p.492). Indeed, it is the mastery of Luxembourgish, German and French (and increasingly also English) that is often celebrated as “quintessential Luxembourgish national resource” which serves “strategically to position Luxembourgers as superior to citizens of other countries” (ibid., p.498).

The 2015 referendum is a recent example that illustrates how timely discourses of endangerment still are, and the material effects they can have. There currently exists a democratic deficit in Luxembourg, as only Luxembourg nationals vote in national elections. This means that just above half of the population have this (mandatory) right. This situation was addressed in the 2015 referendum, which included a question about resident foreigners being able to acquire the right to vote in national elections if they had lived in Luxembourg for a minimum of 10 years and had previously participated in communal or European elections. The proposition was rejected by an overwhelming 78.02%, and popular discourses justified this by calling on resident foreigners who wanted to acquire voting rights to learn Luxembourgish in order to obtain Luxembourgish citizenship. Such public discourses and grassroots movements demanding support and protection for Luxembourgish are common. The most recent example of such a grassroots proposition that received a great deal of public attention is the petition nr. 698 (advocating for the appointment of Luxembourgish as the first official and national language) and the public counterpetition nr. 725, both filed in 2016. The opposition of both petitions illustrates the complexity that marks the language situation in Luxembourg as well as the tensions that underpin discussions around the status and role of Luxembourgish.

Whereas public demands for more support and protection of Luxembourgish emerge on a regular basis, official efforts in this direction have been tentative. In July 2018, following a collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Culture, a law was passed with the aim to promote the Luxembourgish language (Mémorial 2018). Its objectives are to reinforce the importance of Luxembourgish, support its usage and learning, encourage the learning of Luxembourgish language and culture, and promote Luxembourgish language and culture (my summary and translation of the four official objectives). The law introduced various new commissions, centres and councils, and was accompanied by the launch of an interactive website⁶, which was designed to be a public forum for individuals to participate in the dialogue about what is to be done about/for Luxembourgish. Four public forums also took place across the country, serving the same purpose. A new website⁷ with a matching brochure were also created to promote Luxembourgish orthography knowledge. The *Zenter fir d’Lëtzbuerger Sprooch* (ZLS) [Centre

⁶ Sproocheronn.lu [language round.lu]

⁷ Schreiwen.lu [writing.lu]

for the Luxembourgish language] published an updated orthography in November 2019, which officially replaced the old one in September 2020. This constitutes an example of explicit creation and prescription of linguistic boundaries (see 2.6.2). The previous orthography had been in place since 1975, and was updated by the 1999 and 2019 spelling reforms (Gilles 2015). The law did not introduce any immediate changes to Luxembourgish language teaching in primary education⁸ (see 3.2.3).

The above described initiatives are part of a movement that is promoting the status of Luxembourgish with a relatively new, and still tentative, emphasis on its orthography, and which was also somewhat present during the time of data collection for this study. For instance, free orthography brochures were lying on a windowsill in a corridor at the school. However, besides these initiatives, the government has been reluctant to officially intervene with regards to the official role of Luxembourgish in education. As a result, writing in Luxembourgish, for the general public, remains a “rather self-regulated activity” (Horner 2015, p.172). In fact, Gilles (2015, p.146) argues that the gradual spread of awareness and implementation of orthographic norms in Luxembourgish cannot be attributed to any macro language planning or formal language policy actions, but rather through “tacit norm implementation” of individuals. In an investigation of the tensions that surround Luxembourgish metalinguistic discourses, Bellamy and Horner (2019, p.327) highlight that

the Luxembourgish language is highly valorised in discourses about Luxembourgish identity, culture and nation but is framed in less favourable terms in other contexts, such as discussions about writing Luxembourgish according to officially sanctioned orthographic norms and comparing Luxembourgish with other European languages.

Bellamy and Horner (*ibid.*, p.337) highlight that the ideological foundations that generally underpin the concepts of a national or standard language do not apply to Luxembourgish, which may be a main cause for these tensions as “literacy in and of itself is a potent symbol of ‘linguageness’ for languages whose claims to be discrete and authoritative codes are recent and, often, tenuous” (Jaffe 2003, p.203). A national language is generally expected to be standardised and to have a written, prestigious form which does not allow for variability. This does not fully apply to Luxembourgish: although it is a national and codified language with an official orthography that is bound up with promotional efforts, it is not “fully bound up with the sociolinguistic process of standardisation” as it is “not used for a wide range of written functions by a large segment of its speakers” and has not become fully “institutionalised” within a wide range of domains in civil society (Kremer and Horner 2016, p.164; May 2011, pp.160–161). However, awareness and individual implementations of orthographic rules may be growing.

⁸ At the time of writing this thesis, it was being discussed to move the one weekly Luxembourgish lesson in the first year of secondary education to the fourth/fifth year (depending on the track, see 3.2.2), and for secondary education schools to offer optional Luxembourgish modules in the higher classes.

The extent to which a speaker will use the three officially recognised languages in their everyday lives can vary: one or more of them may be virtually absent and other languages may be used extensively (Horner 2009; Fehlen *et al.* 1998). Horner (2005) shows that Luxembourgish does not occupy an important role in the day-to-day of many individuals living in Luxembourg. Whereas this fact serves as a basis for claims that Luxembourgish is endangered, the other side of the coin (and a less frequently heard argument) is that Luxembourgish is not easily accessible to all residents. Thus, there exists a tension between on one hand, the relative absence (especially in written form) of Luxembourgish in many public domains, and its construction as the language of integration, for example by being the only language in which proficiency is tested for citizenship (see e.g. Kremer and Horner 2016; Horner and Kremer 2016). In this light, Kremer and Horner (2016, p.164) highlight the habitual separation of issues regarding the (lack of) standardisation and institutionalisation of Luxembourgish and those regarding language education policies and citizenship in media and official discourses. This is because the construction of Luxembourgish as the language of integration stands in opposition to the fact that its sociolinguistic standardisation and institutionalisation have not fully been completed as it is, for example, not systematically taught in schools (see 3.2.2).

Thus, the language situation and especially the role of Luxembourgish within it, are marked by tensions and contradictions. In order to better grasp these tensions, it is important to understand the two-pronged language ideological schema which serves for linguistic identification in Luxembourg: one model of national identification focuses on Luxembourgish only (inward-looking), and the other model focuses on the trilingual ideal (outward-looking). The ideological underpinnings of both models developed in the early 20th century, during a time of ethno-nationalist movements and processes of nation building (Spizzo 1995; Horner 2007). Both models are instrumental for constructions of Luxembourgish national identity, and are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they may function as two sides of the same coin, although Horner and Weber (2010; Weber 2009b) argue that the monolingual, inward-looking model has been gaining more traction in recent years. As such, “official, international, as well as educational discourses often tend towards the latter [trilingual] option, whereas internal or popular discourses are frequently informed by the former [Luxembourgish monolingual]” (Horner and Weber 2010, p.186). Educational discourses draw on the trilingual model by stressing the importance of Luxembourgish, German and French, however citizenship debates draw on the monolingual model by highlighting the importance of only Luxembourgish. It should also be underlined that educational discourses celebrating multilingualism refer to the specific trilingual ideal, other (minoritised) languages are not habitually presented in this light.

As previously mentioned, the 1984 Language Law constitutes the only explicit, legislative policy that “regulates” language use in Luxembourg. Thus, a productive approach to studying the language situation, its reproduction and related discourses is Shohamy’s (2006) suggestion to widen the field of

inquiry by including language policy mechanisms (see 2.5.1). This allows for the exploration of other means through which language use is regulated or patterned. In the case of Luxembourg, these mechanisms are abundant. Language requirements on the job market use the trilingual ideal as a gate keeping device for the civil service sector, and this also has socio-demographic effects: “Luxembourgers” work mostly in the civil service, whereas resident transnationals and commuters work predominantly in the “production and innovation sector” (Kollwelter 2007). Tavares (2018; 2020, p.222) has also explored the role of language as a mechanism for inclusion and exclusion on the job market in Luxembourg, reproducing an “ethno-stratification of the labour market”. Additionally, language requirements for citizenship testing, for example, construct Luxembourgish as the only language of integration, even though French and German are also officially recognised languages. The arguably most crucial language policy mechanism is the education system, which is pivotal in upholding and recreating the trilingual ideal. The following section will explain the Luxembourgish state education system in more depth and critically engage with its language education policies.

3.2 The education system

In Luxembourg, the education system plays a crucial role in the maintenance of the linguistic status quo by transmitting the trilingual ideal; consisting of (spoken) Luxembourgish and mastery of standard (written) German and French. Contrary to the increasingly diversifying language situation and socio-demographics, the state education system and its language regime have remained more or less consistent since the early 20th century (although international schools offering an alternative to the state education system have been opened in recent years, see 3.2.5). The following subsection reviews the historical development of language education policies and then presents a contemporary overview of the different education stages, which includes a critical engagement with the consequences of the inflexibility that marks the language regime.

3.2.1 Historical overview of language education policies

A brief summary of the evolution of language education policies from the early 19th century to date will be outlined below, drawing on Weber and Horner (2012, pp.6–12) and Scheer (2017), and paying close attention to the wider socio-political contexts in which these policies evolved.

Following the 1815 Congress of Vienna, Luxembourg was officially independent but in practice under Dutch rule. As a result, schools during this period taught Dutch, French and German flexibly. Written materials from this period highlight that there existed little national awareness and that Luxembourgers perceived what they spoke to be a variety of German; referring to it as “our German”. Thus, the choice of using German as the language of instruction and for teaching basic literacy skills was a pragmatic

one, underpinned by the linguistic proximity between Luxembourgish and standard German and a lack of views of Luxembourgish as a language in its own right. The 1843 Education Act introduced German and French bilingual education, and although the practical implementation of this depended on individual schools, this Act signalled a “valorisation of the standardised, written varieties of German and French, thus constituting the basis of elite bilingualism that continues to be propagated by the state education system” (Horner and Weber 2008: 107). Thus, happening only three years after the Western Walloon (French administration) territory became Belgian in 1839, the timing of this Act was crucial as it marked a willingness by policy makers to keep ties to both German and French. The sequential teaching of German, followed by French, was instated in the 1870s, and obligatory schooling was introduced in 1881.

The 1912 Education Act was passed during a period of challenges to the role of the Catholic Church and rising ethnonationalist movements, which were in part a response to immigration and shifting demographics, especially in the South of Luxembourg. This Act added Luxembourgish to the curriculum, thus making the language regime officially trilingual. However, it is important to point out that Luxembourgish was generally still not considered to be fully separate from German at this point and its teaching was limited to “reading literary texts and singing songs” (Horner and Weber 2008, p.108). The next Education Act was only passed in 2009, and did not address the language curriculum. Instead, it targeted teaching methodologies by introducing competence-based learning, restructuring year groups and making ‘differentiation’ the new keyword (Weber 2016, p.200) Coming into force shortly after the passing of the 2008 law on citizenship, which introduced formalised language testing in Luxembourgish only (for an overview, see Horner 2011), this Act also appointed Luxembourgish as the language of communication in early childhood education. Both of these developments can be viewed as attempts to support the construction of Luxembourgish as the (only) language of integration. New policies introduced in 2017 targeted smaller changes at specific points in the education system, and will be addressed in the overview of contemporary language education policies in 3.2.2 below.

This brief overview has shown that even though historically, there has been some flexibility in the education system with regards to language teaching and medium of instruction, especially on the school-level, the language regime has remained more or less the same since the early 20th century, despite the country and its population having changed tremendously since then. Indeed, public discourses surrounding the language regime are marked by a “discourse of continuity” that posits the impossibility of changing the education system (Horner and Weber 2008). More specifically, this perceived impossibility to change applies to the roles of German and French in school (however see 3.2.5). Next, it is important to provide an overview of the current structure of the education system and its language education policies.

3.2.2 Language education policies today

Early childhood and pre-primary education

In Luxembourg, *Crèche* and *précoce* (Early Years education institutions for children between the ages of two months to four years, or three to four years respectively) are not mandatory. The 2009 Education Act explicitly appointed a focus on Luxembourgish as the only language of communication (and integration) at this early educational stage, and this monolingual use of Luxembourgish was intended to “encourage communication, maintain a national identity and enhance social cohesion” (Kirsch 2018b, p.449). However, following a new policy introduced in October 2017, state-funded *crèches* are now marked by Luxembourgish-French bilingual policies and encourage the valorisation of children’s home languages. This measure was widely debated in the public sphere because those who already perceive French to endanger the vitality of Luxembourgish saw this policy as giving more ground to French. It was also feared that children would be overwhelmed by being exposed to more than one language at an early age. However, the addition/recognition of French and valorisation of students’ home languages at this early stage of their education marks a positive change, as it recognises students’ entire linguistic repertoires and uses these resources as stepping stones to support their language learning.

Primary education

Following restructuring by the 2009 Education Act, primary education encompasses four cycles (C1-C4) which each include two school years. Cycle 1 includes two years of *Spillschoul* [nursery for children aged four to six], where the prescribed language of instruction is Luxembourgish and as of October 2017, teachers are also encouraged to use French in a playful way to ensure continuity from the introduction of French in early childhood education. It is generally expected that children who do not speak Luxembourgish as a home language will “acquire it through ‘natural’ interaction with other pupils and teachers” without explicit, formal teaching (Weber and Horner 2012, p.245; Weber 2016, p.195). The focus on Luxembourgish at the early stages of the education system is not only intended to fulfil social “integration” purposes, but also to support students in developing high Luxembourgish proficiency to prepare them for the German-language literacy programme awaiting in primary school (Horner and Weber 2010, p.245; 2012, p.245; Scheer 2017, p.73; Weth 2018).

Indeed, in the first year of Cycle 2 (C2.1), all students are taught basic literacy skills in German, and Scheer (2017, pp.104, 93, my translation) describes the situation as follows:

Towards the end of cycle 1, Luxembourgish skills should be developed to such an extent that they can form a bridge (literacy bridge) for the subsequent acquisition of the German language. (...) The method of acquiring German in Luxembourg is more similar to the acquisition of a second mother tongue than to the acquisition of a foreign language learned at an early age (...)

Thus, Scheer highlights that the use of German as the language of instruction favours students with a dominant Luxembourgish background or high Luxembourgish proficiency, as students are expected to draw on this linguistic resource in their development of German language and literacy skills. The teaching of German not as a foreign language, but rather as a “second mother tongue” highlights that students are expected to implicitly know or learn German by drawing on their Luxembourgish resources, and many students end up being taught literacy skills in a language they do not know very well and have little extra-curricular exposure to (Weber 2008; Scheer 2017; Weth 2018). The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that not only may this hamper students’ literacy development, but it also negatively affects their comprehension and learning in all subjects in which German functions as the language of instruction.

As of 2018/19, in order to ensure continuity with language policies from pre-school education, teachers in the first year of primary school are required to also teach a few French lessons before it is introduced as an oral language subject towards the end of C2.2, and becomes a full language subject in C3.1. All six years of primary school from Cycle 2 to 4 use German as the main language of instruction for all academic subjects. Luxembourgish is used as a language of instruction for non-academic subjects such as arts and crafts or sports, and is taught as a language subject for an hour a week. The final year of primary education, C4.2, includes a process of *orientation*, during which is decided which secondary education track a student can attend. During this school year, students take tests in mathematics, German and French. The results are consulted in this orientation decision⁹, together with psychological evaluations and a portfolio of students’ overall performance.

Secondary Education

Secondary education is marked by a clear division into two separate educational tracks, at the end of which students have different career prospects. The practice of such educational tracking through linguistic demands and requirements creates “processes of hierarchisation of educational programmes” (Martín Rojo 2015, p.141). In Luxembourg, *secondaire classique*¹⁰ [general secondary] is the more prestigious stream and prepares students for higher education, whereas *secondaire general* [technical secondary] is more vocationally oriented. Both streams use German and French as languages of instruction, albeit to different degrees, and Luxembourgish is taught for an hour a week during the first year. English is only taught at secondary school level, generally from year two onwards. In technical

⁹ The timing of this orientation process was an influential factor for choosing to work with participants who were a year away from undergoing this process. Students in the penultimate year of primary school; C4.1, are preparing for these orientation tests which are part of the everyday classroom discourse, without actually going through this stressful time.

¹⁰ The two secondary education tracks are commonly referred to as *lycée classique* [general secondary] and *lycée technique* [technical secondary]. This is the terminology that will henceforth be used, as it also reflects the use of these terms by participants themselves.

schools, its role in the curriculum varies and it can occupy a highly marginal or even non-existent role in some of its sub-tracks (Horner and Bellamy 2018, p.166; Weber 2014). Horner and Bellamy (2018, p.174) argue that students in lower technical streams are not given much access to English because it is said that they will not need it for their future professional careers, as English is generally associated with well-paid jobs in financial and international job sectors. This is problematic given that many of the students in these streams do not have access to sound English teaching, which has become an important skill for the Luxembourgish job market and is also used as a global lingua franca.

3.2.3 Luxembourgish in the education system

Officially, Luxembourgish plays a marginalised role in the education system as it is limited to an hour a week during primary and the first year of secondary school. As such, the national language is largely excluded from the education system (Redinger 2010, p.331) and Wagner (2013, p.89) has described its teaching as “unstructured” and “irregular”. Whereas the teaching of French and German as school subjects focuses heavily on the mastery of their standard, written forms with a “concomitant emphasis on orthographic and grammatical correctness” (Weber and Horner 2010, p.248), the teaching of Luxembourgish is marked by a low focus on orthography and there is a limited amount of points students can lose for spelling mistakes (Weber 2009a, p.47). The use of Luxembourgish during the teaching of academic subjects is actively discouraged by language policies, however in practice, it is spoken extensively by teachers and students alike and fulfils both social, as well as academic scaffolding purposes (see e.g. Davis 1994, Weber 2009a, Redinger 2010, Muller 2016). One could indeed argue that the government has been “rather reluctant to give Luxembourgish a more prominent role in the educational system” (Gilles 2015, p.128).

Horner and Weber explain that the expansion of the role of Luxembourgish in the education system would be problematic given that it “has not fully undergone the processes of standardisation, reflecting the fact that it is not used as a means of written communication in all domains by a large proportion of its speakers” (2008, p.98). Also in Luxembourg more widely, expanding the role of Luxembourgish in education to, for example, a medium of instruction or for literacy teaching, is often portrayed as an impossible enterprise and discarded as an unnecessary change. The linguistic proximity between Luxembourgish and German is frequently used to justify the maintenance of German as the language of schooling (Horner and Weber 2010, p.186). As such, the Minister of Education, Claude Meisch, writes in his book: “because our system until now is still geared to children who at the age of six master the Luxembourgish language very well so that they can learn to read and write in German without a problem” (Meisch 2018, p.34, my translation).

This narrative implicitly builds on and normalises the linguistic similarity of both Germanic language varieties, and points to the importance this has for the functioning of the education system and students' development of (German) literacy and language skills. However, in an essay accompanying the most recent Luxembourgish orthographic reform, it is stated that *Lëtzebuergesch ass KEEN Däitsch* [Luxembourgish is NOT German] (Conseil fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch (CPLL) and Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuerger Sprooch (ZLS) 2019, p.103, original caps). This example highlights that some discourses downplay, or erase, the linguistic similarity between Luxembourgish and German, carefully upholding the linguistic boundaries and independency of both language varieties. Indeed, there exist purist discourses which view German lexical items as corrupting Luxembourgish (see e.g. Horner 2005). However, in other discourses and especially in relation to education, the linguistic similarity and connection is taken for granted and accepted.

Adopting a language ideological perspective can shed more light on the question as to why Luxembourgish continues to play such a marginalised role in the education system, and why there is a reluctance from officials to modify this. Upsetting the current balance by giving Luxembourgish a more important role in schooling could lead to a decline in the learning of German which, by extension, would endanger the trilingual ideal. Horner and Weber (2008, p.120) rightly argue that “it is solely within the context of the educational system that the use of German is defended and is seen as constituting part of the trilingual ideal that is often equated with Luxembourgish nationhood”. The importance of German on a wider societal level has been declining since the Second World War with “a lasting reduction in the status of the German language in Luxembourg” (Scheer 2017, p.19, my translation). Despite this, its role in the education system seems untouchable.

3.2.4 Inequalities in the education system

Academic performance is influenced by a myriad of factors. The trilingual language regime, and in particular the use of German to teach basic literacy skills and as a medium of instruction, can constitute an important educational obstacle for students in Luxembourg. This is further exacerbated by the fact that the language regime no longer corresponds to patterns of wider language use outside of school: whereas language education policies are still heavily marked by the spoken/written distinction of the trilingual ideal (see 3.2.1), this no longer applies to wider patterns of societal language use. In fact, the primary school language regime with its emphasis on German differs from the wider language situation in Luxembourg: Tavares highlights that German is the “least socially used of the three official languages” (2020, p.235), and it has elsewhere been described as a quiet language in Luxembourg which only a (limited) part of the population uses receptively on a daily basis through reading and listening (Scheer 2017). With some exceptions in areas bordering Germany, it is generally the case in Luxembourg that the importance of German has diminished on the job market, and it has also been

replaced by Luxembourgish in some media domains and for personal correspondence. French is now increasingly being used as a spoken language in everyday life, especially as a vernacular or contact variety and as a lingua franca. Thus, there is not only a mismatch between the role of German inside and outside of school, but the teaching of highly formal French in school also stands in tension with the non-standard, vernacular and contact varieties of French that many students speak. Indeed, this is not limited to French students, as the use of French as an “additional” home language has also been documented among lusophone families (Weber 2009a).

This disparity between the key role of German in the education system and its relative absence from the extracurricular lives of many students has been discussed by Weber (2009a) and Tavares (2020). They underline that it is a language that barely plays a role in the lives of many transnational students and occupies a limited role in societal life (e.g. on the job market), yet constitutes an obstacle to the educational careers and future prospects of many students. This contributes to the reproduction of social inequality, and Tavares (2020, p.235) underlines that “these German requirements have real-life consequences”. The language regime in Luxembourgish primary schools is rigid, and the resulting negative effects are amplified in light of the ever-diversifying student population. Indeed, the extent to which the education system is marked by inequalities and reproduces social stratification has been documented extensively (see e.g. Hadjar, Fischbach and Backes 2018; SCRIPT and LUCET 2016, 1.2). Thus, these issues are widely known, yet little has been done to address these educational obstacles to offer more equitable schooling. Instead, when Luxembourg ranked third last in the 2001 PISA results, neither the education system, nor its pedagogical approach or policies were questioned. Rather, students with a foreign background and the linguacultural diversity of the student population were blamed (Weber 2009a, p.70; Horner and Weber 2008; Horner 2011)

One way of illustrating these inequalities is by analysing the phenomenon of grade repetition. The term *retard scolaire* [educational delay] refers to the repetition of a school year by students who did not achieve grades high enough to pass onto the next academic year. In popular discourse, this is generally referred to as *duerchfallen* [to fail, literally: to fall through], even though the 2009 Education Act introduced the euphemistic replacement term *rallongement* [elongation]. In 2016, Luxembourg had the second highest rate of grade repetition among OECD countries, which was almost double the OECD average (OECD 2016a, p.7). In 2015/16, 20.4% of students between primary Cycles 2 and 4 had repeated at least one school year (MENJE 2017a, pp.13, 56). Of the students who had repeated a school year, 13.6% had Luxembourgish citizenship; Portuguese students were overrepresented in this group with 34.9%, followed by ex-Yugoslav students at 27.9% (MENJE 2017a, p.57). Furthermore, students with Portuguese, Italian, Cape Verdean, Serbian, Brazilian and Kosovar citizenship are overrepresented among early school leavers (MENJE 2017b, p.10).

Another way of demonstrating the existence of inequalities in the education system is by looking at the demographic differences between secondary school tracks. Focusing on the orientation decisions taken at the end of primary school in 2015/16, 46.9% of Luxembourgish students were oriented towards a *lycée classique*, compared to only 11.7% of Portuguese students. 42.3% of Luxembourgish students were oriented towards a *lycée technique*, compared to 58.9% of Portuguese students (MENJE 2017a, p.89). As a result, student demographics in secondary education are disproportionate: in 2016/17, only 20% of students in the *lycées classiques* had non-Luxembourgish citizenship compared to 43% in *lycées techniques* (MENJE 2018b, p.87). A similar difference can be detected when looking at students' linguistic backgrounds: in 2015/16, 66% of students in the *lycées classiques* declared that Luxembourgish was their first language spoken in the home, 34% indicated another language (9% Portuguese), compared to 42% for Luxembourgish in the *lycées techniques* with 58% indicating another language (32% Portuguese) (ibid., p.88). In the "lowest" stream of technical education, the overrepresentation of students with a dominant Portuguese-language background was most blatant with 47% compared to 25% Luxembourgish and 28% other (ibid.).

The extent of the inequalities that exist in the education system and are reproduced by it are well documented. However, little research has looked into the experiences of students whose trajectories and perceptions of self have been marked by these inequalities. Collecting and analysing the perspectives and experiences of students who navigate this education system and its obstacles has been an important motivation for the present study. In order to effectively change policies to create a more equitable educational offer, it is essential to listen to the voices of the students who are operating within this system on a daily basis.

3.2.5 Responses to educational inequalities

As pointed out in subsection 3.2.3, a public awareness of the inequalities linked to the education system co-exists in Luxembourg with a discourse of impossibility of change in relation to language education policies (Weber and Horner 2012). The perceived impossibility of changing the language regime is, in part, influenced by the perceived historical continuity of the language regime (Horner and Weber 2008, p.90), but also by the close ties between the languages taught in education and the reproduction of the trilingual ideal, which serves as an important basis for understandings of national identity. Such views disregard the disparity between the language regime in schools and language use in wider society, and it is important to further investigate such resistance to change.

In a first instance, it is claimed that changing the language regime would undermine social cohesion and processes of integration. If students do not learn the same languages in the same ways as previous generations did, this is seen to endanger social cohesion and an important characteristic of the nation.

This is especially important given that the official trilingualism is frequently portrayed as a resource to profile Luxembourg against neighbouring countries, and the perceived importance of maintaining this situation can be used as a discursive shield against suggested language regime reforms (Horner 2011, p.498). In this light, Davis (1994, p.189) explains that

in Luxembourg, the values and beliefs underlying attitudes towards education and language learning are deeply rooted in historical circumstances and, thus, national cultural values. To break with these values (...) represents a threat to those who have defined their roles in society through these values.

Weber (2009a) outlines that segregation is already taking place in relation to the education system, since an increasing number of Luxembourgish students are enrolling in private (fee-paying) schools. Additionally, in the two secondary school tracks, there exists an alarming disproportionate “ethnic and social class split” (ibid., p.132, 3.2.4). In light of this, Horner and Weber (2010, p.248) argue that the current education system is already undermining social cohesion by contributing to the reproduction of social stratification.

Another popular argument against changing language education policies asserts that since many students from a Romance-language background struggle with German and many students with a Luxembourgish-dominant background struggle with French, this establishes a balance in that each group struggles with one of the school languages. For example, the Minister of Education followed up on the quote reproduced on page 49 that outlined the stepping stone function of Luxembourgish for the development of German language and literacy skills with the following statement: “and we also know how many difficulties Luxembourgish-speaking children often have a few years later with the French language” (Meisch 2018, p.34, my translation). This illustrates the acceptance that students who struggle with German language and literacy skills development are at a disadvantage, as their situation is equated with the struggle with French as a language subject that many students with a Luxembourgish-dominant background face. Weber (2009a, p.40) rightfully points out that “this argument is wholly confused as it is based on a conflation of literacy development and foreign language learning.” Students with a Romance-language background are more likely to be disadvantaged by the German-medium schooling, given that they develop literacy in a language they do not necessarily know well or have much exposure to, and also because they have to use this language as the medium of instruction and testing for all academic subjects.

Not only popular opinion is unfavourable to changing the education system, but the Ministry for Education and policy makers have also been reluctant to implement substantial changes to educational structures and the language regime, despite acknowledging the obstacles that these pose for numerous students. Instead, the Ministry has opened new state international schools which have been hugely popular as they offer more flexible alternatives to the state education system. Traditionally, students

who struggled with the latter had the choice of attending private, fee-paying schools or enrolling in schools in a neighbouring country; usually Belgium or France. With this new offer of alternative schools, there are now five state-funded international schools at primary school level operating on the European school programme and offering different combinations of German-, French- and English-medium instruction. The offer at secondary school level is even wider as some state secondary schools have also started to offer French-language options, or options with additional support in German or French (Horner and Weber 2008, p.96). Thus, instead of addressing the root of the problem in the state education system, an increased and more flexible educational offer has been developed. Several scholars have suggested policy improvements to address the inequalities of the education system such as more, better quality and more pedagogically appropriate teaching of German (Weth 2018), the incorporation and valuing of flexible multilingual language practices and more inclusive participation frameworks (De Korne 2012), and the introduction of either a bi-literacy or a French-medium track at primary school level (Weber 2008; 2009a, see also Redinger (2010: 342-350) for a discussion of these suggestions). Some of these suggestions will be revisited in Chapter 9 in a discussion of the policy implications resulting from this study.

To summarise, this chapter has provided diachronic and synchronic overviews of the development of the language situation in Luxembourg and language education policies in order to situate this study within its context and illustrate the complex spaces that the participants of this research navigate. Analysing more closely the inequalities in the education system that were already addressed in 1.2, as well as the educational responses that have (not) been brought forward to address these, it is hoped that the relevance and significance of this study has been demonstrated. Highlighting students' lived experience with language and language education policies in Luxembourgish primary schools can contribute to current policy debates that could eventually move towards changes to create a more equitable education system. Before delving into the data analysis of students' experiences and perspectives, the following chapter will explain the methods and methodologies that framed the research design of this study.

Chapter 4: A qualitative, mosaic inquiry

After having outlined the wider socio-political context and education system of Luxemburg, where this study took place, the aim of this chapter is to outline the methods and methodologies that frame this research. Section 4.1 outlines the wider research paradigm that informs the research methodology; discussing constructionism, interpretivism, ethnography, grounded theory, the importance of research reflexivity as well as methodological considerations when working with young people. Section 4.2 draws on this methodological framework to discuss the mosaic of research methods employed in this study: combining semi-structured qualitative interviews, the use of multimodal research methods and ethnographic participant observation enabled the generation of a rich data set that provides an insight into young people's lived experience of language and language education policies. Section 4.3 outlines the development of fieldwork over four research phases, and includes linguistic as well as demographic information on participants in tabular form (pages 71 and 72). Section 4.4 discusses data analysis in more depth, describing the thematic analytical process as well as the transcription conventions used.

4.1 Research paradigm

4.1.1 Constructionism and interpretivism

This study is a critical sociolinguistic inquiry interested in the lived experience of language with a focus on primary school children, their linguistic repertoires and language education policies in a multilingual education setting. As such, it is framed by a qualitative research design, developed to explore all the nuances, complexities and contradictions inherent to the human experience: “qualitative research accesses the richness of the worlds we all exist in – whether they are the worlds that exist ‘in our heads’, or the social and physical worlds external to [and constructed by] us” (Braun and Clarke 2013, p.26). To this end, the theoretical framing of this research draws on constructionist and interpretivist perspectives. Constructionism posits that “all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty 2005, p.42). Thus, meaning is seen as constructed rather than discovered, and can never be “true”, “valid” or “authentic”. By highlighting the interaction between the individual and “their world”, constructionism also supports dialogic understandings of structure and agency (see e.g. Giddens 1986). This can be a productive lens for studying how students make sense of and navigate educational structures. Next, interpretivism “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (ibid., p.67). In other words, social reality is viewed as constructed and having no objective,

independently existing meaning – it is up to social actors to interpret such meanings within their socio-cultural context.

4.1.2 Ethnography, grounded theory and reflexivity

The wider research methodology of this study and the design of research methods more specifically were influenced by the general principles of ethnography and grounded theory. Both of these approaches focus on gaining a detailed understanding of qualitative phenomena, which is in line with the interest of the present research in the lived experience of language not only in relation to the linguistic repertoire, but also language education policies. Given the practical difficulties involved in conducting fully-fledged ethnographies as “method-cum-theory of inquiry” (Juffermans 2011, p.644), this project used ethnography “as [a] method” rather than “as methodology” or “as deep theorizing”, which are the three levels of Lillis’ (2008, p.355) theorisation of ethnographic epistemologies. Some debate exists regarding such arguably “thin” uses of ethnography (see e.g. Ingold 2014), however, as will be detailed in the remainder in this chapter, the present project does not use ‘ethnographic’ as a mere synonym for ‘qualitative’. It adopted an “ethnographic perspective” (Maybin 2006, p.14) and attempted to gain a deep insight into the experiences of young people through a 12-week long fieldwork period with a relatively small group of participants through a range of methods.

To support the aim to understand and represent participants’ emic perspectives, data analysis in this study also aligned with the principles of grounded theory, which was devised as a qualitative research method that could withhold critiques frequently emanating from positivists questioning the scientific value and rigor of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss 1967). It achieved this by constructing concepts and theories through a systematic, inductive data analysis without the influence of preconceived categories or hypotheses (ibid.). Glaser and Strauss’ original grounded theory is marked by a strict inductive stance, which some have highlighted is underpinned by positivist assumptions about data and theory that the original conception of grounded theory intended to oppose (Charmaz 2006). Thus, I align with more flexible interpretations of grounded theory as proposed by Charmaz (2006), that prioritise the data over the method and are openly constructionist by acknowledging that all data analysis is an “*interpretive* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it” (ibid., p.10, original emphasis). As will be detailed in section 4.4, data analysis was inspired by the essential philosophy of grounded theory, but followed the practical steps of thematic analysis as laid out by Braun and Clarke (2006).

In pointing out that “neither data nor theories are discovered (...) we are part of the world we study and the data we collect” (2006, p.10), Charmaz draws attention to an important point that is highlighted in constructionist and interpretivist paradigms: the researcher is not external to the research. In this light,

Braun and Clarke stress that research is a “*subjective* process” to which researchers bring their own “histories, values, assumptions, perspectives, politics and mannerisms” (2013, p.36, original emphasis). This warrants for the importance of reflexivity and transparency in outlining one’s role in the research process (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017; Lewis 2004; Prasad 2015). Researcher reflexivity “is about bringing the researcher into the research, making us visible as part of the research process” and “involves giving critical attention to the way our research tools and process may have influenced the research” (Braun and Clarke 2013, p.37). Following on from an explicit self-positioning of myself as the researcher who set up and carried out this research in 1.2, this chapter aims to provide a consistently reflexive account of the research processes; particularly in relation to interactions with participants, data collection, as well as data analysis and representation.

4.1.3 Working with young people

As this study focuses on the perspectives and experiences of primary school students in Luxembourg, it is important to engage with some methodological considerations involved when working with young people. This study is based on a view of children as socially competent actors (Qvortrup 1994, p.4; James and James 2004, p.24). Such a perspective is relatively new and only emerged in the social sciences as a new paradigm in the 1980s and 1990s (James 2007, p.261), at the time of the creation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This sets out, among other things, children’s freedom of expression (Article 13), their right to express their views on matters affecting them, and their right have these views taken seriously (Article 12) (see e.g. Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018, Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015, Lundy 2007). More traditionally, research concerned with young people’s issues was conducted primarily via gatekeepers by interviewing parents, teachers or carers (Staksrud 2015, p.101). Such approaches were frequently underpinned by deficit views of childhood that (incorrectly) viewed young people as immature, developmentally incomplete, and not competent to provide reliable reports on their experiences (Thomson 2007, pp.211–212).

As a result of such deficit views, the perspectives and experiences of children and young people themselves have traditionally been under-researched (Staksrud 2015; Spyrou 2011; Sargeant and Gillett-Swan 2015), but there is now a growing body of research that is bringing young people themselves into focus. Research working with constructionist understandings of language policy is providing insight into how children and young people engage with language policy at school (see e.g. Boyd and Huss 2017), and other studies are contributing to our knowledge of how young people make sense of their linguistic repertoires and how this is linked to understandings of self (see e.g. Purkarthofer 2018; Purkarthofer and De Korne 2020; Prasad 2015; Ibrahim 2019; Pietikäinen *et al.* 2008). Many of these studies are employing visual and creative methods, which aligns with the approach taken by the present study and highlights the important intersection between research interested in the perspectives

and lived experiences of (young) people and creative, multimodal methods and methodologies (see e.g. Kalaja and Melo-Pfeifer 2019).

One point of critique towards research with young people that (cl)aims to “give children a voice” is that it may aim to present children’s perspectives and experiences as “authentic” representations when “all research has to be acknowledged as a process of representation” (James 2007, p.268), and no matter how much young participants are involved in a study, adult researchers are the ones doing (most though usually all) the data analysis, presentation and dissemination (Punch 2002, p.329). James (2007, p.262) also highlights that such research in and for itself does not ensure that young people’s voices are actually heard. In a similar light, Lundy (2007) critiques the popular use and lack of theorising of expressions such as “giving children a voice” for enabling tokenistic uses of children in research and policy projects, and Eldén (2012) cautions against the uncritical use of drawing methods with young people that view the emerging data as “authentic”, rather than as a contributing insight into complex and multi-layered issues.

Thus, it is important to avoid pitfalls such as “ethnographic ventriloquism” or (cl)aims to be a direct, “authentic” representation of young participants’ voices (James 2007, pp.262, 261; Thomson 2007). To prevent limiting young people’s participation to tokenistic functions, the present research aligns with the theoretical conceptualisation of young people as social agents (James and James 2004, p.17) and reliable reporters on their own experiences. On a more practical level, it adopted a participant-focused research design (Punch 2002). As such, the research is not conducted on young people, but rather *with* and *for* them by providing a platform for their perspectives and experiences. This was achieved by encouraging the active participation and contribution of participants, valuing of their individual communicative abilities and preferences (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018: 121), and providing ample opportunities for the expression of these through the use of a mosaic of multimodal methods, which will be presented below.

4.2 Methods

To implement the participant-centred orientation of this research (Punch 2002), the research methods design was inspired by Clark and Moss’s (2011) ‘Mosaic Approach’. The Mosaic Approach focuses on the creation, rather than extraction, of knowledge together with young participants as co-constructors by integrating visual and verbal modes (ibid., pp.2-4). Clark and Moss argue that research methods, regardless of participants’ age, should always be designed in a way that plays to the strengths of participants and is in alignment with the means of communication that seem natural to them and that they engage in in their daily lives (Thomson 2008, p.11; see also Punch 2002). This principle underpinned the research design of the present project where, over a 12-week period of fieldwork,

participants were able to take part in up to four interviews (see 4.2.2) which differed in their set up (one-on-one, in pairs or threes), and employed various prompts for discussion (ranging from verbal questions to creative, arts-informed activities; see 4.2.3). The use of such multimodal methods provided various modes of expression to every participant, and this research design offered space for them to act in their roles as competent social actors and experts in their own right. Not only could they express themselves in whatever way felt most comfortable, but participants were also in charge of deciding on the extent of their participation in the research.

In order to gain a holistic overview of the context participants navigated, the mosaic research design also included ethnographic participant observations that were carried out inside the classroom, as well as on the playground and during other activities I took part in (see 4.2.4). The combination of such qualitative methods provided an in-depth understanding of the perspectives and experiences of young people in relation to their own linguistic repertoires, as well as in relation to language education policies in school. Copland and Creese (2015, p.29) have stressed the benefits of combining participants' emic perspectives generated through interviews with the researcher's observations and interpretations, as these may differ. To seek such in-depth understandings of the human experience lies at the core of any qualitative inquiry, and Braun and Clarke (2013, p.20) argue that "at its core, qualitative research is about capturing some aspect of the social or psychological world. It records the messiness of real life, puts an organising framework around it and interprets it in some way". Employing a mosaic of methods provided a flexible framework to achieve this, and these methods will now be reviewed in more depth.

4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews constitute an important method in qualitative research and are used to explore participants' experiences with, and understandings of, certain phenomena. Braun and Clarke highlight that qualitative interviews constitute moments during which participants can discuss their experiences on topics, themes and questions that have been previously prepared by the researcher (2013, p.77), and Heller (2011, p.44) describes interviews as "situated performances" that "allow glimpses into the beliefs and values and ideologies that inform what people do and why they do it". The choice of using semi-structured interviews as the main source of data collection in this study was influenced by their potential for gathering rich and detailed data with prepared questions and prompts, all the while leaving a certain degree of flexibility to probe into new, unanticipated themes emerging during the interview and which participants were free to introduce. The interviews themselves were structured in such a way that the interview guides¹¹ had several questions grouped according to themes, and left space for participants to influence the direction of the conversation. The interview schedule included visual prompts to

¹¹ All interview guides can be found in Appendices 5, 7, 9 and 10.

encourage discussion, and also included elements that invited participants to produce visual materials (e.g. drawings of their family (see 4.3.1), language portraits (see 4.3.2)). Thus, the combination of visual materials in combination with verbal explanations qualifies the research design and data as multimodal (Kalaja and Pitkänen-Huhta 2018, p.166).

Reflexive considerations of power imbalances during interviews are particularly important when research involves young people (James 2007, p.261), as the power imbalance between young people and adults is a structural societal feature that usually also marks relationships between students and non-students at school. In this light, during the first three research phases, participants were able to select when and with whom they wanted to be interviewed. Interviews with a pair of students or focus groups can help with power imbalances (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018, p.5), and leaving the choice of the interview constellation up to participants was another way of mediating power relations (Prasad 2014, p.60). The final interview was conducted one-on-one in order to focus as much as possible on participants' individual perspectives and lived experience of language, and as was the case with interviews in previous research phases, participants were free to decide whether they wished to participate. Indeed, continuing consent is important during longer research projects (Alderson 2004, p.107), and participants consented to participate in each individual interview.

4.2.2 Visual research methods

Since the visual turn in the 1990s (Kalaja and Pitkänen-Huhta 2018, p.173; Busch 2018, p.5), there has been an increased interest in the use of creative methods in applied language studies and social sciences more generally. Commonly used creative methods include photo and video elicitations, drawing and collages. The use of visual methods alongside more traditional verbal methods in this study is underpinned by a theoretical understanding that the construction of meaning is multimodal and a “mixed system” where meanings are created through various mediators such as sound, image or writing (Barthes 1968 cited in Kohrs 2018). Thus, the verbal and the visual are understood as two modes that complement each other in the co-construction of meaning, and were incorporated in this multimodal research design to support its participant-centred approach (for an overview of research methods, see Table 2 on page 66). Two examples of multimodal elements that were incorporated in the final interview were a Likert scale and a certain number of emojis (see also Salo and Dufva 2018), which were used as prompts and references during the interview (see Appendix 11). The combination of modes in interviews offered participants the choice to express themselves in a variety of ways that they felt comfortable in, or which seemed natural to them.

There are several benefits to incorporating creative visual methods (or elements thereof) in research designs. Literat (2013, p.85) argues that drawing requires a reflexive visualisation process through

which “participants are given an expressive channel to voice their inner stories, as well as an active and empowering stake in the research study”. Visual methods provide an opportunity for participants to first interact with the task at hand and activate relevant “knowledge” before involving the researcher. In a similar light, Chik (2019, p.30) highlights that visual methods enable participants “to move from being reactive to interview questions to being proactive in framing how they want their stories to be told”. Punch (2002, p.330) highlights that such a sequence may be especially beneficial for participants who are not familiar with, or lack confidence, in communicating with researchers (or adults) as “equals”. Graue and Walsh (1998, p.113) point out that this may especially apply to children, arguing that “few children have had the experience of being approached by an adult who wants them, the kids, to teach her, the adult, about their lives”.

Visual or multimodal methods are also productively employed in research in educational contexts where formal, literacy-based forms of communication habitually prevail. Gillett-Swann and Sargeant (2018a) argue that such views on literacy are restrictive and can have negative influences on perceived appropriate and accepted forms of communication. Such views seem particularly limiting when taking into account that “children [and adults] are increasingly choosing a wide range of communication tools such as emojis, drawing, photographs/Instagram, collages and memes [but also emojis, GIFs and integrated voice recordings in mobile communication] to facilitate their interactions and social engagement” (2018: 124). Gillett-Swann and Sargeant argue that restrictive views of literacy effectively inhibit children’s communication rights and, I would argue, also delegitimise certain communicative practices. In light of this, the present research sought to distance itself from restrictive understandings of literacy and communication as participants were encouraged to communicate with creative, visual means if they wished to do so.

Bradley and Harvey (2019, pp.101, 91) have discussed the difficulty involved in differentiating between research that is “creative in ethos” and more dedicated creative inquiries, and describe three types of creative inquiry that can work with, into or through the arts. In this light, the visual and multimodal research methods employed in this study can be described using Lynne Butler-Kisber’s term of ‘arts-informed inquiry’, as it uses creative approaches to understand social phenomena without aiming to produce an artefact as the resultant product (ibid., p.99). The language portrait in particular (see 4.2.2.2) is an arts-informed method that involves both theoretical and methodological considerations, especially in relation to the understanding of meaning being made through the combination of visual and verbal modes.

4.2.2.1 Scrapbooks

Parts of the data collection were facilitated by the use of scrapbooks, which provide a visual method to explore the perspectives and experiences of individuals in a multi-layered and creative way. In relation to their use with young participants, Bragg and Buckingham (2008, p.115) illustrate how scrapbooks provide a methodology that allows for the collection of rich data and new insights while allowing “young people to find their own level of response and to have some control over what information they were prepared to share”. As such, scrapbooks can “shift the balance away from the written or spoken word” and put the voices and experiences of participants into focus (ibid.). Brack and Buckingham evaluate the success of scrapbooks by showing that they can provide a wide range of voices that might not have been articulated in verbal interviews only. However, they also acknowledge that scrapbooks cannot be seen as a neutral tool, but should rather be treated as “highly contingent” (ibid., pp.116-7, 127). The entries cannot be seen as “transparent and unmediated presentations of [participants’] viewpoints and experiences” (ibid., p.127), but rather as constructions influenced by their personal histories, experiences and knowledge.

The use of scrapbooks in this research supported data collection in that participants were given a notebook in which they could collect the drawings they produced during interviews, and in which they could also create visual material on their own time. This notebook was aimed at extending participants’ freedom to express themselves in ways and at times that they preferred. Participants were also given thirteen ‘notebook ideas’¹² that were designed to encourage reflections on their linguistic repertoire and experiences with language at school to inspire entries. These ideas resembled exercise instructions at school in language and format in order to provide students with a familiar structure. Students’ input was essential in the development of these ‘ideas’, as they pitched their own ideas during informal chats and gave feedback on their content, layout and language use before the distribution of the final version.

4.2.2.2 The language portrait

As mentioned in 4.1.3, much research that has focused on and engaged with young people has adopted creative, visual or multimodal approaches, and visual methods (Kalaja and Melo-Pfeifer 2019) and various types of creative inquiry (Bradley and Harvey 2019) have become increasingly established approaches in the social sciences. The language portrait in particular has become a widely used method that, using the outline of a body silhouette, provides “a basis for empirical study of the way in which speakers conceive and represent their heteroglossic repertoires” through “visual and verbal representation of linguistic experience and linguistic resources” (Busch 2012, p.1). Although originally

¹² See Appendix 6.

conceived as a language awareness and reflection exercise, language portraits are now increasingly used to explore speakers' lived experience of language and understandings of their linguistic repertoire (e.g. Busch 2012; Prasad 2014; Lundell 2010; Dressler 2014; Obojska 2019; Kusters and De Meulder 2019; Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen 2014). The visualising process involved the creation a language portrait gives participants time to reflect about, and become aware of, their language practices and linguistic preferences (Busch 2018, p.6). Busch (ibid., p.5) highlights the reciprocal nature of image and language during this activity, explaining that meaning is created complementarily through both modes in a "pictorial-presentational and a linguistic-discursive fashion". The visual representation and verbal explanations exist in tandem, and the interest does not lie in the portrait as an artefact in itself, but rather in the multimodal semiotic interaction for which it acts as a prompt and point of reference. Furthermore, the language portrait is not to be taken at face-value as a representation of a speaker's "true" inner self. Instead, Busch defines it as "a situational and context-bound production that is created in interaction between the participants, framed by the specification (silhouette, prompts for drawing and commenting, range of colours, etc.) and the setting" (ibid., p.7).

Busch (2012, p.10) also stresses that the language portrait can encourage, enable or allow participants to overcome or deconstruct national or linguistic categories. Other scholars, however, have pointed out the limitations of language portraits in relation to this. Panagiotopoulou and Rosen (2016), for example, illustrate how the language portrait enabled their participants to represent individual languages in the portrait as separate from one another using different colours. In addition, the iconisation of languages using national flags was found to be prevalent in this process, as well as processes of naming, listing and counting languages through the key, and body metaphors and other iconic symbols were used to express essentialist beliefs about the characteristics of a language and/or the nation-state it is associated with (ibid., p.251-252). Thus, participants in their study used the language portrait to (re-)create and represent dichotomies between languages, and to reproduce essentialist links between language, identity and nation-state. As will be shown in Chapter 5, the present study tends to align with the arguments brought forward by Panagiotopoulou and Rosen (2016).

4.2.3 Participant observation

The design of research methods used in this study was complemented by the use of ethnographic participant observations. The discussion in 4.1.2 already engaged with debates on the "overuse" of research describing itself as ethnographic and using this terms as a "modish substitute for qualitative" instead of being solely reserved for "proper, rigorous anthropological inquiry" (Ingold 2014, p.384). Although this study does not qualify as a fully-fledged, long-term ethnographic inquiry, the research design and use of methods adopted an ethnographic perspective in that it was marked by "generous attentiveness, relational depth, and sensitivity to context" (2014: 384). Participant observations proved

invaluable in deepening my understanding of the school context, contextualising participants' accounts, and enhancing the discussions during interviews.

Ethnographic observations were carried out during the first three of four fieldwork phases and qualified as “full participant observation” on Graue and Walsh’s (1998, p.106) observational continuum (ranging from detached observation to full participant observation). Even though the writing of fieldnotes in real time may be a challenge for full participant observers, Graue and Walsh highlight that full immersion in the field offers the benefit of “being there”; being able to interact with participants, hearing what is being said and to a certain degree sharing their experiences (ibid., p.107). I tried to observe the goings-on in the classrooms and interactions between students and with teachers, language practices, and students’ general engagement with activities during lessons. I also interacted with students by providing academic help when requested, participated in off-task activities inside the classroom and games on the playground. As a result, I was able to get an insight into the school and extracurricular lives of participants, which were frequently discussed during interviews and contributed shared ground, rapport and depth to these discussions.

In terms of practicalities, participant observation time was distributed equally across the three classes between which participants were divided and followed a flexible rota where I usually spent two consecutive lessons in one class and then moved to another one. Spending extensive time in the classroom proved instrumental in building and maintaining rapport with participants (see also e.g. Maybin 2006). I usually sat in the back to take notes, although I occasionally sat with students upon their request at a cluster of desks, or wandered around the classroom, stopping to chat with participants. Students did not seem to pay much attention to my note-taking, although some commented on the large amount of notes I was taking or were curious as to what language I wrote in. The following section will discuss the organisation of fieldwork and data collection in more depth, and provide details on how the above discussed methods were employed.

4.3 Fieldwork and data collection

A school located in Luxembourg city was selected as a participant recruitment and data collection site. This choice was motivated by the fact that the population of Luxembourg city has a high degree of diversity that lies above the national average: in 2019, 70.63% of the capital’s population were resident foreigners (Ville de Luxembourg 2019, p.2). Due to various practical reasons, fieldwork was carried out in four blocks between November 2017 and June 2018 (see Table 2 below). All information

booklets¹³ and consent forms¹⁴ used for this research were created and translated by myself¹⁵. The choice of languages for these documents was informed by the language situation in Luxembourg: German and French, both recognised in the 1984 Language Law, are used for official written communications. A Portuguese version was added because lusophone students make up a large portion of the student demographic: in 2017/18, 28.4% of primary school students indicated that their first language was Portuguese (MENJE and SCRIPT 2019, p.53). A Luxembourgish version was also added because Luxembourgish plays an important role in Luxembourg, albeit not necessarily in its written form.

Information on the study was presented in multilingual booklets in order to break up the text into smaller parts, and this allowed easy access to the same information in more than one language. Consent forms were designed as monolingual documents in order to get an overview of participants' and parents' preferred language choice. As illustrated in Table 1 below, there was a clear preference for French among the parents, whereas participants had a more balanced split between German and French, with a slightly higher number for German. Many participants argued that they used German because they were used to reading in this language because it is used as the main medium of instruction at school.

Language in which consent forms were returned	Participants	Parents
German	16	6
French	12	25
Luxembourgish	2	2
Portuguese	1	2
All four	1	/

Table 1: Languages in which consent forms were returned by participants and parents

The *Foyer* [after-school club] was chosen as the main location to carry out interviews because most students spent their lunch breaks and free time after school there. The after-school club constitutes a more informal space compared to the school, in which students have relatively more freedom as they can choose where and with whom to spend time, and what activities they want to take part in. Thus, through the combination of spending time at the school and the after-school club, I was able to interact with students in a curricular and an extra-curricular context. Almost all interviews were conducted in the “library” of the after-school club. This was a room with a couple of desks, some chairs, couches and bean bags, although some of the items stored in it changed over the course of the fieldwork. The library provided a relatively quiet, but more importantly private and comfortable space away from the noisy and hectic goings-on in the rest of the building. Because of the school schedule, interviews were

¹³ See Appendices 1 and 2.

¹⁴ See Appendices 3 and 4.

¹⁵ Participants from a pilot study, conducted over three days in July 2017 in a Cycle 3.2 in a rural school in the West of Luxembourg, provided valuable input on the content and wording of all documents. The pilot study was also essential in trialling ethnographic observations and note-taking, and the pilot participants helped shape the wording of the language portrait prompts.

conducted during the lunch break (from approximately 12:55 to 13:55), as well as in the afternoon on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays (after 16:00). For the lunch interviews, I walked with the students from the school to the after-school club, where we would first have lunch together. Sharing a meal with students before the interview provided a nice opportunity to chat about their day and other things. After lunch, we went to the library for the interview and then walked back to school before lessons resumed. The afternoon interviews followed a similar procedure.

Timeframe	Phase 1 November & December 2017 (3 weeks)	Phase 2 January 2018 (4 weeks)	Phase 3 April 2018 (2 weeks)	Phase 4 June 2018 (3 weeks)
Methods	Participant observations General interview, participants are asked to draw a family portrait	Participant observations Language portrait interview	Participant observations Ethnographic chats (Selleck 2017) Optional time to work on notebooks	One-on-one interviews, use of Likert scale and emojis (and notebook entries)

Table 2: Overview of fieldwork and data collection methods

Because some participants did not attend the after-school club, their interviews were conducted in the school building in either a multimedia room or an empty classroom. These interviews were conducted either during arts and crafts lessons or *Vie et Société* [Life and Society] lessons. All three teachers that were in charge of participants were supportive of this and flexible with students missing these lessons. However, it is important to point out that educational spaces such as schools are power-laden spaces that are dominated by adults and can restrict children’s freedom (Gillett-Swan and Sargeant 2018: 123, Spyrou 2011: 155). To subvert traditional adult-child power imbalances during interviews carried out in the school building, students often sat on the teacher’s desk chair while I used a smaller student chair, or we sometimes took our shoes off and sat on desks. Some students also decided to get up during the interview, walk around the room, play with materials and props that were stored in it, or write things on the white boards. Participants seemed to enjoy this use of the space in which they were not following, and were not expected to follow, school etiquette.

4.3.1 Phase 1: Entering the field

The first phase of fieldwork was carried out over 3 weeks in November and December 2017. Students had been given a leaflet by their teachers in the week prior to my arrival to inform them and their parents about why I was visiting the school. After an interactive introduction to the entire year group (consisting of approximately 40 students) and their three main teachers, I visited each class individually and distributed information packs consisting of information booklets and consent forms. These were given

to all students who expressed an interest in participating in the research, and by the end of the week, 34 students and their parents had consented to their participation in the research. More information on participants is presented on pages 71 and 72 in tabular form.

4.3.1.1 Researcher positionality

How researchers position themselves when they enter and navigate the research field is crucial for their relationship and rapport with participants, and it was one of my priorities at the beginning of fieldwork that students did not see me as a “person of authority”. Gillet-Swan and Sargeant (2018a, p.2) argue that a good researcher-participant relationship supports the autonomy of young participants, and this can be achieved in educational contexts by challenging the traditional hierarchical structure in the school. As such, I stressed that I was not a teacher or teaching assistant, all students called me by my first name and addressed me using the informal second person pronoun *du*. After a few days, students realised that I would not tell them off when they deviated from academic tasks or messed around during lessons. In fact, I was sometimes part of off-task activities carried out on laptops or games that were played while the teacher was absent from the room. Similar strategies through which the researcher can avoid being positioned as a person of authority were reported by Renold (2002) and Maybin (2006); two female researchers who conducted ethnographic research with pre-teen students at school. Renold (2002) insisted on being called by her first name, actively participated during student activities such as the passing of notes, physically distanced herself from members of staff during school breaks, and avoided all teaching situations where she would have been positioned, or positioned herself, as intellectually superior. In this study, this last point proved more difficult to achieve consistently than the others. For example, I occasionally helped during the *Appui* [after-school help], in order to “give back” to the students and teachers who were giving me their time for the research. During class, students also sometimes ask me for help. In these situations, I prioritised helping the students but tried to minimise the effects of this “academic intervention” by being careful to not present myself as overly knowledgeable and openly admitting when I did not know something or had made a mistake.

During fieldwork, I wandered around the school yard before the start of school and during breaks and chatted to students who approached me. The morning breaks in particular proved to be important for the initial development of good rapport with participants who were at ease with initiating conversations with me. Indeed, a good participant-researcher relationship is the result of rapport building, which Spyrou (2011: 156) describes as a “time-consuming enterprise” that is essential for accessing deep levels and layers of knowledge and complexity. Some researchers who conducted fieldwork in schools with children argue that researcher reactivity is a way to be mindful of power imbalances between (young) participants and researchers. Renolds (2002), for example, waited for students to approach her to initiate conversation to ensure that the students’ degree of involvement and interaction with her was

controlled by them. However, in the present study, such a strategy of reactivity proved to exclude students who did not approach me during school breaks because they were involved in games which they could or did not want to leave, or because of shyness. It seemed that some participants, especially some boys, were more comfortable approaching me in the classroom with a task-related question or comment. Thus, during lessons when students worked in groups, I sometimes wandered around to check in with the groups, asked if I could join them and if they could tell me what they were working on. This often led to off-task chat which helped to establish and consolidate rapport with participants.

4.3.1.2 First round of interviews

The logistics of interviews; the when, where and with whom, were usually arranged with students during breaks or in the corridors between classes and to fit around their schedules. In the first research phase, a total of 19 interviews with 34 participants in constellations of one, two or three participants were conducted and all followed the same general structure. First, we talked through the consent form point by point to ensure participants were fully informed about the research and had another opportunity to ask any questions. Some students made use of the ‘thumbs down’ option on their consent form to indicate points they did not understand or wanted to discuss in more depth. It was stressed that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the research at any point. This was also an opportunity to negotiate the language of the interview: all but two participants chose to do their interviews in Luxembourgish. These two participants were newcomers who had moved to Luxembourg within the three previous years, and preferred to speak in English and French respectively.

After point six on the consent form, where we discussed the audio recording of interviews, I asked students for their permission to switch on the voice recorder. All interviews were audio-recorded, and many of the participants enjoyed taking control over the device by switching it on and off before and at the end of the interview. Participants may have seen the recordings as a sign of the “official” nature of their participation in the research, signalling the fact that their perspectives and experiences were important enough to be recorded. I then gave students a piece of paper and pens, and asked them to do a quick drawing of their family. During the time when students were drawing, I coloured in a printed pattern and students frequently commented on their drawings, asked more questions, or initiated other conversations. Once students had finished drawing, I asked them to tell me about their family which prompted more general discussions about language practices as well as general attitudes towards school and individual subjects. This first conversation was designed to give a broad overview of students’ experiences at school and their linguistic repertoires, and also served to familiarise students with the interview setting and myself.

During the first round of interviews I observed that the communicative style of many students mirrored that of school interactions, where teachers and students relied on initiation-response-feedback sequences and participants frequently asked for instructions and additional information. Contrary to my expectations, students initiated very few stories during the interviews, and such narratives were also generally absent from the classroom. The lack of student-initiated narratives was subsequently taken into account when designing interview questions in later research phases. These questions were predominantly open-ended, and I used prompts, follow-up questions, open body language, as well as silence to encourage and facilitate more detailed responses.

4.3.2 Phase 2: The language portrait

The second phase of fieldwork was conducted over four weeks in January 2018 and consisted of classroom observations and a second round of interviews. Spending four consecutive weeks in the school was essential for consolidating rapport with participants. All 19 interviews with 33 participants were centred around the language portrait that participants created at the beginning of the interview (conducted one-on-one, in pairs or threes). For their drawings, students could choose from a variety of felt pens and coloured pencils, and they were given a piece of paper with a body silhouette on it¹⁶. All students were given the same basic instructions¹⁷ that included the same elements as suggested by Busch (2018), and which were further adjusted after the first couple of interviews to match the high level of information that students sought when asked to complete the task. Some discussed their drawing as they went along, others coloured in silence. Once students had finished drawing, the discussion was started with the prompt “explain your portrait and what you have drawn”, and was then loosely based on guiding questions and prompts¹⁸. The language portraits yielded overall good results as many participants immediately understood the task and implemented their ideas. However, this did not guarantee that they could explain their creations later in the discussion. Others seemed confused, and on a few isolated occasions irritated by the task: one student claimed that it was obvious that their languages would be in their mouth and head. It appears that the idea of conceptualising language(s) in terms of colour and body metaphors was not self-evident for all students, however this data set included some very rich portraits as will be illustrated in Chapter 5. At the end of their second interview, participants were able to choose a blank notebook and decorate it with various types of stickers. Participants were encouraged to add their language portrait to the notebook, and add more material in it in their free time.

¹⁶ I used the body silhouette provided by the research and practitioner platform heteroglossia.net, although three participants preferred to draw their own silhouettes.

¹⁷ Prompt and translation in Appendix 7.

¹⁸ See Appendix 7.

4.3.3 Phase 3: Notebook workshops and ethnographic chats

The third phase of fieldwork was conducted over two weeks in April 2018. I continued classroom observations and organised ‘notebook workshops’ in the after-school club where students could join me in the library after lunch to work on their notebooks. These sessions were not audio-recorded, and served to give participants time to create entries in their notebooks. At this point, the interest of certain participants in the research had weakened, which meant that the number of students participating in interviews was organically declining. I also organised seven ‘ethnographic chats’ (Selleck 2017) with 28 participants. In these student-led focus groups that are recorded without the presence of the researcher, participants discussed eleven questions/prompts¹⁹ that I had prepared in advance. These recordings were not part of the data set analysed in this research project as, given the large amount of data collected, the analysis focused on interviews from the second and final phase of fieldwork.

4.3.4 Phase 4: Final one-on-one interviews

The fourth and final phase of fieldwork was conducted over three weeks in June 2018. Having noticed a point of data saturation with regards to classroom observations in April, I spent less time observing lessons. Instead, I mainly went in to conduct final interviews, although I still spent time with the participants during school breaks. The 23 final interviews were one-on-one in order to allow for the focus to lie on participants’ individual perspectives and experiences. For the thirteen participants who had created materials in their notebooks, the interview started with them talking me through their entries and explaining the content. We then moved on to the semi-structured interview guide²⁰, which also featured two visual elements; a Likert scale activity and a selection of emojis (used in a similar fashion to prompt participants in Salo and Dufva 2018). The visual prompts and questions were designed to generate a conversation that focused specifically on participants’ lived experience of language and language education policies, and this analysis will be presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

4.3.5 Table with participant information

The following table presents relevant linguistic and demographic information on the participants who were a part of this research project in alphabetical order.

¹⁹ See Appendix 9.

²⁰ See Appendix 10.

Table 3: Participant information

	<i>Pseudonym</i> ²¹	<i>Main home languages</i> ²² (self-reported in first interview)	<i>Place of birth</i> ²³	<i>Mother's place of birth</i>	<i>Father's place of birth</i>	<i>Participation in research phases</i>	<i>Language portrait</i>	<i>Other visual materials</i>
1	Albert Einstein	Spanish, English	Spain	Spain	Spain	1 2 3 4	LP 23, Appendix 8	Figs. 1 and 2, p.108
2	Amelia	Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Cape Verde*		1 2 3	LP 1, p.78	
3	Andrea	German, English	Luxembourg	Germany	Ireland	1 2 3 4	LP 3, p.79	
4	Blanche	French	Luxembourg	France	France	1 2 3 4	LP 12, p.90	
5	Chloe	Portuguese, French, Luxembourgish, Cape Verdean Creole	Luxembourg	Luxembourg*	Portugal	1 2 3	LP 5, p.82	
6	Eden	Portuguese, Italian, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Portugal	Italy	1 2 3 4	LP 22, App. 8	
7	Elma	Bosnian, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Bosnia	Bosnia	1 2 3 4	LP 9, p.86	
8	Fabio	Italian, French, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Luxembourg* ²⁴	Italy	1 2 3 4	LP 2, p.78	
9	Edward	French, Luxembourgish, Portuguese	Luxembourg	Portugal	France	1		
10	Georges	Bosnian, French, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Bosnia	France	1 2 3	LP 16, p.98	
11	Jessica	Luxembourgish, English	Luxembourg	Philippines	Luxembourg	1 2 3 4	LP 6, p.84	
12	Kevin	Luxembourgish, French, Portuguese	Luxembourg	Luxembourg*	Argentina	1 2 3 4	LP 24, App. 8	
13	Kylo Ren	French, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Cape Verde*	Cape Verde	1 2 3 4	LP 25, App. 8	Fig. 8, p.164

²¹ Many participants chose a pseudonym that reflected their national/linguistic background, and some also commented on this choice during the interview. Through choosing another name for themselves, participants could choose to position themselves as explicitly identifying with one aspect of their national/cultural identity or that of their parents.

²² Defined as languages that participants use in the home space on a regular basis, listed in no particular order.

²³ With the exception of one participant, who was born in 2005, all other participants were born between 2006 and 2007.

²⁴ Parents' birthplaces marked with an (*) indicate that these parents were born in Luxembourg to foreign-born parents, or moved to Luxembourg at a young age and went through (at least part of) the Luxembourgish education system.

14	Leana	French, Luxembourgish, Brazilian Portuguese	Luxembourg	Cape Verde/ France/Portugal ²⁵	Brazil/France	1	2				
15	Lily	Chinese	Luxembourg	China	China	1	2	3	LP 26, App. 8		
16	Lisa	Luxembourgish, Portuguese, French	Portugal	Portugal*	Portugal*	1	2				
17	Lucy	French	Luxembourg	France	France	1	2	3	4	LP 15, p.98	
18	Lurdes	Luxembourgish, Portuguese, French	Luxembourg	Portugal	Luxembourg*	1	2	3	4	LP 4, p.82	Fig. 9, p.168
19	Marcus	Portuguese, Luxembourgish, French	Luxembourg	Luxembourg/ Portugal	Luxembourg/ Portugal	1	2				
20	Matteo	French, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	France	France	1	2	3	4	LP 21, App. 8	
21	Maya	Luxembourgish, French	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Morocco/ France	1	2	3		LP 13, p.94	
22	Naruto	Luxembourgish, Portuguese, French	Luxembourg	Portugal*	Portugal	1	2	3	4	LP 14, p.97	Fig. 10, p.171
23	Natalie	Arabic, French	North Africa ²⁶			1	2			LP 27, App. 8	
24	Neymar	Arabic, Luxembourgish, French	Luxembourg	North Africa	North Africa	1	2	3	4	LP 28, App. 8	
25	Patrick	Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	1	2	3	4	LP 20, p.106	
26	Regina	Luxembourgish, Portuguese, French	Luxembourg	Luxembourg*		1	2	3	4	LP 7, p.84	
27	Riyad	Arabic, French, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	North Africa	North Africa	1	2	3	4	LP 19, p.101	
28	Sandra	Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	1	2	3	4	LP 8, p.86	
29	Schneetiger	French, Lingala, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Democratic Republic of the Congo	1	2	3	4	LP 10, p.87	Fig. 3, p.122
30	Smiley	Italian, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Italy	Italy	1	2	3	4	LP 18, p.99	Figs. 5 and 6, p.158, p.159
31	Sofia	Portuguese, Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Portugal	Portugal	1	2	3	4	LP 17, p.99	Fig. 7, p.160
32	Sibylline	French	Luxembourg	France	France	1	2	3	4	LP 11, p.90	Fig. 4, p.151
33	Tom	Luxembourgish, English	South Africa	Luxembourg	India	1	2				
34	Vanessa	Luxembourgish	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	Luxembourg/ Germany	1	2	3	4	LP 29, App. 8	

²⁵ Some participants were unsure about their parents' place of birth.

²⁶ Some places have been generalised to further anonymity.

4.4 Data analysis

The present research has been driven by a participant-focused approach, which is reflected in the mosaic of multimodal research methods and the inductive data analysis. Even though preliminary research questions guided the research process and data collection, the general disposition remained open for themes and issues to be raised by participants themselves and the questions evolved at different stages. Indeed, the shaping of research questions in qualitative research has been described as a recursive process (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar 2017, pp.29–30). A similarly open disposition was adopted during data analysis, which was inspired by the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz 2006), but followed the approach of thematic analysis as laid out by Braun and Clarke (2006). The latter could be described as a “spin-off” method from grounded theory, and fits with the interpretivist and constructionist theoretical perspectives underpinning this study which stress the importance of acknowledging the “*active* role the researcher always plays in identifying patterns/themes” (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.80, original emphasis).

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke propose thematic analysis as a method for researchers who cannot, or do not want to, fully subscribe to the “implicit theoretical commitments” of a fully-fledged grounded theory (2006, p.8). As such, theoretical flexibility is a hallmark of thematic analysis as it is not “wedded to any pre-existing theoretical framework” (ibid., p.81) and allows for the flexibility for research questions to evolve and adapt with the progression of the data analysis that is grounded in the data. This does not mean, however, that thematic analysis is not structured or systematic. Clarke and Braun (2017) define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning”, which consists of “systematic procedures for generating codes and themes from qualitative data” (ibid., p.297). In their seminal 2006 article, they address the fact that thematic analysis had been “poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged” until then, and argue for its recognition as a method in its own right by providing a detailed step-by-step guide that was followed in this study.

In a first familiarisation phase, all interviews from the second and fourth research phase were transcribed verbatim using the web-based software transcribewreally.com, and subjected to several close readings on paper. Detailed reports were written about each individual interview, including a summary of the content, links between different interviews and other interesting aspects. The data-driven, inductive generating of initial codes was then carried out in a second analytical phase using the software NVivo, and this was particularly helpful as the programme allowed for the coding of written text and visual data. Indeed, the analysis included the multimodality of the data set, although it should

be noted that the analysis prioritised and focused on participants' verbal explanations which predominately served to generate themes. The visual data was analysed to add to and deepen the themes.

The transcribed data set was analysed within a contextualist framework that “both reflect[s] reality and (...) unpick[s] or unravel[s] the surface of reality” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 81). Indeed, such a contextualist theoretical grounding, sitting between realist and constructionist approaches, was important for this study as it allowed the reality of participants to be reflected, all the while critically engaging with it. The reflection of participants' perspectives and experiences is particularly important in order to highlight the lived experience of language as it pertains to participants' linguistic repertoires and language education policies. Furthermore, the thematic analysis identified themes on explicit and interpretative levels to accommodate for the contextualist theoretical grounding. As such, both “explicit or surface meanings within the data”, as well as “*underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies” were identified as themes (ibid., p.84). Initial stages of analysis were more focused on explicit codes, whereas this focus shifted more towards the interpretative level as themes were developed. Moving the analysis from codes to themes was supported by the creation of mind maps, which proved to be useful tools to visualise the interconnectedness between codes. Themes were then reviewed, defined and named, and written up in four data analysis chapters with the help of interview extracts and visual data that provided a good insight into the themes.

4.4.2 Representing qualitative data

Research is always representational in nature (James 2007). In this light, reflexivity and transparency are key in acknowledging the interpretative process that underlies the selection, analysis and presentation of data, but also the inevitable co-construction of knowledge during data collection. In this light, participants' perspectives and experiences are treated as “standpoints, places from which any analysis sets out, rather than definite descriptions of empirical phenomena embodied in the words that children speak” (ibid., p.269). Norton (2013, pp.71–73) provides an insightful account of the challenge involved in analysing and representing qualitative data. She recounts trying various approaches to organising, analysing and writing about the experiences of her participants with the aim of finding a balance between not losing the individual experiences of each participant all the while linking them to wider social structures and institutional power relations. Similar challenges were encountered in the present research, and Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are organised thematically, while Chapter 8 organises the thematic analysis around individual case studies.

4.4.2.1 Transcription conventions

My transcription conventions are loosely based on a simplified Jefferson transcription system (Jefferson 2004), and this choice was motivated by the theoretical and methodological grounding of this research. I did not aim to produce fully-fledged conversation analytical transcripts, however I deemed it important to reproduce enough interactional details to provide an insight into *how* participants expressed themselves and how interactions were *co-constructed*. To this end, I worked with the following selection of transcription symbols:

(())	Double parentheses contain descriptions
((hehe))	Chuckle
WORD	Upper case indicates emphasis
::	Two colons indicate that the sound to which they are attached was prolonged
(.)	Brief pause (< one second)
(:)	Longer pause (> one second)
.	Full stop indicates “final” intonation at the end of a sentence
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation at the end of a sentence marking a question
[Left hand bracket indicates beginning of simultaneous utterances
[]	Left and right hand brackets indicate overlapping speech
=	Equal sign indicates latching
xxx	Unintelligible speech
-	Single dash indicates interruption of speech
“word”	Reported speech
<u>word</u>	German speech underlined in a straight line
<u>word</u>	English speech underlined in zigzag line
<u>word</u>	French speech underlined in dotted line
<u>word</u>	Italian speech underlined with double line
<u>word</u>	Portuguese speech underlined with broken up line

Data extracts, as well as visual representations are numbered continuously within individual chapters: the first number indicates the chapter in which data appears, followed by a full stop and the number which indicates the order within the chapter (e.g. extract 4.1 denotes the first extract in Chapter 4). Each extract heading also details what research phase or interview it was taken from (e.g. phase 4). All translations of the original data into English were done by myself, and both versions will be represented side by side in the text. In the analysis, original data will be represented *in Italics*, and the English translation [in square brackets].

Chapter 5: Visual silence and language desire: Exploring the lived experience of language through the language portrait

This first data analysis chapter explores participants' visual representations and discursive constructions of their linguistic repertoires through language portrait data from research phase 2, and the thematic analysis is enhanced with data from the final one-on-one interviews (research phase 4). Of the total 33 language portraits that were created, 29 were used for analysis as the remaining portraits were coloured in not in alignment with the task. The aim is to foreground the lived experience of language with a focus on the affective, emotional dimension of language beyond its instrumental functions, although these two dimensions are not binary and can be, as the subsequent analysis will show, closely intertwined. As outlined in Chapter 2, the analysis draws on the notions of lived experience of language (Busch 2017) and an adapted version of Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain's (2009) multi-level interactional approach to language attitudes that focuses on the thematic, interactional and visual levels to explore participants' language attitudes that are part of the lived experience of language. Lastly, the analysis in this chapter also draws on the concept of investment (Norton Peirce 1995; Darwin and Norton 2015; Norton 2013) and its theoretical anchors; an interplay of identity, ideology and capital, to explore language desire (Kramsch 2009; Piller 2002; Piller and Takahashi 2006; Motha and Lin 2014) and imagined identities (Norton 2013; Pavlenko and Norton 2007).

Section 5.1 provides a general overview of the visual strategies employed by participants in creating their language portrait (LP), and also addresses how the affective, symbolic dimension of language specifically was represented. By drawing on the notion of visual silence (Jaworski 1997), section 5.2 analyses case studies in which participants excluded linguistic resources in the LP. Section 5.3 explores language desire, which was prominent in the data, and engages with English specifically as a frequently mentioned object of desire next to the home languages of friends. A concluding discussion follows in section 5.4.

5.1 Strategies of visual representation in the language portrait

Overall, the visual representational strategies employed in the LP creation for this study are in line with reports by other research employing the same method (see e.g. Busch 2018; Coffey 2015; Dressler 2014). On many occasions, colours were chosen strategically. Languages seen in a positive light were frequently represented with colours that participants liked, and the other way round for languages and colours they disliked. Participants also picked colours based on associations with objects in their life. Prasad (2014, p.57) explains that her participants personalised their silhouettes to bring them closer to their own perceived identity and indeed many of the participants in this study also added elements to

the basic silhouette such as eyes, clothing and hair in order to personalise it. Some students' drawings were also inspired by their favourite football club colours, outfits or brand logos.

Panagiotopoulou and Rosen (2016, p.254, p.252) caution that the LP as a method can encourage the reification or creation of individualising and stereotyping discourses that evoke languages as bounded, discrete identities and related essentialising discourses, and the data collected for the present project partially confirms this critique. In this light, national flags were the most common iconic symbol in the language portrait data (see also Dressler 2014): eleven participants drew national flags, and many participants also took inspiration from them for colour choice. This use of the flag as a metonym for the corresponding state and language was understood to be self-evident (see Billig 2010, p.41), and it is also notable that participants discussed their linguistic repertoires exclusively in terms of *named* languages, most associated with a specific nation-state. Thus, in the symbolic localisation and creative representation of languages many participants drew on the one nation, one language ideology which resulted in the reproduction of essentialist links between nation-states and national languages, and in some instances extended even further and resulted in the re-naming of languages (e.g. Lingala as Congolese, see Schneetiger (LP 10 p.87) and Sibylline (LP 11 p.90)).

The participants who did not draw national flags wrote the names of languages, states, or abbreviations thereof in a key. In their study of young indigenous learners in Mexico, Purkarthofer and De Korne (2020) found that the use of written language in participants' drawings reflected their linguistic repertoires, and the same perspective can be adopted in the present study. Two participants wrote language names *in* the respective languages, four participants produced German monolingual keys, one participant produced a monolingual French key, and twelve participants wrote a multilingual key²⁷. This reflects the complex and flexible nature of the linguistic repertoires of these young participants.

The structuring of elements in the body silhouette frequently involved orientational or spatial metaphors based on the patterns of up-down, centre-periphery, and more-less (in terms of surface), with up/centre/more often being associated with positive connotations or affective value, and down/periphery/less being associated with negative connotations or affective value (Lakoff and Johnson 1981, pp.14–21; see also Coffey 2015; Botsis and Bradbury 2018). Indeed, some languages were even excluded from the portrait altogether (see 5.2). Metaphors that draw on body symbolisms also featured in the data: languages seen to be difficult or requiring a lot of thinking were frequently located in the head, languages that were perceived as instrumentally important or useful were drawn in

²⁷ *Drawing of flags with no written key*: Andrea, Elma, Sandra, Smiley, Sofia, Matteo, Albert Einstein, Jessica, Lurdes, Naruto. *Abbreviations of language names*: Lucy. *Name of language written in respective language*: Patrick, Fabio. *Written key (German)*: Lili, Regina, Amelia, Georges. *Written key (French)*: Natalie. *Written key (multilingual)*: Sibylline, Blanche, Eden, Kevin, Chloe, Maya, Kylo Ren, Schneetiger, Vanessa, Neymar, Riyad, Fabio.

the hands, and languages that were mostly spoken were drawn in the mouth (see also e.g. Busch 2018, p.10). Languages with highly positive affective value and associated with positive emotions were frequently drawn in the heart or trunk of the silhouette, as illustrated by Amelia's and Fabio's LPs:



Language Portrait 1: Amelia

Language Portrait 2: Fabio

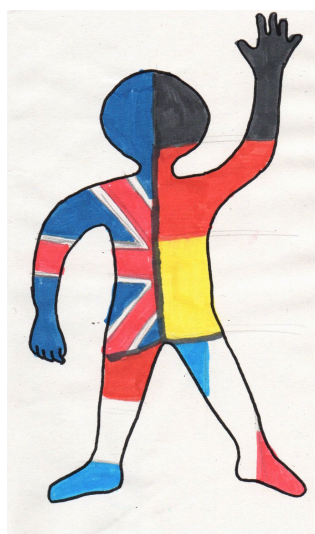
Amelia's family has a Cape Verdean background, she does not speak Cape Verdean Creole and reported very limited listening comprehension skills. She drew the Cape Verdean national flag in her heart to signal her strong identification with Cape Verde: *Kuck HEI ass den Häerz (...) well ech Kapverdianerin sinn* [Look HERE is the heart (...) because I am Cape Verdean] (phase 2). Indeed, the heart was a common area and symbol for representing languages with highly positive affective value (see Busch 2018). This strategy was also adopted by Fabio who drew his home language, Italian, in the heart and expressed a highly positive affective orientation: *Blo ass Italiensch well ech hunn (.) dat mega gär. Dofir hunn ech am Häerz* [Blue is Italian because I (.) really love that. That's why I have in the heart] (phase 2). As many participants strategically matched the visual representation of a linguistic resource to its affective value for them, some participants visually erased one or more of their linguistic resources from their LP, and this will be explored in the following section.

5.2 Visual silence: Erasure in the language portrait

Busch (2017, p.356) reminds us that, in adopting a biographical approach towards studying linguistic repertoires, it is important to remember that

our [linguistic] repertoire is not determined solely by the linguistic resources we have, but sometimes by those we do not have; these can become noticeable in a given situation as a gap, a threat or a desire. The linguistic repertoire can be understood as a heteroglossic realm of constraints and potentialities: different forms of language use come to the fore, then return to the background, they observe each other, keep their distance from each other, intervene or interweave into something new, but in one form or another they are always there.

Thus, based on an understanding of the linguistic repertoire as fluid with its constituting elements; semiotic resources, attitudes, emotions and beliefs, continuously evolving, this section focuses on LPs in which linguistic resources were deliberately and visually “returned to the background”. Some participants negotiated the inclusion of languages by representing them in less favourable ways and verbally expressing a more negative affective orientation towards them. Andrea, for example, was a participant who visually and discursively expressed an emotional distance that she felt towards Luxembourgish and French while still including these in her LP. Andrea uses German and English as home languages and, in relation to her German and Irish heritage identifies as *Hallschent Hallschent [half half]*. This motivated the division of her LP by a vertical line:



Language Portrait 3: Andrea

Extract 5.1 (phase 2)

Andrea: (...) **Däitsch an Englesch schwätzen ech jo doheem.** Heescht ech sinn (.) jo (:) bon eh **Franséisch a Lëtzebuergesch (.) do ginn ech meeschtens iergendwou hinner an d'Schoul oder an (.) well Franséisch a Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen ech net doheem (.) an (.) jo. **Ech hunn och kee Pass** vu Fran- Fran- Frankräich oder (.) dofir
 Sarah: Mhm (:) dat heescht déi sinn am Fong an de Been well s de::
 Andrea: Ech schwätzen net doheem an (.) ech ginn ni eraus (.) also ni raus mee (.) **ech schwätzen nëmme wann ech fortgi vun doheem oder****

Andrea: (...) **German and English I speak at home.** Means I am (.) yes (:) well uh **French and Luxembourgish (.) there I'm going somewhere most of the time** to school or to (.) because French and Luxembourgish I don't speak at home (.) and (.) yes. **I also don't have a passport** from Fran- Fran- France or (.) that's why
 Sarah: Mhm (:) that means they are actually in the legs because you::
 Andrea: I don't speak at home and (.) I never go out (.) well never out but (.) **I speak only when I go away from home or**

Andrea represents her linguistic resources through national flags in her portrait. She chose to draw the Union Jack instead of the Irish flag because she perceived an iconic link between Irish Gaelic and the Irish national flag, which she did not feel she could claim as hers because she did not speak Irish.

Luxembourgish and French have only instrumental value for Andrea, and were drawn peripherally in the legs to symbolise that they metaphorically carry her to spaces outside the home. Indeed, she makes a clear distinction between her home languages that have family-affective connotations, and languages she uses outside of the home for predominately instrumental reasons. This highlights that the notion of space is essential to Andrea’s understanding of her linguistic repertoire, as her evaluation of the affective value of her linguistic resources is linked to different ‘spatial repertoires’ (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014). Finally, her reference to not having a French passport signals the perceived authority that passports and citizenships are seen to have in legitimating a connection between a speaker and a language. Indeed, in explaining her own identification as half-half, Andrea justified this by invoking her extended family in Ireland and Germany as well as her possession of two passports.

Whereas Andrea matched the visual representation of Luxembourgish and French to the mostly instrumental value that these languages have for her, eight participants rejected one or more of their linguistic resources, pushing them to the background or periphery of their linguistic repertoire by visually erasing them from their LP. In this light, the analysis below will highlight that it is equally important to analyse elements that are absent, as those that are present. This argument is also supported by research on silence: advocating for the recognition of silence as a “legitimate part of the communicative system comparable with speech”, Jaworski (1992, p.xiii) suggests that an understanding of silence as a metaphor for communication allows the exploration of communicative phenomena that go beyond mere "absence of sound" (1997, p.3). Indeed, the absence of elements from language portraits can be interpreted as *visual silence* (Jaworski 1997), which stands out in eight out of the 29 analysed language portraits: German was excluded on seven occasions, French on six and Luxembourgish on three occasions. A perceived lack of linguistic competence was only mentioned in one instance as the reason for the exclusion (case study 4). Rather, participants’ imagined identities and their lived experience of language, in particular feelings of dislike and emotional distance but also a lack of personal significance underpinned participants’ choices for erasing languages from their portraits. Table 4 below provides a summary of the language portraits in which languages were erased.

Table 4: *Visual silence in the language portraits*

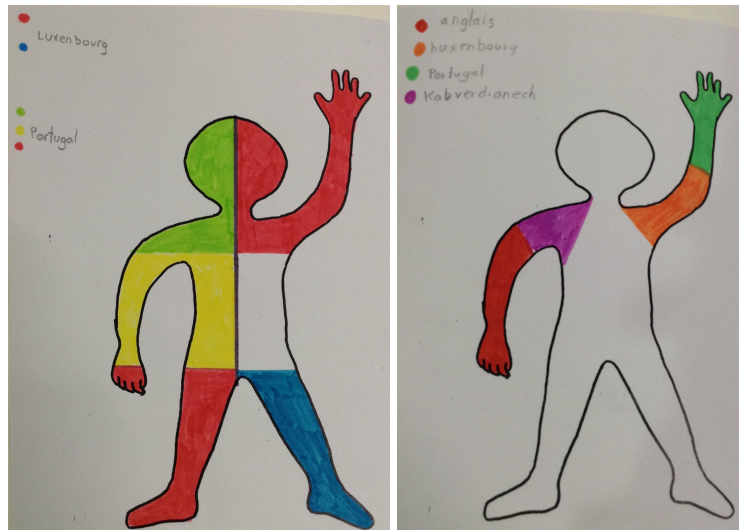
Participant	Included	Reason for exclusion of German	Reason for exclusion of French	Reason for exclusion of Luxembourgish
Naruto²⁸ (incomplete portrait)	Japanese, French, Portuguese, Bosnian	Unknown	/	Unknown

²⁸ Naruto’s portrait was not completed and no extended explanations were collected. The visual erasure of German and Luxembourgish was only verbally suggested and because of this, Naruto’s language portrait is not analysed for visual silence.

Case study 1				
Chloe	English, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Cape Verdean Creole	Dislike	Not important, not part of future projection of self as speaker	/
Lurdes	Luxembourgish, Portuguese	Strong dislike	Relative like	/
Case study 2				
Jessica	English, Filipino, Luxembourgish	Dislike, seen as only a school language with instrumental value	Strong dislike, seen as only a school language with instrumental value	/
Regina	Portuguese, French, English, Chinese, Luxembourgish	Seen as only a school language with no emotional/personal significance	/	/
Case study 3				
Sandra	Luxembourgish	Identification with Luxembourg(ish) only	Identification with Luxembourg(ish) only	/
Elma	Bosnian	Identification with Bosnia(n) only	Identification with Bosnia(n) only	Identification with Bosnia(n) only
Case study 4				
Schneetiger	English, Portuguese, Congolese, Canadian, German	/	Dislike	Low competence, little use, forced use in after-school club

5.2.1 Case study 1: Affective value of language

The first case study focuses on Chloe and Lurdes, who both excluded German and French from their LP. Lurdes divided her silhouette vertically into two equal halves and represented her two main home languages; Portuguese and Luxembourgish, by drawing the Portuguese and Luxembourgish national flags and labelling them as Luxembourg and Portugal in the key. Lurdes excluded German and French from her language portrait based on her strong dislike of German and relative liking of French: *Däitsch hunn ech net gemoolt well ech hunn Däitsch guer net gär (...) A Franséisch hunn ech (.) bësse gär (.) net sou mega* [German I didn't draw because German I don't like at all. And French I like (.) a little (.) not like loads].



Language Portrait 4: Lurdes

Language Portrait 5: Chloe

When I asked Chloe why she excluded German and French, which is one of her home languages, she explained:

Extract 5.2 (phase 2)

Chloe: Well eh Franséisch well ech (:) **wann ech grouss si wëll ech net ganz (.) vill Franséisch schwätzen** well fir mech (.) **ech hunn dat GÄREN mee dat ass net sou eng wichteg Sprooch fir mech** an Däitsch well ech hunn **Däitsch net gär** ((d'Chloe, d'Lurdes an d'Lily [Co-interviewee] laachen))

Chloe: Because uh French because I (:) **when I'm old I don't want to speak (.) a lot of French** because for me (.) **I LIKE that but it is not such an important language for me** and German because **I don't like German** ((Chloe, Lurdes and Lily [co-interviewee] laugh))

Thus, Chloe excluded German in her LP because she dislikes it, and she and Lurdes were very vocal about this dislike and their difficulties with German during the fieldwork. Their visual exclusion can be seen as an act of joint resistance against this school language, which is also accomplished interactionally during the interview. The laughter at the end of extract 5.2 is a joint reaction of the three participants to a statement that is almost an inside joke to this group of friends: Chloe's dislike of German is a fact so obvious they can only laugh at its explicit articulation.

Chloe's account of why she excluded French is complex. She points out that she does like French, but explains its omission by stating that it is not important to her and in the future imagines herself as a speaker who does not use a lot of French. Thus, Chloe's imagined identity (Norton 2013; Pavlenko and Norton 2007) as someone who does not speak much French is a motivating factor for excluding it from the portrait, so that it aligns with how she hopes her linguistic repertoire will evolve in the future. However, Chloe's statement that French is *net sou eng wichteg Sprooch fir mech* [not such an important language for me] can be seen to stand in tension with the fact that she uses French to write part of the key to her language portrait (e.g. anglais [English]) and that it is also a main home language for her.

Thus, Chloe might not consider French to be important in an affective way even though it fulfils important instrumental functions in her day-to-day life.

Both Chloe and Lurdes focused on the affective and emotional dimension of language in the creation of their LP. For Chloe in particular, her decision to exclude French was based on its relative absence from her imagined identity. The strong dislike of German demonstrated by both participants linked to a negative attitude towards German at school that was articulated by many participants (see Chapter 8) and was a deciding factor in its absence in their LPs.

5.2.2 Case study 2: Personal significance of language

The two participants in this case study frame the importance of the affective dimension of language in terms of “personal significance”. Jessica’s portrait is split vertically into two halves and includes the Luxembourgish and Filipino national flags. At the start of the interview, Jessica laid out her plan to only draw Luxembourgish and English because *ech schwätze soss keng Sprooch (.) doheem* [I don’t speak any other language (.) at home]. Thus, the home as a space and habitual language practices within it appear to have guided Jessica’s design of her LP. She expressed a reluctant attitude towards speaking German and strong dislike of French as motivating factors for omitting these languages from her portrait. In addition, the notion of school as an institution and space also underpinned Jessica’s understandings of which languages are personally meaningful to her:

Extract 5.3 (phase 2)

Sarah: (...) An Däitsch a Franséisch
soss de wollts de net molen?
Jessica: Nee well **déi sinn net ee vun
de wichtege Sproochen an déi sinn
net fir mech eng haapt (...)** Fir mech
**bedeiten se nëmme fir d'SCHOUL ‘t
ass wicteg fir d'Schoul** well mäi
Papp seet (.) d'Schoul ass wicteg ELO
fir dech well ech sinn nach an der
Primär dass du an enge gudde Lycée
kënns (.) Franséisch probéieren ech
ëmmer besser ze kréie well ech och net
sou gutt do sinn **an ech wëll an enger
gudder Schoul ginn (.) jo (.) dofir
fannen ech dass (.) Däitsch a
Franséisch si mega wicteg fir
d'SCHOUL awer net fir m::- mäi fir
mäi Liewe sou ongeféier**

Sarah: (...) And German and French
you said you didn’t want to draw?
Jessica: No **they are not one of the
important languages and for me they
are not a main (...)** For me they only
**mean [something] for SCHOOL it is
important for school** because my dad
says (.) school is important for you
NOW because I am still in primary so
that you get into to a good lycée (.)
French I always try to get better
[grades] because I’m also not so good
there **and I want to go to a good
school (.) yes (.) that’s why I think
that (.) German and French are
super important for SCHOOL but
not for m::- my for my life kind of**

Jessica describes German and French as languages that are not important in her life because they are not *haapt* [main] languages for her; they carry no personal significance. She shares her father’s opinion that school is important and that languages play a key role in the secondary school tracking process, thus acknowledging the instrumental value of the languages she excluded from her portrait. In order to

get into a good secondary school (i.e. *lycée classique*), Jessica has identified French as the language she needs to improve to reach this goal. Thus, she reproduces and validates the educational structures and underpinning ideologies that she navigates as part of her educational trajectory, but resists them on an emotional level by stating that they are not important for *māi Liewe* [my life]. She achieves this resistance by discursively drawing a line between languages that have a highly positive affective value for her and that she emotionally identifies with, and those that lack these qualities despite her acknowledgment of their important instrumental value for academic progression.



Language Portrait 6: Jessica



Language Portrait 7: Regina

Regina was another participant who omitted German from her LP and only drew her *Hauptsproochen* [main languages] which were mostly represented by national flags:

Extract 5.4 (phase 2)

Regina: (...) **déi déi ech ehm (:)** wéinst eppes vu mengem Liewe kennen. **Däitsch ass net eppes wat ech éierlech aus mengem Liewen hunn**
 Sarah: Mee vu wou hues du dat dann?
 Regina: Aus dem (.) **just aus der Schoul.** Ech hunn dat réischt an der Schoul geléiert. **Franséisch hunn ech léiwer aus der Crèche well do hunn ech och meng dräi BFF Kolleeginnen ehm (.) kennegeléiert. Déi ech ëmmer hale wäert**
 (...) **et [Däitsch] ass dat wat ech an der Schoul geléiert hunn net un enger Haaptsaach.** Zum Beispill Lëtzebuergesch hat ech och kéinte wechloossen well dat hunn ech an der Spillschoul geléiert mee **ech hu**

Regina: (...) **those that I uhm (:)** know because of something from my life. **German is not something I honestly have from my life**
 Sarah: But from where do you have it then?
 Regina: From the (.) **just from school.** I only learnt that in school. **French I rather have from the Crèche²⁹ because there I uhm (.) met my three BFF friends. Whom I will keep forever**
 (...) **it [German] is that which I learnt in school not from a main thing.** For example Luxembourgish I also could have left out because I learnt that in the Spillschoul but **I took**

²⁹ In all data extracts, the terms *Crèche*, *Précoce* and *Spillschoul* will not be translated given the multitude of corresponding educational institutions and varying names in the English-speaking world.

**Lëtzebuergesch geholl well et ass dat
wat ech mat menger Mama (.) méi
schwätzen well dat ass och wou vu
menger Mama (:) ehm (.) kënnt Portugal
hunn ech egal wéi misse mole well dat
ass vu menger Famill**

**Luxembourgish because it is that
which I speak more with (.) my
mummy because that is also
something that (:) uhm (.) comes
from my mummy Portugal I had to
draw either way because that is
from my family**

Regina's reference to her main languages does not refer to instrumental use, but rather emotional and personal significance which signals a strong orientation to the lived experience of language. German is something she only associates with school and is not something she has *éierlech aus mengem Liewen* [honestly from my life]. This rejection of German as a mere school language is fundamentally different from how Regina relates to the languages included in her portrait: French is associated with her BFF (best friend(s) forever) from the *crèche* and Portuguese/Portugal are closely linked to her family heritage, which is also visually emphasised by the heart symbol drawn around the Portuguese flag in the torso of the silhouette. Regina explains that she learnt Luxembourgish in an educational context just like German, but included it in her LP because it has now become a main language she speaks to her mother, and as a result she associates positive emotions with it (see also extract 6.2).

Thus, both Jessica and Regina used the LP to visualise an understanding of their linguistic repertoire that heavily orients towards linguistic resources with positive affective value and with which they personally identify. In doing so, they distinguish between their personal life (including their home, family and the languages used there/with them) and school as an institutional space to conceptualise German (and French) as school languages with only instrumental value.

5.2.3 Case study 3: Monolingual language portraits

Sandra and Elma created the only two monolingual LPS in the entire data set, and the interactional dimension of their interview played an important role in their decisions to create monolingual portraits:

Extract 5.5 (phase 2)

Elma: **Muss ech Franséisch dra maachen?**

Sarah: (:) 't ass wéi s DU wëlls (:) ne

Elma: ((hehe))

Sandra: **Ech maache kee Franséisch [dran**

Elma: **[Ech och
net**

Sarah: **Oder (.) dach (:) oh keng Anung mol
kucken**

Elma: **Do I have to put French in?**

Sarah: (:) it's up to YOU (:) right

Elma: ((hehe))

Sandra: **I won't put French [in**

Elma: **[Me neither**

Sandra: **Or (.) maybe I will (:) oh I
don't know we'll see**

This interaction illustrates possible effects of my presence and status as a researcher on the creation of these language portraits: Elma's opening question positioned me as someone with authority to "grant her permission" to exclude French. In fact, this also exemplifies a wider trend as participants frequently requested more guidance and information on the creation of visual artefacts during the interviews. Elma

was outspoken about her dislike of French throughout the fieldwork, which likely served as an initial motivating factor to omit this school language from her portrait. Her question also influenced Sandra who only included Luxembourgish in her LP *well ech (:) sougesot (:) ëmmer dës Sprooch schwätzen* [because I (:) so to say (:) always speak this language]. Asked why she did not draw German and French, Sandra explained:

Extract 5.6 (phase 2)
(German underlined)

Sandra: **Well (.) ech wollt net?**
 Sarah: Jo
 Elma: [((hehe))
 Sandra: [Ne well jo **Lëtzebuergesch**
ass fir mech méi wichteg wéi déi
aner
 Sarah: Méi wichteg? Jo (.) mhm
 Sandra: **Well dat ass sougesot meng**
HAUPT (.) Sprache weess de

Sandra: **Because (.) I didn't want to?**
 Sarah: Yes
 Elma: [((hehe))
 Sandra: [Right because yes
Luxembourgish is more important to
me than the others
 Sarah: More important? Yes (.) mhm
 Sandra: **Because that is so to speak my**
MAIN (.) language you know

Sandra does not provide any specific reason for excluding German and French from her LP other than that she did not want to. She sees Luxembourgish as the language that is most important to her and which she always uses, except for the occasional use of French and German during school or home work. She concludes the discussion by arguing that Luxembourgish is her main language; which likely means instrumentally and symbolically, and interestingly uses the German term *Hauptsprache* rather than the Luxembourgish *Haaptsprouch* to express this. This is also visually represented by the Luxembourgish national flag which covers the torso of her LP.



Language Portrait 8: Sandra



Language Portrait 9: Elma³⁰

³⁰ The stickers in Elma's portrait are decorative and were added after the language portrait interview.

Elma feels strongly and exclusively connected to Bosnia and Bosnian: she drew *Bosnien (.) also de Fändel vu Bosnien (...)* well *meng Eltere vun do kommen an (.) da kommen ech am Fong OCH vun do (.) sou bëssen* [Bosnia (.) well the flag of Bosnia (...) because my parents come from there and (.) then I ALSO come from there (.) a bit]. Asked about the other languages she speaks, Elma argued that *ech komme jo net vun do* [I don't come from there]. In this light, Elma draws on the iconicity of the Bosnian flag to represent her Bosnian heritage, which she feels strongly attached to through her parents who were born in Bosnia. This aspect of heritage is key in her connection to Bosnian, as she highlights the absence of such heritage to explain why she did not draw German or French. Interestingly, she does not identify a specific country in relation to this: *vun do* [from there] is left unexplained, but likely refers to Germany and France.

Thus, both Sandra and Elma operate on an understanding in which the named languages Luxembourgish and Bosnian simultaneously refer to, or incorporate, Luxembourg and Bosnia as nation-states and are represented with the respective national flags. This illustrates the influence of the one nation, one language ideology. Sandra creates a monolingual LP because she identifies with and uses Luxembourgish the most, and the aspect of family heritage emerges as key for Elma. Kramsch's differentiation of desire as a means of reinforcement, which is different to its function as a means of escape, can frame our discussion of these portraits which can be seen as linked to "the urge (...) to cling to the familiar" (2009, p.15). The reinforcement of Elma's and Sandra's self-positionings with/as Bosnia(n)/Luxembourg(ish) through their LP reinforced a monolingual/monocultural sense of self that aligns with their main home language and family heritage rather than a more plural sense of self.

5.2.4 Case study 4: Complexities of the linguistic repertoire



Language Portrait 10: Schneetiger

Schneetiger was another participant whose portrait was marked by visual silence. He acknowledged the absence of Luxembourgish and French only after a third explicit prompt, and his explanations were underpinned by tensions and contradictions.

Extract 5.7 (phase 2)

Sarah: Well am Fong ehm mir ass lo
opgefall dass de zum Beispill
Franséisch (.) a Lëtzebuergesch net
gemoolt hues (:) has- also firwat
Schneetiger: Mee **Lëtzebuergesch ech
sinn déck null drop** an (.) wéi soen **ech
schwätze bal ni Lëtzebuergesch
ausser am Foyer muss ech. An
Franséisch ech schwätzen dat mat
Matteo a Lucy mee (.) soss (.) nee (.)
soss net**
Albert Einstein: **A mat Henri**
Schneetiger: **Jo mat Henri an all déi
Fransous vun der Klass an sou
weider an doheem och ganz vill mee
Franséisch hunn ech net sou gär**

Sarah: Because actually uhm I noticed
now that you for example didn't draw
French (.) and Luxembourgish (:) did-
so why
Schneetiger: But **Luxembourgish
I'm really zero** and (.) how to say **I
almost never speak Luxembourgish
except in the after-school club I
have to. And French I speak that
with Matteo and Lucy but (.)
otherwise (.) no (.) otherwise not**
Albert Einstein: **And with Henri**
Schneetiger: **Yes with Henri and all
the French from the class and so on
and at home also very much but
French I don't like so much**

Firstly, Luxembourgish was omitted because Schneetiger describes himself as having low proficiency in it and almost never using it, except in the after-school club where he has to speak Luxembourgish (see 7.2.2). Secondly, the question as to why French was missing pertained to the absence of “French French” as Schneetiger described the included ‘Canadian’ as *Franséisch mee bëssen mat en Accent* [French but a bit with an accent]. Schneetiger distances himself from French by minimising his reported French language use with only two classmates at school. This statement, however, contradicted the fieldwork observations: I witnessed Schneetiger speaking a lot of French, frequently also switching from Luxembourgish to French when contributing to classroom discussions and being told off for doing so. In addition, Schneetiger’s reported limited use of French also contradicts his language use in the LP as the key is almost exclusively written in French. Finally, his co-interviewee Albert Einstein also challenges these reported language practices which leads Schneetiger to reveal that he speaks French with all the francophone students in his class and that it is his main home language.

By triangulating Schneetiger’s verbal explanations and written language use with two outsider accounts of his language practices, these various perspectives allow for a complex contextualisation of his relationship with French and its erasure in his LP. This illustrates how his lived experience of language, including repeated negative feedback in school and in the after-school club (see extract 6.10) because of his frequent use of French are a part of and influence how he sees his linguistic repertoire. In this light, the visual erasure of French from his portrait may have served as an attempt to distance himself from an identity of a speaker who uses a lot of French, as there exist negative views towards this as part of the multiple indexicalities that French carries in Luxembourg (see 3.1.2).

5.3 Language desire

Desire has been conceptualised as a driving force behind individuals' motivations to learn a language (see e.g. Kramsch 2009; Piller and Takahashi 2006; Motha and Lin 2014). It is closely connected to the notions of imagined identity and investment and an inherent part of the linguistic repertoire (see 2.2, 2.3). The present section will draw on the theoretical anchors of investment; identity, ideology and capital (Darvin and Norton 2015; Norton 2013) to frame participants' language desire and imagined identity. Indeed, language desire was a consistently prominent theme in the interviews during phases 2 and 4. Participants discussed symbolic as well as instrumental dimensions that made languages attractive to them, and these can be tied to the longing to acquire connected symbolic and material resources/capital associated with that language. As the analysis will show, these dimensions are closely intertwined. Discursively, language desire was most commonly expressed through the use of the verb *wëllen* [to want] within the following expression, or variations of it: *ech wëll (...) (léieren/kënnen)* [I want (to learn/know) (...)]. The visual representation of language desire and desired languages in the LP was diverse and will be analysed on a case-by-case basis in the examples below. This section begins with a separate analysis of English as the most commonly named language that participants desired to learn, before moving on to analysing participants' language desire for other languages such as Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and Chinese.

5.3.1 English

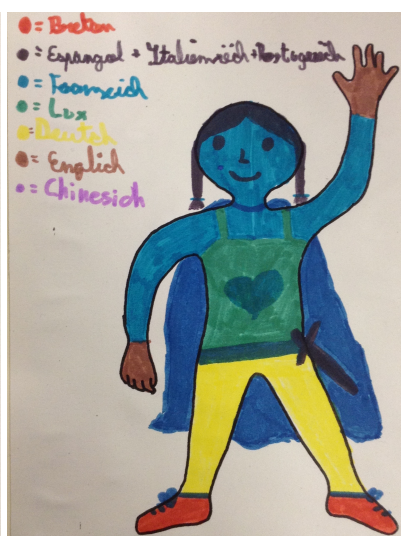
English was the most frequently named language that participants desired to know. It featured in 18 out of 29 language portraits and 13 out of 22 participants discussed their desire to learn English in their final one-on-one interview. This subsection draws on data from both of these research phases to analyse the language desire for English among this group of young people.

Virtually all participants who discussed English expressed a positive attitude towards it, and their discursive constructions of its status as a global language was an important aspect in their desire to learn it. English was associated with high symbolic capital as the most common adjective used in relation to it was *cool*. This is in line with prevalent views (in Luxembourg and beyond) of English as a language with “allure and sparkling promise” that is frequently presented as “good and desirable” (Motha and Lin 2014, pp.332, 334). As part of this perceived desirability, English was extensively discussed both in terms of its instrumental value as a global lingua franca as well as its symbolic value as the “main world language” with important status. Naruto, for instance, clearly articulated his desire to learn English and outlined its important instrumental and symbolic functions when he stated that *Englesch wëll ech och dat ass och déck wichteg (...) bal bei all Länder schwätzen Englesch* [English I also want that is also very important (...) almost in all countries [they] speak English] (phase 4). The perspective

that English is spoken all across the globe was highly prevalent in the data, and Sibylline and Blanche also discussed its global presence in relation to their LP:



Language Portrait 11: Sibylline



Language Portrait 12: Blanche

Extract 5.8 (phase 2)

Sibylline: (...) ech hu mech ëmmer
gefrot wisou et ganz vill aner
Sprooche ginn. **Wisou gëtt et net
ENG Sprooch op der GANZER
Welt sou versti- versti mer ons
ALLEGUERTEN**

Sarah: Ass dat ee Problem dass et sou
vill Sprooche ginn (.) verschiddener?

Sibylline: Euh (.) puer **jo well wann s
de an d'ganze Welt räise muss da
muss de (.) ganz vill Sprooche
léieren**

Sarah: Mhm

Sibylline: An (.) wat s de am (.) **wat
wichteger ass ass Englesch well
Englesch ka bëssen alleguerte
schwätzen**

Blanche: Jo

Sibylline: (...) I have always asked
myself why there are many different
languages. **Why isn't there ONE
language in the WHOLE world that
way we understand- we ALL
understand each other**

Sarah: Is that a problem that there are so
many languages (.) different ones?

Sibylline: Uh (.) some **yes because
when you have to travel in the whole
world then you have to (.) learn very
many languages**

Sarah: Mhm

Sibylline: And (.) what you (.) **what is
more important is English because
English kind of everyone can speak**

Blanche: Yes

Sibylline's babelesque representation of societal/global multilingualism as a problem is based on a view of linguistic diversity as a possible barrier to communication, which is underpinned by a more general orientation of language as a problem (Ruiz 1984). In this light, she positions English as a solution that enables its speakers to communicate with individuals all over the world, whereas someone who does not speak English would need to have a repertoire of many different languages in order to do so. Blanche agrees with this perspective and both participants support the belief in the global instrumental value of English by positioning it in the hands of their LP; drawing on the body symbolism representing utility because *mat Hänn kanns de ganz vill Saache maachen (.) mat Englesch och* [with hands you can do very many things (.) with English too].

Although Sibylline and Blanche construct societal multilingualism as problematic and subscribe to a hegemonic view of English as unproblematic in extract 5.8, they also provided another, more positive account of (individual) multilingualism later on in their interview when asked about the accessories in their LP. Sibylline argued that the sword symbolises the difficulties involved with language learning, drawing on battle metaphors to argue that it represents *kämpfe fir dass mer Zäit ons ginn* [fighting so that we give ourselves time], and Blanche linked it to *kämpfe mat onse cerveaux* [fighting with our brains]. In relation to the cape, they explained:

Extract 5.9 (phase 2)

Sibylline: An d'Kaap fir dass mer
bëssen (.) wa mer se léieren da kënne mer
all d'Sprooche léieren da kënne mer
(.) bësse fléien iwwert d'Äerd da
kënne mer fléien wa mer alles
geléiert hunn da fléie mer bëssen

Blanche: Well mer=

Sibylline: =wéi Superman (.) well mer
dat ass dat ass lo fir ons einfach an (.)

Blanche: Jo **fir Superman ass et**
einfach fir hien ze fléien a wa mer
alles all d'Sprooche kennen dann
ass et och ein[fach

Sibylline: [Einfach

Sarah: Mhm

Sibylline: **Am Welt ze reesen a sou**
(:) a ganz vill Aarbecht mat Leit
vun aner Länner ze maachen

Sibylline: And the cape so that we kind
of (.) when we learn them then [we] can
all the languages then we can (.) kind
of fly over the earth then we can fly
when we have learnt everything then
we fly a little

Blanche: Because we=

Sibylline: =like Superman (.) because we
that is that is now easy for us and (.)

Blanche: Yes **for Superman it is easy**
for him to fly and when we know
everything all the languages then it is
also

ea[sy

Sibylline: [Easy

Sarah: Mhm

Sibylline: **To travel the world and so**
(:) and do very many jobs with people
from other countries

This account nuances the exclusive benefits of knowing English that Sibylline and Blanche discussed in extract 5.8, which highlights that speakers can hold conflicting beliefs at the same time. The cape symbolises the benefits and opportunities of individual multilingualism as it is seen to allow speakers to *fléien* [fly] like Superman; travel the world and collaborate with speakers of other languages. Thus, whereas English was represented as the easy way to achieve these goals in extract 5.8, Blanche and Sibylline also construct individual multilingualism as offering the same benefits, even if that journey may be more challenging.

Schneetiger began his LP explanations with English which he described as *déi Haaptsprooch déi ka bal alleguerten an ech wëll vill Englesch* [the main language almost all know it and I want a lot of English], thus highlighting both symbolic and instrumental functions and expressing his own personal desire to learn and know English. This language desire is strongly connected to his imagined identity and professional career as an engineer, where he hopes that English proficiency will open up professional opportunities in relation to international sales or collaborations: *well ech méi spéit Ingenieur wëll ginn 't ass och gutt fir ze verkafen a sou weider. An fir och mat entreprises étrangers ze schaffen* [because I want to become an engineer later it is also good for sales and so on. And also to work with foreign companies]. Indeed, such an element of futurity (Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen 2014) featured

in many participants' expressions of their language desire for English. For instance, eight participants referred to the fact that they and/or other students will start learning English formally once they attend secondary school. When asked if he wanted to learn other languages when he is older, Matteo (LP 21 in Appendix 8) replied *MHM (:)* *Englesch bon dat ginn ech souwisou léieren ((heh))* [MHM (:): English well I will learn that either way ((heh))] (phase 4). In primary school, Matteo had no access to formal English language teaching, and because this only becomes available in secondary school, he discursively presented English as a linguistic resource that would be actualised in the future.

Chloe was the participant who expressed her language desire for English most intensely:

Extract 5.10 (phase 2)

Chloe: **Also rout ass fir mech keng Anung wou s de wou s de nach net kanns weess de 't ass zum Beispill wann s de laansch d'Strooss gees da rout da kanns de net goen. Et ass ech muss waarde bis Lycée an dann ass gréng**

Sarah: (...) A wéi eng Sprooch has du als éischt gemoolt? (:): Weess de dat nach?

Chloe: Ehm ech hat Englesch Englesch
Sarah: Mhm weess de firwat also firwat hues de als éischt

Chloe: **Well Englesch ass méi déi Sprooch déi ech onbedéngt wëll (.) dat ass eng Sprooch déi déi ech ëmmer wëll léieren (.) do ass keen dee mech zwéngt mee ech WËLL weess de dat ass eppes vu wëll**

(...)

Chloe: **Ma Englesch ass keng Anung dat ass:: (:): déi Grouss kënnen ëmmer Englesch schwätzen ((d'Lurdes and d'Lily laachen)) du bass ëmmer do du verstees näischt. An 't ass cool si schwätze sou cool (.) a bal all Lidder déi ech kenne sinn op Englesch (.) ech wëll se och gären eng Kéier verstoen ((d'Lurdes, d'Lily an d'Sarah laachen)) 't ass wouer ech muss ëmmer Traduction maachen dat ass nerveg e bëssen ((laacht))**

Chloe: **So red is for me I don't know where you don't that yet you know it is for example when you walk along the street then red you can't go. It is I have to wait until secondary school and then it's green**

Sarah: (...) And which colour did you draw first? (:): Do you remember?

Chloe: Uhm I had English English

Sarah: Do you know why well why you first did

Chloe: **Because English is more the language that I absolutely want (.) that is a language that that I always want to learn (.) there is no one who forces me but I WANT TO you know it's something to do with wanting**

(...)

Chloe: **Well English is I don't know that is:: (:): the grown-ups always know how to speak English ((Lurdes and Lily laugh)) you are always there you don't understand anything. And it's cool they speak like cool (.) and almost all songs that I know are in English (.) I would also like to understand them once ((Lurdes, Lily and Sarah laugh)) it's true I always have to do translation that is annoying a bit ((laughs))**

Chloe emphasises her language desire by stressing that she absolutely wants to learn English, but is aware that access to this linguistic resource lies in her future as English only becomes part of the language curriculum in secondary school. Thus, her desire for English precedes her investment in the language learning process, as the actualisation of her investment is currently restricted by Luxembourgish language education policies which will also determine the quantity and quality of her access to English language teaching (Horner and Bellamy 2018, see also 3.2.2).

Chloe's desire for English is also creatively expressed on the visual level, where she uses the traffic light metaphor to express that the light is currently on red as she does not have access to English teaching yet. However, she hopes that in the future, when she attends secondary school, the light will turn to green with the start of English lessons. Chloe does not explicitly orient towards the status of English as a global language in explaining her language desire, and the anticipated returns of English proficiency are both instrumental and symbolic: this would, Chloe imagines, enable her to understand the lyrics of English music without needing to translate them and to converse with "grown-ups". Speaking and understanding English is seen as desirable and is associated with "coolness": *si schwätze sou cool* [they speak like cool]. This resonates with Kramsch's (2009, p.16) summary of the relationship between language learners and their desired languages:

Seduced by the foreign sounds, rhythms, and meanings, and by the 'coolness' of the language as it is spoken by native speakers, many adolescents strive to enter new, exotic worlds, where they can be or at least pretend to be someone else, where they too can become 'cool' and inhabit their bodies in more powerful ways.

Another key element in Chloe's desire for English is that this is a language which she chose by her own free will: *do ass keen dee mech zwéngt* [there is no one who forces me]. This distinction relates to lived experience for Chloe, who experienced learning Luxembourgish in the *Spillschoul* as an involuntary activity (see 6.2.1). This freedom of choice may be a key component in language desire, as it offers the language learner a way to exert agency over the development of their linguistic repertoire in line with their imagined identity. Indeed, English is a part of Chloe's imagined identity as she wants to join an imagined community of English speakers and acquire new instrumental and symbolic capital. Lastly, remembering that Chloe's omission of German and French from the portrait was linked to a dislike and expected low use in the future (see 5.2.1), we can conclude that Chloe's portrait overall was strongly marked by a sense of futurity and aspired to represent her imagined identity as a speaker in the future.

The perceived desirability of English may have been amplified by the fact that English is not part of the language regime at primary school level in Luxembourg; a situation that facilitates its symbolic capital as a "rare commodity" in this community of young people, but also by my status as a PhD student at a university in England. This may have been connected to the fact that a few participants were keen to demonstrate and perform their English skills during interviews. The following extract presents a small story (Georgakopoulou 2007) in which Maya positions herself as a speaker with English proficiency through an element of performativity:

Extract 5.11 (phase 2)
(English underlined)

Maya: (...) ech lauschteren heiansdo
Englesch Lidder an da verhalen ech mer
déi Lidder an heiansdo wann se soen "I
ain't yo mama no" dat wëll heeschen ech
sinn net deng Mamm (.) an dann awer lo
weess ech dat well ech schonn déck vill

Maya: (...) I sometimes listen to English
songs and then I remember these songs and
sometimes when they say "I ain't yo mama
no" that means I'm not your mother (.) and
then but now I know that because I've
heard the song (.) very many times. And

mol (.) de Lidd héieren hunn. An **dann sot ech mäi Papp "I ain't yo mama no" ech sinn net deng Mamm a mäi Papp "jo richtig"**. An ech ech dann lo léieren ech **ëmmer Englesch ze schwätzen an lo kann ech an herno kann ech gutt Englesch wann ech méi grouss sinn**

then I said to my dad "I ain't yo mama no" I'm not your mother and my dad [said] "yes correct". And I I then now I always learn to speak English and now I can [speak some] and later I can speak English well when I'm older



Language Portrait 13: Maya

Maya claims that she has developed her English proficiency by listening to English songs and remembering their lyrics. She demonstrates this proficiency by repeating a line from a song (I ain't yo mama no) and translating it. Maya then tells a small story of a time when she performed this same line and its translation for her father. By animating her father's voice (Goffmann 1974) and validation (*jo richtig* [yes right]), Maya is able to affirm her English language skills without doing this in her own name but through the authority of her father. Indeed, Maybin (2006, p.5) highlights the important role that reproduced speech can play in young people's recreations and evaluations of an experience, and Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (2011, p.130) highlight that by the nature of narratives and small stories, they involve evaluations and attitudes that are "often constructed by drawing on authority and knowledge or hiding behind such". Thus, these elements in the small story serves to establish and consolidate Maya's self-positioning as a young speaker with English proficiency. The small story concludes with a reference to Maya's imagined identity as a proficient English speaker in the future. Having analysed the desirability of English linked to its status as a global language that promises symbolic and material capital, the following subsection will explore participants' desire for languages other than English.

5.3.2 Desire for languages other than English

Although English was the language most frequently named as an object of desire, participants also named numerous other languages; in particular Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and Chinese, and to a lesser

extent Bosnian and Arabic. Participants positively evaluated these languages which they desired to know, and *cool* was the most commonly used adjective to describe them. For example, Matteo argued that *ech fanne Portugisesch och SCHÉIN ze nozelauschteren dat ass agreabel* [I find Portuguese also NICE to listen to that is pleasant] (phase 4), and Blanche said in relation to Russian *ech fannen dat eng schéi Sprooch (...) dat gesäit cool aus* [I think that's a beautiful language (...) that looks cool] (phase 2).

In some cases, it was the perception of a language as mysterious and unfamiliar that was a key factor in participants' language desires. Regina, for example, explained why she wanted to learn Chinese which she had represented by writing 'China' in the head of the silhouette (LP 7 p.84):

Extract 5.12 (phase 2)

Regina: Well dat mam Film mir **mega** (.) **gutt Gedanke mécht** (.) esou wann ech ehm (:) mat **Leit déi** (.) **d'Sprooch net verstinn déi ech schwätze KANN a vläicht Chinesesch da kënnen da kéint ech vläicht mat si schwätzen** (...)

Regina: Because that with the film gives me super (.) **good thoughts** (.) that way when I uhm (:) [talk] with **people who** (.) **don't understand the language that I CAN speak and maybe they know Chinese then maybe I could speak with them** (...)

Extract 5.13 (phase 4)

Regina: Chinesesch well ech fannen (.) dat ass schonn (.) **mega KRASS wéi si eh** (.) **schreiwen** mee wann s de wann ech sou puer Wieder soen zum Beispill **ni hao chech- ka chin** (.) **ech fannen dat déck schéin**

Regina: Chinese because I find (.) that's already (.) **totally insane how they uh** (.) **write** but when you when I like say a few words for example **ni hao chech- ka chin** (.) **I find that really beautiful**

Regina's language desire for Chinese is strongly driven by her positive memories attached to an educational DVD that she regularly watched when she was younger and holds dear (referred to as 'film' in extract 5.12). This is connected to a positive affective value for Chinese (*ech fannen dat déck schéin* [I find that really beautiful]), and is also related to personal well-being for Regina, as this gives her *mega gutt Gedanke* [super good thoughts]. In addition to this lived and emotional dimension, Regina also points to the instrumental value of speaking Chinese as this may widen up the pool of potential interlocutors in the future. The perceived nature of what Regina called 'Chinese' also plays an important role in her desire to learn it. She is impressed by the unfamiliar and *krass* [insane] looking characters, which she knows through the DVD. Indeed, Regina positions herself as somewhat knowledgeable about Chinese in performing a short utterance which supports the legitimacy of her assessment of Chinese as beautiful and "insane".

An unfamiliar nature and perceived mysteriousness also features in Fabio's enumeration of Arabic and Chinese as languages he would like to learn in the future:

Extract 5.14 (phase 2)

Fabio: (...) dono Arabesch (.) dono Chinesesch
Neymar: Wëlls du all déi Sprooche kënnen- kennen?
Fabio: **Chinesesch well dat ass mega komesch Sprooch ech wëll dat léieren** (...)
Sarah: (...) A firwat wëlls de déi zwou léieren?
Fabio: **W- well si sinn (:)** net wéi ons **Sproochen wéi an Europa**
Sarah: Mhm
Fabio: **Sinn net mat déi nämmlecht (:)** et ass en aner (:)
et si wéi (.) et ass net **s- sou s- awer [s-**
Sarah: **[Si hunn aner Zeechen ne**
Fabio: **Jo**

Fabio: (...) then Arabic (.) then Chinese
Neymar: Do you want to speak- know all of these languages?
Fabio: **Chinese because it is a super strange language I want to learn that** (...)
Sarah: (...) And why do you want to learn these two?
Fabio: **B- because they are (:)** not like **our languages like in Europe**
Sarah: Mhm
Fabio: **Are not with the same (:)** it is **another (:)** it is like (.) it is not s- like **s- but [s-**
Sarah: **[They have other symbols right**
Fabio: **Yes**

Fabio is curious about the writing systems in Arabic and Chinese, which he describes as different from “our” European languages. This “us vs. them” positioning through which Chinese and Arabic are constructed as “other” can be interpreted in a positive light, as the unfamiliarity and “foreignness” serve as motivating factors in Fabio’s curiosity. Additionally, his description of Chinese as *mega komesch* [super strange] can be interpreted as signalling the fact that he is intrigued by its perceived mysterious writing system (as well as that of Arabic).

A similar curiosity towards a perceived “strange” language was expressed by Naruto who discussed how he would like to expand this linguistic repertoire in the future. In this light, he described his desire to learn Japanese which was strongly connected to his favourite Manga series ‘Naruto’ and its eponymous protagonist: *wéinst Naruto wollt ech dat léieren* [I wanted to learn that because of Naruto]. Indeed, his affection for this series and character inspired him to create his own LP silhouette in resemblance of the original Naruto, and to draw the Japanese national flag in the head because he admired the character’s hairstyle. Naruto also expressed a positive attitude towards Arabic which he would like to learn when he is older, and stated that *ech gesinn ëmmer Riyad an Neymar ëmmer Arabesch schwätzen (...)* *dat ass déck komesch mee ech weess net firwat ech hunn Arabesch* [I always see Riyad and Neymar always speak Arabic (...) that’s really weird but I don’t know why I have Arabic]. Thus, although Naruto argues that he does not know the reason why he has such a positive disposition towards Arabic and would like to learn it, it is evident that his association of it with his friends plays a key role. In addition, Naruto reported overhearing Riyad speaking Arabic to his mother when the two friends are on the phone, which may be connected to his intrigue in relation to this *déck komesch* [really weird] language (see extract 8.26).



Language Portrait 14: Naruto

Thus Naruto, Regina and Fabio are drawn to languages because of their “otherness” and unfamiliar nature, and Kramsch (2009, p.59) has highlighted that essentialised and stereotypical views of other languages, countries, and imagined communities of speakers can serve as a motivation for language learning and be an element of language desire. The final part of this subsection will focus more closely on the symbolic and instrumental dimensions of languages that participants invoked in discussing their language desires. Lucy was a participant who desired to improve her knowledge of Alsatian, as her grand-parents live in the Alsace region of France and speak Alsatian to her when she visits on weekends and school holidays:

Extract 5.15 (phase 2)

Lucy: (...) also ech hunn dat kléng
gemaach well **ech kann dat nēmmen e
ganz e bëssi schwätzen** (.) an ehm ech
hunn dat ganz ganz uewen gemaach
well dat ass **vill méi schwéier** an dofir
**wëll ech vill méi sichen an och vill méi
léiere vun dat (.) dat hunn ech gären**
(...)

Andrea: Muss een méi léieren

Lucy: **Ech muss et NET léieren** mee et
ass jo:: (.) **ech hunn einfach (:)** **einfach**
(.) **Lo-Loscht** (.) eh jo (.) bëssen ze also
jo bëssen méi ze verstoen an jo

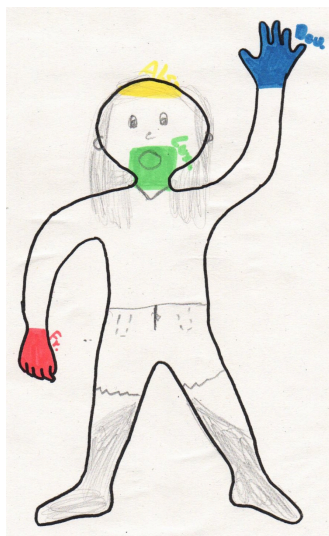
Lucy: (...) so I made that very small
because **I can only speak that very
little** (.) and uhm I put that at the very
very top because that is **much more
difficult and because of that I want
to search much more and also learn
much more of that (.) I like that**
(...)

Andrea: One has to learn more

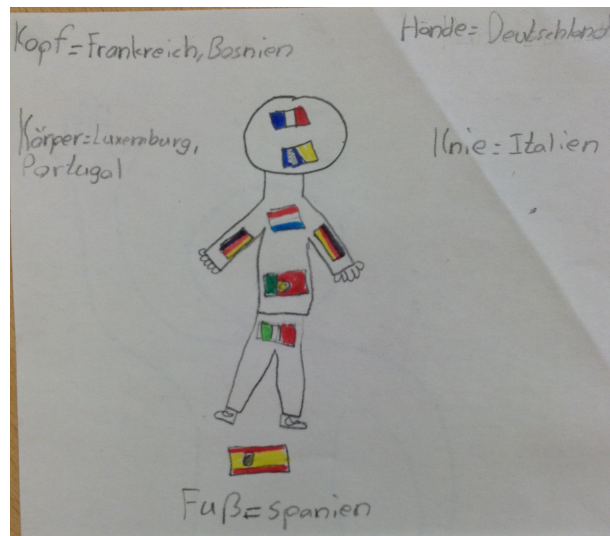
Lucy: **I do NOT have to learn it** but it
is yes:: (.) **I simply have (:)** **simply (:)**
a des- desire (.) uh yes (.) a little to
well yes to understand a little more
and yes

Lucy’s visual representation of Alsatian as yellow was deliberate, as her grandparents’ house in Alsace is the same colour and this example highlights the importance that family heritage can play in influencing language desire. Drawing on further spatial and orientational metaphors as well as body symbolisms, Lucy’s representation of Alsatian in her LP symbolises her current low proficiency as well as its perceived difficulty. Nevertheless, she expresses a highly positive attitude: *dat hunn ech gären* [I like that]. Rejecting Andrea’s suggestions that there might be an obligation to improve her Alsatian

proficiency, she states that *ech hunn einfach (...) Loscht (...) bësse méi ze verstoen* [I just have (...) a desire (...) to understand a bit more], thus highlighting that her desire stems from her own free will.



Language Portrait 15: Lucy



Language Portrait 16: Georges

The most prominent link to another person as a motivating factor in language desire was friendship. Participants not only expressed positive attitudes to their friends' home languages, but many also articulated a desire to learn these languages, explicitly acknowledging their friends and friendship in this discussion. Portuguese was, after English, the most frequently named language that participants wanted to learn. Given the large presence of lusophone speakers in Luxembourg, this was also reflected in the student population at the school which the participants of this study attended. However, these overall highly positive attitudes expressed towards Portuguese differ from more popular discourses in Luxembourg, where it often features "at the bottom of the language hierarchy" (Tavares 2020, p.227). Georges was one participant who explained the inclusion of Portuguese in his LP:

Extract 5.16 (phase 2)

Georges: **An och Portugisesch ech
hunn dat nach net [geléiert**
Naruto: **[Well ech sinn?**
Georges: Portugis
Naruto: ((hehe))

Georges: **And also Portuguese I
haven't learnt [that yet**
Naruto: **[Because I am?**
Georges: Portuguese
Naruto: ((hehe))

This extract illustrates the importance of friendship in motivating participants' language desire that targets friendship as a symbolic resource, which is explicitly and interactively co-constructed between Georges and Naruto: their brief exchange implies that Georges wants to learn Portuguese because his friend, Naruto, identifies as Portuguese. Thus, language learning or expressing the desire to do so can be part of "doing friendship" with the aim of deepening the emotional connection between friends. This

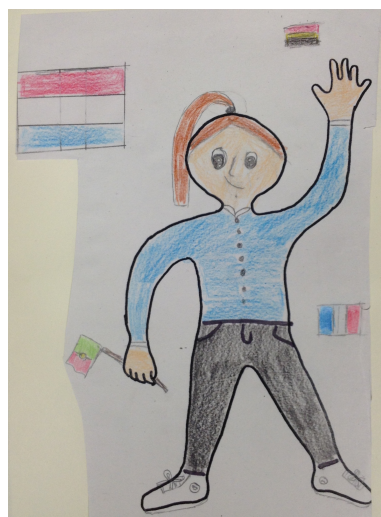
link is also central in the following extract, where Jessica explains why she wants to learn Portuguese when she is older:

Extract 5.17 (phase 2)

Jessica: Well **Portugisesh ass cool** an déi meescht Kollege vu mir si Portugis (.) de Kevin Lurdes Sofia Chloe (.) den Eden (.) a sou weider (.) a sou fort ((heh)) an ech wéilt och gär Italiensch kënnen (:)
well ech fannen Italiensch ass eng (.) eng (.) eng cool Sprooch an ech wollt déi och gäre kënnen (:) mee a **Portugisesh wëll ech am meeschten** (.) well mir si schonn a Portugal gaang (.) mee do schwätzen se nëmme Portugisesh

Jessica: Because **Portuguese is cool** and most of my friends are Portuguese (.) Kevin Lurdes Sophia Chloe (.) Eden (.) and so on (.) and so forth ((heh)) and I would also like to know Italian (:)
because I think Italian is a (.) a (.) a cool language and I would also like to know that (:) but and **Portuguese I want the most** (.) because we have already been to Portugal (.) but there they only speak Portuguese

Jessica states that the majority of her friends are Portuguese and lists their names. She thinks Portuguese is *cool*, and although she also wants to learn Italian, she first and foremost wants Portuguese *am meeschten* [the most]. Jessica also mentions that she has previously visited Portugal and perceived the local population to consist of monolingual lusophone speakers, which implies that proficiency in Portuguese could also be instrumental when visiting Portugal. Thus, Jessica’s language desire may not only be driven by the symbolic resource of aligning with her lusophone friends, but also instrumental capital that would allow her to communicate with other speakers while abroad.



Language Portrait 17: Sofia



Language Portrait 18: Smiley³¹

Another example highlighting the important connection between friendship and language desire includes Sofia and Smiley; two friends who had mentioned over the course of data collection that they had been trying to teach each other their respective home languages; Portuguese and Italian. They also separately mentioned their desire to speak the home language of their friend in their final one-on-one

³¹ Smiley’s real name in the top left corner has been pixelated to ensure anonymity.

interviews. In this light, Smiley said *meng bescht Frëndin kënnt aus Portugal dat ass eng Sprooch wou ech gär géif léieren* [my best friend comes from Portugal that is a language I would like to learn] (phase 4), and Sofia also explained that *ech wollt (:) Italienesch kënnen da kënnt ech mat Smiley jo (.) Italienesch schwätzen a well ech fannen dat och cool ze schwätzen* [I would like (:) to know Italian so I could (.) speak Italian with Smiley and because I also find it cool to speak that] (phase 4).

The final LP portrayed in this chapter was created by Riyadh and strongly features language desire. Riyadh can be described in Kramsch's terms as a "polyglot, who collect[s] languages like others collect butterflies" (2009, p.4), as he filled his LP with named languages to the point of running out of space and adding two more language names in the bottom right corner. During the interview he, among other things, performed a made-up French rhyme, sang a parody of an Italian song, corrected a Luxembourgish grammatical mistake that co-interviewee Neymar made, and also shared metalinguistic knowledge (e.g. on Arabic varieties and the "Yugoslavic" (Riyad's own term) language situation). Through these actions, Riyadh self-positioned as a proficient, confident and knowledgeable multilingual speaker who can flexibly draw on his resources and for stylised effects. This self-positioning was further accomplished by the visual representation of this LP and the discursive explanations where Riyadh listed the languages included and for each one articulated his desire to learn them. I then asked him about the rationale behind the placing of the various languages:

Extract 5.18 (phase 2)

Riyad: Ben wat ech (.) zum Beispill hei bei Arabesch ech kann dat am meeschten. Franséisch ech hunn dat am meeschte gären. Lëtzebuergesch kann ech am eh (.) drëttbeschte schwätzen an do kann ech Däitsch. Ehm **dono hunn ech Italienesch sou gemaach well ech dat mega gär hunn. Spuenesch wëll ech einfach léieren. Portugisesch (.) ech hunn einfach bässe gemaach well ech dat wëll bässe léieren. Norwegesch (:) ech fannen déi Sprooch komesch eh wéi et geschriwwe gëtt (.) eh d'Buschtawen mee et ass cool. Dat fannen ech cool. Jugoslawesch dat ass komesch mee (.) ech ka gutt dat liesen**

(...)

Sarah: Wou hues du dat da geléiert?

Riyad: Eh (:) ehm (.) mäi Noper

Sarah: Mhm

Riyad: A Niederländesch a Belgesch **Niederländesch ass sou ongeféier wéi Däitsch (.) an (.) dat wëll ech och léieren a Belgesch ass sou wéi Franséich.**

Sarah: Mhm. Mee firwat wëlls du dann sou vill Sproocher nach léieren =

Riyad: = ech weess net. **Ech fannen dat cool**

Riyad: Well what I (.) for example here with Arabic I know that the most. French I like that the most. Luxembourgish I can uh (.) speak third best and there I know German. Uhm **then Italian I did like that because I really like it. Spanish I just want to learn. Portuguese (.) I just made a little because I want to learn that a bit. Norwegian (:) I find that language strange uh the way it's written (.) uh the letters but it is cool. I think that's cool. Yugoslavic that is strange but (.) I can read that well**

(...)

Sarah: Where did you learn that then?

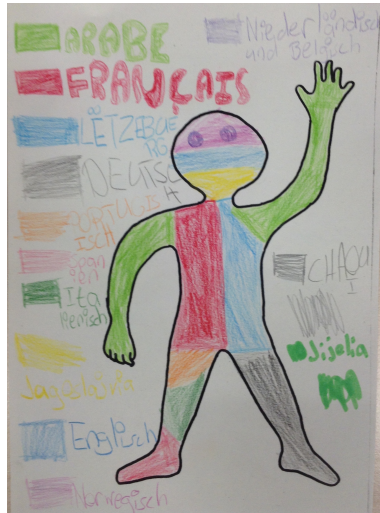
Riyad: Uh (:) uhm (.) my neighbour

Sarah: Mhm

Riyad: And Dutch and Belgian **Dutch is approximately like German (.) and (.) I also want to learn that and Belgian is like French**

Sarah: Mhm. But why do you want to learn so many languages=

Riyad: =I don't know. **I think that's cool**



Language Portrait 19: Riyad

The fact that Riyad’s LP includes many languages highlights his openness to expanding his repertoire in the future with languages he has a personal connection to, such as Norwegian (his uncle lives in Norway) or Yugoslavic (which his friend taught him how to read), but also others he simply thinks are *cool*. Discussing the different elements of his language portrait, he also demonstrates a high level of metalinguistic awareness. It may seem that the listing of languages Riyad desires is excessive, but the performative aspect of this self-portrayal as an ambitious language learner reinforces his positioning as a competent and knowledgeable speaker with a diverse linguistic repertoire. Similarly, Dressler (2014, p.46) has suggested that the inclusion of languages in the LP in which young people do not have any, or very limited, proficiency can be interpreted as “embracing an emerging plurilingualism”.

5.4 Concluding discussion

This chapter has explored young people’s visual representations and discursive constructions of their linguistic repertoires through the language portrait. In a first instance, the focus on visual silence in the language portraits, referring to the erasure of linguistic resources from the LP, highlights the importance of paying attention to silence, visual or other (Jaworski 1997). In the creative representation of their linguistic repertoires, participants oriented strongly to the lived experience of language as well as their imagined identity. Participants excluded languages primarily because of their (lack of) affective value, as they expressed emotions of dislike or low personal significance or emotional attachment. A distinction based on space, where the home as emotionally and personally significant was differentiated from school as an institutional space, was also important in the assessment of the affective value of language for some participants. In a similar light, family members, the notion of family heritage and nationality/citizenship were key to some participants’ understanding of their linguistic repertoire.

The instrumental and symbolic dimensions of language were also important in affecting participants' decisions as to whether to include linguistic resources in their language portrait, and in what form. The instrumental dimension of excluded languages was acknowledged in many cases, and on some occasions the excluded languages were positioned as tools with *only* instrumental and no affective value. For some participants, the instrumental function and affective value of a language, especially in relation to their imagined identity, did not match up which resulted in tensions within the language portrait and the discursive commentary. This was especially visible in Schneetiger's account (5.2.4), as he navigated different indexicalities of French to self-position as a speaker who does not regularly engage with French language practices.

The seven participants whose language portraits were marked by visual silence and who resisted (the school languages) German and French, and to a lesser extent Luxembourgish, used the LP to achieve this visually, discursively and interactionally with their co-participants. This highlights the methodological benefit of using a creative method such as the language portrait, as it can alleviate power imbalances between researcher and participants and direct the focus and control to participants, which was key in this process. Thus, these examples illustrate how participants used the LP to visualise and validate their linguistic repertoire as they identified with it. Indeed, Busch (2018, p.6) explains that "the process of designing, commenting and interpreting [the language portrait] can also contribute (...) to validating it [the linguistic repertoire] in a sense of self-empowerment". Temporarily removed from the structures and discourses that mark school and after-school spaces, where their linguistic resources are positioned and labelled in various ways, the agency linked to being able to represent their linguistic repertoire and affirm their (imagined) identity on their own terms allowed participants to control these narratives.

Representing their linguistic repertoire in line with their imagined identity in which the lived experience of language plays an important role involved not only the exclusion of languages with low affective value, but also the inclusion of languages participants desire to learn and speak. In the exploration of language desire in this chapter, English emerged as the most frequently named object of desire, ahead of the home languages of participants' friends. The analysis has drawn on the concept of investment (Darvin and Norton 2015), which connected participants' language desires and investment in their imagined identities to wider socio-cultural contexts and ideologically-laden power structures. This has highlighted that participants' language desire is connected to material and symbolic resources associated with the desired languages. Both were relevant in the case of English, as participants desired the symbolic and material capital seen to be connected to its status as a global language (e.g. improved career options, 'coolness'). Friendship emerged as an essential factor and symbolic capital in participants' desire to speak the home languages of their friends. The unfamiliarity of some languages

and perceived mysteriousness also served as intrigue and motivation for language desire, and points to the overall openness towards languages and language learning that participants demonstrated (see 7.1).

English was overall seen as desirable by these young people, not only because of its instrumental value but also because it carried connotations of coolness and adulthood which has also been found in other contexts (see e.g. Obojska 2019; Patiño-Santos 2018; Motha and Lin 2014). For many participants of this study, English can arguably be described as a “neutral” or “unloaded” language as it is not yet part of the curriculum and linked to homework, tests or pressure from school. Some scholars would disagree with such a description, most prominently perhaps Phillipson (1992; 2017) who, operating from the perspective of linguistic imperialism, has critically engaged with the current position of English and the (global) inequalities to whose reproduction it contributes. He warns that linguistic capital accumulation of English must not “entail the dispossession of linguistic capital invested in other languages” (2017, p.329). In a similar light, Motha and Lin (2014, pp.334–335) have cautioned that language desire for English and the “capital, power, and images” that are associated with it can play into a wider system of inequalities linked to the global presence of English. Self-positionings of speakers for whom their language desire for English is the result of a perceived lack “reaffirm[s] the[ir] primacy” of English-speakers as those who can claim ownership over it (*ibid.*).

Pennycook (2000) has highlighted the benefits of the linguistic imperialism perspective in relation to exposing wider ideological contexts, as well as structural power centres and imbalances that contribute to the spread of English and social inequalities. However, he has also pointed out the limitations of such an approach and cautions against the application of linguistic imperialism on the micro level, as this generalises individuals’ choices to learn and use English as an “ideological reflex of linguistic imperialism”, thus not acknowledging social actors’ “sense of agency, resistance, or appropriation” (2000, p.114). Indeed, the freedom to choose a language one wants to learn may be a key component in language desire and later investment in the actual language learning process, as it offers the speaker a way to exert agency over the development of their linguistic repertoire in line with their imagined identity. Although students’ language desires do not develop in a socio-cultural void, this is nonetheless a choice they make themselves, and desiring a language that is not imposed through the educational language regime can play an important role in students’ imagined identities. This point emerged clearly in Chloe’s and Lucy’s examples (extracts 5.10 and 5.15).

To summarise, this chapter has provided a first insight into the linguistic repertoires of the participants in this study through their own visual representations and discursive constructions. The analysis showed that participants’ understandings of their linguistic repertoire are closely linked to the lived experience of language, and in particular the affective dimension of language. The following chapter will explore participants’ lived experience of language with a specific focus on Luxembourgish.

Chapter 6: Lived experience of Luxembourgish: Inclusion, exclusion and a double-edged sword for language learning

Chapter 5 focused on participants' understandings of their linguistic repertoire and lived experience of language. The present and following two data analysis chapters move the focus to participants' lived experience of language and language education policy in school more specifically. Whereas Chapters 7 and 8 focus on German and French, the present chapter focuses on Luxembourgish. It explores the complexities and tensions involved in the functions of Luxembourgish in participants' lived experience of language by drawing on the language portrait data (research phase 2), as well as the one-on-one interviews and notebook entries (research phase 4). Section 6.1 explores the inclusive function of Luxembourgish in relation to its vital status in this community of young people, the overall positive affective orientations that participants reported for Luxembourgish, and its extensive (spoken) use as a common denominator between them. Section 6.2 focuses on the function of Luxembourgish as a tool for exclusion in participants' reports of being subject to monolingual Luxembourgish-only language policies and active policing of this. Section 6.3 engages with participants' metalinguistic commentaries in relation to the linguistic relationship and perceived proximity between Luxembourgish and German. It explores the reported effects that this linguistic similarity can have on the learning and use of German, and the positive and negative effects that participants have experienced with this in relation to language learning. The chapter concludes with a general discussion in section 6.4.

6.1 Luxembourgish: A tool for inclusion

In relation to the status of Luxembourgish, there exist discursive tensions between prominent discourses of endangerment on one hand, and a growing number of Luxembourgish speakers, rising interest in Luxembourgish learning and teaching, and the fact that Luxembourgish speakers are in no way disadvantaged because of their language background on the other hand (Horner and Weber 2008; 2010, see also 3.1.2). Based on the ethnographic observations carried out at school and the reported experiences and perspectives of the young people who participated in this study, it is evident that Luxembourgish enjoys a vital status among them, and this will be explored in the following subsection.

6.1.1 Vital status

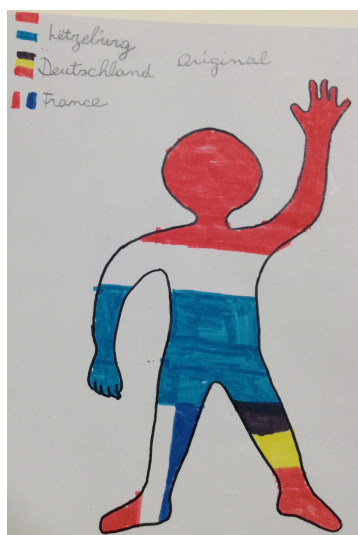
Focusing on the LP data, it is notable that Luxembourgish plays an important role in this data set overall: it is present in 25 out of 29 portraits and is the language that was included by the most participants. Nine participants dedicated a/the large(st) proportion of their LP silhouette to Luxembourgish, and 15 drew on the iconicity of the national flag to represent Luxembourgish. The vast majority of participants articulated positive attitudes towards Luxembourgish, and the analysis of the following examples

illustrates how some participants used the LP to deliberately represent Luxembourgish in a way that reflected their positive attitude towards it. Sibylline (LP 11 p. 90), for example, who speaks French in the home, chose her favourite colour green to represent Luxembourgish in her LP not only because she associates this colour with the natural landscape of Luxembourg, but also because of her highly positive affective orientation towards Luxembourgish: *'t ass bässe meng Lieblingsprooch* [it's a little my favourite language]. Patrick also expressed a positive attitude towards his home language, Luxembourgish:

Extract 6.1 (phase 2)

Patrick: Also ech hu Lëtzebuergesch
gemaach uewen (...) well
Lëtzebuergesch ass meng Nationalitéit
a Lëtzebuergesch hunn ech gär an (.)
ech hunn déi do zwee Sprooche
gemaach well (.) ënnen méi
ënne gemaaht well ech
benotzen se jo net (.) lo ehm
vill doheem an ech benotzen
se nëmme fir an der Schoul

Patrick: So I put Luxembourgish up
here (...) because **Luxembourgish is my nationality and Luxembourgish I like** and (.) I put those two
languages because (.) low put [them]
lower down because I don't use them
(.) much uhm at home now and I use
them only for at school



Language Portrait 20: Patrick

Patrick dedicated the largest surface within the LP silhouette to Luxembourgish, and used national flags³² to represent the languages that are a part of his linguistic repertoire. He applies an orientational metaphor by drawing German and French in the peripheral lower half of the silhouette to signify less personal attachment, which is motivated by the fact that he “only” uses them in school. They are not described in any qualifying terms unlike Luxembourgish, which is described as *flott* [nice] and with which he identifies by explicitly positioning himself as a Luxembourgish national.

³² In the representation of the French flag, the stripes are in the wrong order. Indeed, it is not uncommon in the data for representations of flags to deviate from their official design, as participants' knowledge of them was not always accurate.

Regina (LP 7 p.84) was another participant who articulated a highly positive attitude towards Luxembourgish; describing it as *cool*, and also reflected on how her overall attitude changed over time:

Extract 6.2 (phase 2)

Regina: Dann hunn ech (:)
Lëtzebuergesch fir meng Mamm (.)
well ech meng Mamm ganz gären
hunn a Lëtzebuergesch Sprooch cool
fannen obwuel ech an der Spillschoul
dat **net sou gären hat Efforte missen**
ze maache fir eng Sprooch ze léieren
déi ech net konnt

Regina: Then I have (:)
Luxembourgish for my mum (.)
because I like my mum very much
and think the Luxembourgish
language is cool even though in the
Spillschoul I **didn't like it so much**
having to make efforts to learn a
language that I didn't know

Regina reports not having liked the initial stages of her Luxembourgish learning experience because it was an effort to learn a language she did not know. Through the use of the modal verb *missen* [had to], she signals that she did not have a choice in this matter. However, over time, Luxembourgish developed into a main home language that Regina uses with her mother, for whom she expresses strong affective emotions. Now, Regina's attitude towards Luxembourgish is positive and heavily influenced by this strong emotional link to her mother.

Whereas Regina's inclusion of Luxembourgish in her LP was predominately guided by her highly positive affective orientation towards it, Lucy (LP 15 p.98) and Sofia (LP 17 p.99) foregrounded their extensive use of Luxembourgish on a daily basis. As such, Lucy drew Luxembourgish on the mouth of her body silhouette to signal that this is the language she speaks most during the day. She reports an equal affective value of Luxembourgish and French; her home language, and argues that she only uses French in "French-spaces" *zum Beispill doheim (...) oder wa mir am Fach also an der Schoul d'Fach Franséisch maachen oder wann ech e puer Wieder net verstinn a soss ass et ËMMER Lëtzebuergesch* [at home for example or when we [are] in the lesson so at school are doing the subject French or when I don't understand some words and otherwise it is ALWAYS Luxembourgish]. Similarly, Sofia, who speaks exclusively Portuguese with her parents and uses Luxembourgish and Portuguese with her older sister, drew the Luxembourgish flag considerably bigger than the other flags that feature in her LP *well ech am meeschte Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen* [because I speak Luxembourgish the most].

The vital status and frequent use of Luxembourgish among this community of young people was not only reported by participants, but also directly observed during data collection. In fact, at the beginning of fieldwork, this came as a surprise as the language use between participants was expected to be much more heterogeneous, as has been documented in research on young people in diverse urban spaces (see e.g. Rampton 2005; Creese and Blackledge 2011). Although participants were on occasion observed using their home languages with other students in class, on the playground or in the after-school club, this was the exception to the rule and the majority of observed conversations took place in Luxembourgish, even if the interlocutors shared a different common home language. This was also

confirmed by participants in the interviews. When asked if she thought if one of the three languages used at school was more important than the others, Sofia argued that Luxembourgish was the most important in her eyes because *Lëtzebuergesch schwätze mer bal (.) an der Schoul bal de ganzen Zäiten* [Luxembourgish we speak almost (.) at school almost all the time]. The extensive use of Luxembourgish was also commented on by Lurdes, when she explained why the class group chat was in Luxembourgish:

Extract 6.3 (phase 4)

Lurdes: (...) mat déi meescht kann ech
jo net Portugisesch schreiwen
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: Déi verstinn dat net
Sarah: Jo
Lurdes: Well puer sinn eh
Lëtzebuergesch puer si Poler a puer si
keng Anung **si hunn all eng aner (.)**
eng aner Sprooch dofir schwätze mer
ëmmer Lëtzebuergesch
(...)
Lurdes: (...) **Lëtzebuergesch ass eng**
Sprooch wou s du brauchs fir mat
een ze schwätzen mat deng Kolleege
ze schwätzen

Lurdes: (...) with most I can't write
Portuguese
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: They don't understand that
Sarah: Yes
Lurdes: Because some are uh
Luxembourgish some are Poles and
some are I don't know **they all have a**
different (.) a different language
that's why we always speak
Luxembourgish
(...)
Lurdes: (...) **Luxembourgish is a**
language that you need to speak with
someone speak with your friends

Lurdes argues that she could not text message most of her classmates in Portuguese as they have diverse linguistic backgrounds and do not all know Portuguese. Thus, she stresses the instrumental function of Luxembourgish as a common denominator and *eng Sprooch wou s du brauchs fir mat een ze schwätzen* [a language that you need to speak with someone], both in oral and mobile communication. Indeed, many participants described writing in Luxembourgish in mobile communication. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to engage with participants' reported literacy practices and (meta-)literacy products, there was a consensus among many participants that writing Luxembourgish was difficult; a perspective that has also been documented elsewhere (see e.g. Redinger 2010; Bellamy and Horner 2019). In addition, and likely connected to the absence of the systematic teaching of Luxembourgish orthography and its regular use as a written language at school, some participants demonstrated a lax attitude towards the possibility of not adhering to the standard orthography in texting. The existence of a high degree of non-standard variation in Luxembourgish literacy practices has been documented elsewhere (Wagner 2013; de Bres and Franziskus 2014). For instance, Jessica extensively uses written Luxembourgish in mobile communications, and argued that *och wann ech falsch sinn mee si verstinn et nämmelech wat ech mengen* [also when I'm wrong but they still understand what I mean].

The above examples have illustrated the positive attitudes towards and vital status of Luxembourgish among the participants of this study, and the following case study will explore the counterexample of the only participant who expressed a negative attitude towards Luxembourgish.

6.1.2 Case study 5: Negative lived experience of language with Luxembourgish

Albert Einstein³³ (LP 23 Appendix 8); a newcomer who had moved to Luxembourg from Spain two years prior to the start of data collection, was the only participant who expressed an overall negative attitude towards Luxembourgish both verbally and visually in two notebook entries.

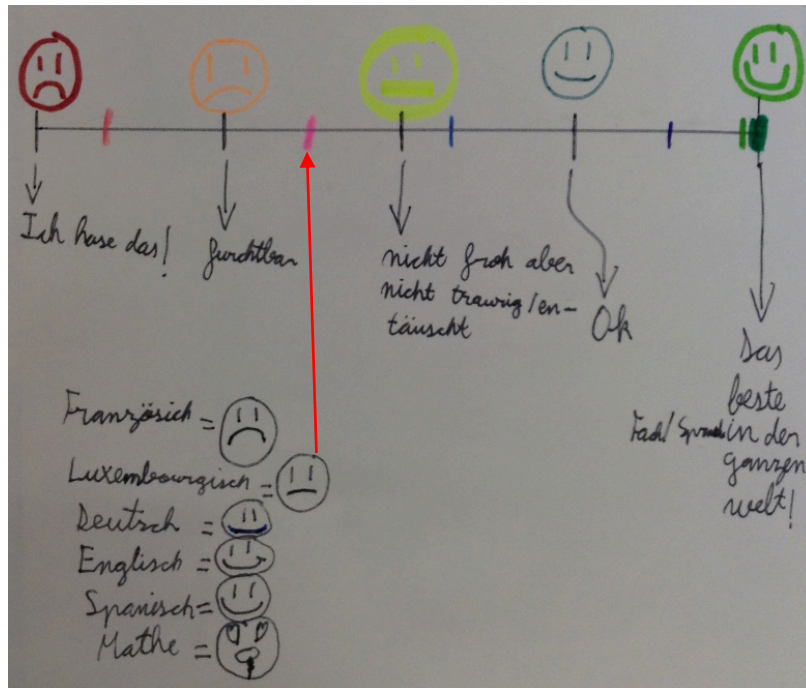


Figure 1: Albert Einstein – Likert scale³⁴

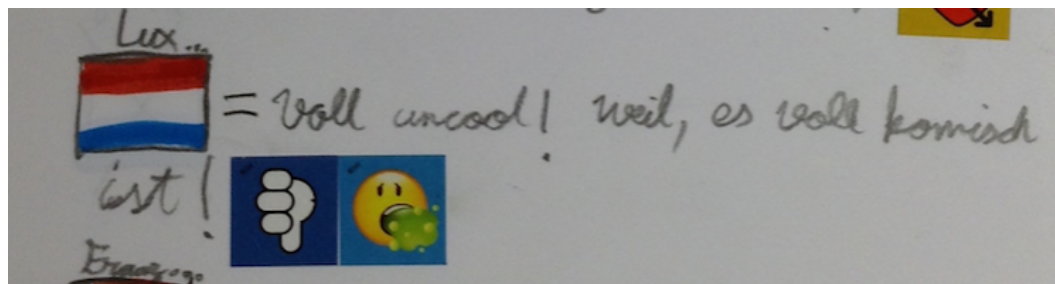


Figure 2: Albert Einstein – Notebook entry on Luxembourgish³⁵

³³ Although the one-on-one interviews with Albert Einstein (in phases 1 and 4) were conducted predominately in English following his request, extract 6.4 provides an insight into his flexible language use. In the first half of the extract, he uses German when reading from the notebook entry, but interjects Luxembourgish words and sentences. Prior to this extract, we had been speaking in English and I am mirroring his language choice.

³⁴ Translation: Measurement text (from left to right): “I hate that!, Terrible!, Not happy but not sad - disappointed, Ok, The best subject/language in the whole world”. List of languages/subjects (from top to bottom): “French, Luxembourgish, German, English, Spanish, maths”

³⁵ Translation: “Lux... really uncool! Because, it is really weird!”

With the first utterance in extract 6.4 below, Albert Einstein explains the position of Luxembourgish on a Likert scale that he had created (Fig. 1, for full depiction see Appendix 12), and his last turn in the extract refers to the writing and emojis depicted in Fig. 2.

Extract 6.4 (phase 4)
(English underlined, German underlined)

Albert Einstein: Well **ech verstinn dat net**

Sarah: Wéi?

Albert Einstein: Ma 't ass déck- ech verstinn net dat sinn déi Reegelen (:) an EEN (.) EEN firwat mat zwee t (.) mat zwee e pardon? Et nervt mech e bëssi ((hehe))

Sarah: Okay fir ze schreiwe fënns de et schwéier oder wéi?

Albert Einstein: Jo

Sarah: Oder firwat ass et sou bei furchtbar?

Albert Einstein: Well (.) because I don't know it's just (.) difficult (...) I don't know how to explain it but like (.) **it's difficult and I don't really understand anything (.) like IDEE (:) why with TWO E? E?**

Sarah: Okay

Albert Einstein: I don't get it why not with one they put my life more difficult

Sarah: ((hehe)) but do you like Luxembourgish? Do you like speaking it?

Albert Einstein: **No but I do it (.) so that my friends are happy and don't need to talk ((inhale)) German with me ((heh))**

(...)

Albert Einstein: Luxemburgisch (.) voll uncool weil es voll komisch ist (.) thumbs down and (:) vomit face because I don't like it (.) eeeh ((whimper sound)) so (:) I don't know (.) you (.) I just tell you

Albert Einstein: Because **I don't understand that**

Sarah: How?

Albert Einstein: Well it's really- I don't understand those are these rules (:) and ONE (.) ONE why with two t (.) with two e sorry? It annoys me a bit ((hehe))

Sarah: Okay to write it you find it difficult or what?

Albert Einstein: Yes

Sarah: Or why is it close to like horrible?

Albert Einstein: Because (.) because I don't it's just (.) difficult (...) I don't know how to explain it but like (.) **it's difficult and I don't really understand anything (.) like IDEA (:) why with TWO E? E?**

Sarah: Okay

Albert Einstein: I don't get it why not with one they put my life more difficult

Sarah: ((hehe)) but do you like Luxembourgish? Do you like speaking it?

Albert Einstein: **No but I do it (.) so that my friends are happy and don't need to talk ((inhale)) German with me ((heh))**

(...)

Albert Einstein: Luxemburgisch (.) totally uncool because it's totally weird (.) thumbs down and (:) vomit face because I don't like it (.) eeeh ((whimper sound)) so (:) I don't know (.) you (.) I just tell you

In the beginning of the extract, Albert Einstein explains the positioning of Luxembourgish on his Likert scale (Fig. 1) between ‘not happy but not sad – disappointed’ and ‘terrible’ by saying that he does not understand Luxembourgish, and specifies that he does not understand the orthography and is irritated by it. He agrees that writing Luxembourgish is difficult, and when prompted to further explain its location next to ‘terrible’, he reiterates that his struggle with understanding orthographical rules makes his life more difficult. Commenting on the second visual representation of his attitude towards Luxembourgish (Fig. 2), Albert Einstein describes Luxembourgish as *uncool* and *komisch* [weird], both amplified by the adverb *voll* [really]. With the help of the ‘thumbs down’ and ‘vomit face’ emoji sticker visuals, he further illustrates his negative affective orientation.

This case study illustrates the difficult situation that many primary school newcomers find themselves in. Albert Einstein did not know any of the officially recognised languages of Luxembourg when he arrived, and his knowledge of Spanish and English was not recognised as relevant at this stage of the education system. Thus, after arriving at the school (and as suggested by the Ministry of Education for newcomers under the age of 10), Albert Einstein was given intensive teaching of German followed by French in quick succession. However, this was not done for Luxembourgish. While his confusion and irritation towards Luxembourgish orthographical rules may be linked to the fact that he was not systematically taught them, unlike with German and French, the focus on orthography in explaining his negative attitude towards Luxembourgish seems surprising precisely because of the lack of systematic its teaching and regular written use at school. Much like common assumptions that children who do not speak Luxembourgish at home pick it up “naturally” in Early Years and nursery education without explicit teaching (Weber 2016, pp.194–195), it is expected that newcomers also pick it up informally while navigating the school space (see also extract 6.12).

Whereas Albert Einstein was given extensive teaching of standard German and French; two languages with long-established literacy and pedagogic traditions, his learning of Luxembourgish has not been guided by the same kind of input and he has been left to learn it more or less on his own. He explains that he does not like speaking Luxembourgish, and only does this as a favour to his friends (most of whom use French as a dominant home language), as he wants to spare them having to speak German to him. When Albert Einstein initially arrived at the school, he communicated with his classmates in German as this was the first language he was taught in Luxembourg. At the time of data collection, I observed him and his friends engage in fluid language practices, in which he flexibly moved between Luxembourgish and German. My observations of Albert Einstein’s language use with his friends and in conversations between the two of us, as well as the written use of German in his notebook all support the interpretation of this data as suggesting that the socially-constructed boundaries between Luxembourgish and German as separate languages are not entirely clear to Albert Einstein. This may contribute to his negative attitude, and is perhaps a reason why he questions the orthography of Luxembourgish but not German and French.

Thus, this subsection has contrasted the overall high instrumental and symbolic value of Luxembourgish for many participants of this study (6.1.1) with Albert Einstein’s negative attitude towards it. This case study can be seen as an exception to the rule that is influenced by the contextual factors of Albert Einstein’s learning and use of Luxembourgish. For the majority of the young people who participated in this study, Luxembourgish functions as a “tool for inclusion” in its role as a common denominator inside and outside of school, predominately in speaking but also in informal, mobile written communications. However, the data also highlighted exclusionary functions of Luxembourgish, which will be explored in the subsequent section.

6.2 Luxembourgish: A tool for exclusion

Despite the official multilingual language regime marking the Luxembourgish education system, various educational spaces in the lives of participants of the present study are, or were at some point, marked by Luxembourgish-only monolingual policies that construct Luxembourgish as the language of integration. Subsection 6.2.1 explores participants' experiences with monolingual language policies in Early Years and nursery education as a result of the 2009 Education Act (changed by more recent reforms), and subsection 6.2.2 will shift the focus to reported experiences with language policing.

6.2.1 Learning Luxembourgish in Early Years and nursery education

In the last two decades, media and official discourses and policies have aimed to consolidate the status of Luxembourgish as the national language and language of integration. This has been done through, for instance, the implementation of a Luxembourgish-only language policy in Early Years and nursery education through the 2009 Education Act, which was in place at the time when participants attended such educational institutions (this policy was replaced by a Luxembourgish-French policy in state-funded *crèches* in October 2017 (see 3.2.2)). It was within the context of consolidation efforts around Luxembourgish that the majority of participants in this study started learning Luxembourgish³⁶ in an educational institution. Three participants discussed this experience and in this data, Luxembourgish is discursively (re-)constructed as the only language of communication that was allowed in Early Years education institutions, as illustrated in the extract below:

Extract 6.5 (phase 4)

Lurdes: (...) **an der Crèche konnte
mer jo net Portugisesch schwätzen
mir konnten nëmmen
Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen**
Sarah: Ok
Lurdes: Ben **dofir hu mir bëssen
herno verluer den
Portugisesch schwätzen** an elo
fänke- elo fänke mer rëm un

Lurdes: (...) **in the crèche we
couldn't/weren't allowed to speak
Portuguese we could only/were only
allowed to speak Luxembourgish**
Sarah: Ok
Lurdes: Well **because of that afterwards
we lost a little [how to] speak the
Portuguese** and now we are starting- now
we are starting again

Lurdes describes the Luxembourgish-only policy that was in place in her *crèche* as the cause of a change in her (and her brother's) linguistic repertoire: *dofir hu mir bëssen herno verluer de Portugisesch ze schwätzen* [that's why later we lost a little how to speak the Portuguese]. Thus, Lurdes highlights that

³⁶ A small number of participants was exposed to Luxembourgish in their *crèche* (for children up to 4 years old), whereas others attended a French or other language-medium *crèche*. Many participants attended a Luxembourgish-medium *précoce* between the ages of 3 and 4 before starting *Spillschoul*. Children who did not attend *précoce* and had no contact with Luxembourgish prior to the age of 4 were immersed during *Spillschoul*.

the exclusionary effects of this monolingual policy on children's (other) home languages affected her through an experienced regression of her Portuguese proficiency.

Four participants described their personal experience of this monolingual policy in more depth and as negative. Indeed, Regina (see extract 6.2) already described the efforts involved in learning Luxembourgish in a negative light, and Sofia expressed a sense of involuntariness:

Extract 6.6 (phase 4)

Sofia: Well mir hunn ëmmer an der
Spillschoul Lëtzebuergesch geschwat
da war ech forcéiert (.) sou
Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen
(...)
Sofia: Soss konnte mer (.) soss géife
mer näischt verstoen an sou mee
éischer hunn ech
Portugisesch geschwat well (.) ech
wosst jo kee Lëtzebuergesch

Sofia: Because we were always
speaking Luxembourgish in the
Spillschoul **then I was forced to (.)**
speak like Luxembourgish
(...)
Sofia: Otherwise we could (.)
otherwise we would understand
nothing and so on but before I spoke
Portuguese because (.) I didn't know
Luxembourgish

Sofia describes feeling forced to speak Luxembourgish in the *Spillschoul*, but argues that this was the only way for her (and other children in the same situation) to understand her environment: *soss géife mer näischt verstoen* [otherwise we would understand nothing]. Her ability to communicate depended on her learning and usage of Luxembourgish, and this was not an easy task because Sofia was not familiar with Luxembourgish at the time, as she only spoke Portuguese at home. A similar sense of involuntariness was expressed by Chloe (LP 5, p.82) who, in explaining her language portrait, argued that she liked Luxembourgish *ça va* [alright] but stressed that she was forced to learn this language against her will: *ech war obligatoire mee ech wollt net* [I was mandatory but I didn't want to]. In her discussion of the obligatory Luxembourgish learning, Chloe also highlights that this was not a personal necessity; arguing that she only learnt Luxembourgish because of the geographical location she grew up in and not because of another, perhaps personal or familial reason: *ech hunn dat nëmme geléiert well ech hei zu Lëtzebuerg sinn* [I only learnt that because I am here in Luxembourg].

Smiley was one of the few participants who started learning Luxembourgish in the home prior to entering the education system; in her case, it was transmitted alongside Italian through her older sisters:

Extract 6.7 (phase 4)

Smiley: (...) ech hunn och mat 2 Joer
Lëtzebuergesch geléiert a menger Crèche
a mat meng Schwëstere (:) an (.) also dat
war net ganz (.) also dat war net ganz sou
schwier well ech schonn säit kleng un
doheem (.) hu meng Schwëstere mer
geléiert wéi een schwätzt also sou bëssen
da konnt ech an der Crèche scho mol
Lëtzebuergesch
Sarah: Mhm

Smiley: (...) I also learnt
Luxembourgish at the age of two in
my crèche and with my sisters (:) and
(.) well that was not very (.) well that
was not quite as difficult because
since I was little at home (.) my
sisters have taught me how to speak
well like a little **then I already knew**
Luxembourgish in the crèche
Sarah: Mhm

Smiley: Ech konnt awer gutt
Lëtzebuergesch
(...)
Sarah: Kanns de dech nach erënnere op
s de frou waars oder wéi s de dat geléiert
hues oder? Op dat liicht war?
Smiley: Ech hat dat gären well a menger
Crèche (.) ehm (.) do woren sou vill
Kanner sou wou ech gär hat op
Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen an ech si
gutt mat den Educateuren eens ginn an
sou
Sarah: Mhm flott
Smiley: **Et war alles op Lëtzebuergesch
(.) an dann hunn ech mech frou gefillt**
Sarah: Mhm déck gutt
Smiley: **Well weess de wann du net
kanns schwätzen dann ass dat bëssen
(:) traureg**

Smiley: I knew Luxembourgish well
though
(...)
Sarah: Can you remember if you
were happy or how you learnt that
or? If that was easy?
Smiley: I liked that because in my
crèche (.) uhm (.) there were like
many children so where I liked
speaking in Luxembourgish and I got
on well with the educators and so on
Sarah: Mhm nice
Smiley: **It was all in
Luxembourgish (.) and then I felt
happy**
Sarah: Mhm really good
Smiley: Because you know when you can't
speak then that's a bit (:) sad

Learning Luxembourgish at home with her older sisters was reportedly easy for Smiley, who confidently states that she was proficient in Luxembourgish at a young age and links this overall positive experience to her time in the *crèche*. She thrived in the Luxembourgish-only environment; enjoyed speaking Luxembourgish to other children, had good rapport with the educators, and felt *frou* [happy]. However, Smiley also empathetically presents an alternative experience of this very same environment as *traureg* [sad] *wann du net kanns schwätzen* [when you can't speak]. Not being able to speak, in this context can be interpreted as not being able to speak Luxembourgish and can also be equated with a more general inability to communicate with one's immediate environment. This refers to the exclusionary effect that is created in an artificially enforced (monolingual) linguistic environment, in which children's home languages and other linguistic resources are marginalised for the sake of "integrating" into a homogeneous linguistic environment.

Thus, the contrast between Smiley's experience and those of other participants reviewed in this and following subsections points to a tension in relation to the monolingual Luxembourgish-only policy that was in place in Early Years and nursery education when participants attended these. On one hand, the strict implementation of this policy was discursively reconstructed as enabling children to assimilate into their environment by learning and speaking Luxembourgish. On the other hand, however, the data analysis has also highlighted the negative, exclusionary effects of this very same policy. The following subsection analyses participants' personal experiences with being subject to language policing that targets their use of linguistic resources other than Luxembourgish.

6.2.2 Language policing

The reported episodes of language policing in this study were mostly limited to multidirectional policing on the micro level. This happened from the “top-down” within local power hierarchies through teachers and educators, and six participants actively discussed being subject to language policing either in Early Years or nursery education, or more recently in the after-school club. Policing also reportedly occurred within the “bottom” of this hierarchy between peers³⁷, and although reports of the latter were more isolated, they nonetheless signal young people’s internalisation of policing practices and the ideologies and hierarchies they reproduce.

One episode of peer language policing occurred during an interview with Neymar, Riyad and Fabio. Neymar had already stated *mir schwätzen hei net Arabesch* [we don’t speak Arabic here] early on in the interview after Riyad had uttered a word in Arabic under his breath. Through the personal pronoun *mir* [we], Neymar includes both himself and Riyad in this order, as both participants use Arabic as their main home language. Later, when Riyad repeatedly uttered the Arabic greeting “As-salamu alaykum”, Neymar responded negatively by ordering him to stop: *hal op Arabesch ze schwätzen* [stop speaking Arabic] and *nee allez* [no come on]. I then enquired about Neymar’s negative reaction:

Extract 6.8 (phase 2)

Sarah: Firwat soll hien dat net maachen?	Sarah: Why should he not do that?
Neymar: ((tuddelt)) Mee dat ass- net- net dat net (:) ass ze komesch	Neymar: ((stutters)) But that is- not- not that not (:) is too weird
Sarah: Wéi ze komesch?	Sarah: How too weird?
Riyad: Du schwätz dat selwer	Riyad: You speak that yourself
Neymar: Jo awer net hei an der Schoul	Neymar: Yes but not here at school
Riyad: Well du bass timide	Riyad: Because you are shy
Neymar: Jo dat ass ech hunn ech haassen dat an der Schoul ze schwätzen op Arabesch (...)	Neymar: Yes that is I have I hate speaking that in school in Arabic (...)
Riyad: Wann s du eemol eng aner Sprooch schwätz da mengen ech (.) da soen se LË(.)TZE(.)BUERG(.)ESCH schwätzen KEE Franséich KEEN Arabesch KEEN Italiensch keen xxxx	Riyad: When you once speak another language then I think then they say speak LUX(.)EM(.)BOURG(.)ISH NO French NO Arabic NO Italian no xxx
Sarah: Wierklech =	Sarah: Really =
Neymar: = jo	Neymar: = yes
Riyad: Nëmme Lëtzebuergesch ass hei am Foyer	Riyad: It’s only Luxembourgish here in the after-school club
Neymar: (.) Gell! Déi si sou béis wéi	Neymar: (.) Yeah! They are as mean as

When asked about why he was policing his friend’s language use, Neymar argues that it is *ze komesch* [too weird] and that he hates speaking Arabic in school. Despite Neymar’s continued policing attempts, Riyad does not share the same position and he expresses his defiant attitude by repeating “As-salamu

³⁷ Regina reported that she was occasionally called out by her fellow lusophone classmate Lisa for using Portuguese in class with another student, and Kevin explained that Kylo Ren did the same when Kevin spoke Portuguese in class.

alaykum” several times, and also produces a direct challenge: *du schwätz dat sellwer* [you speak that yourself]. Thus, Riyad is critical of Neymar’s peer language policing. His negative attitude also extends to top-down policing in the after-school club, where there is a policy of *nëmmen Lëtzebuergesch* [only Luxembourgish] and students are explicitly told that when caught speaking their (other) home languages. Riyad illustrates this by mimicking the voices of the educators and putting an exaggerated stress on every syllable of *Lëtzebuergesch* [Luxembourgish], as well as repeatedly emphasising the word *keen* [no]. By taking on the voice of the policing educator, Riyad expresses his own critique of this practice; a stylisation technique that has also been observed by Kremer and Horner (2016, p.177), whose participants took on “the voices of policy-makers to point to the authoritative position that those in charge of policy are in, compared to the people who are experiencing the effects of policy”. Neymar agrees with Riyad’s report, and describes the educators enforcing the policy as *béis* [mean]. However, this negative evaluation of educators who prevent them from using their home language in the after-school club co-exists with his own discomfort when his friend uses Arabic during the interview, which may be an effect of having internalised the marginalisation of his home language in educational spaces.

The participant who most strongly objected to language policing in the after-school club was Schneetiger, who discussed this topic in two separate interviews:

Extract 6.9 (phase 2)

Schneetiger: **Mir sinn obligéiert** wann s de dat net méchs ben du kriss eng Strof am Fong (.) du bass bestrooft
 Sarah: A wéi fënns de dat dann?
 Schneetiger: Ben net gutt well **puer Kanner si si nei si kënnen nëmmen eng Sprooch schwätzen** déi si selwer am Land waren zum Beispill Albert Einstein an ech fannen 't ass net fair well och wann een se net versteet an Albert Einstein hat ee Kolleg Lex [een aanere Spuenesch-sproochege newcomer] hie konnt dat och schwätzen si konnten zesummen mee si soten awer Lëtzebuergesch Lëtzebuergesch sou guer Lex konnt nach net Lëtzebuergesch also (.) bëssen nëmmen an **ech fannen dat onfair fir déi aner an null Respekt bëssen**
 Sarah: Virun de Kanner?
 Schneetiger: Jo (.) well all Kéiers wa mer net eppes maachen oder et ass Strof oder si maachen dech virun der Dier an (.) ëmmer Strofe wëllen se am Fong an ech fannen dat net fair am Fong

Schneetiger: **We are obliged** when you don’t do that well you get a punishment actually (.) you are punished
 Sarah: And how do you find that then?
 Schneetiger: Well not good because **some children they are new they can only speak one language** that they themselves were in the country for example Albert Einstein and I think it’s not fair because even when you don’t understand them and Albert Einstein had a friend Lex [another Spanish-speaking newcomer] he could speak that also they could together but they still said Luxembourgish Luxembourgish even Lex didn’t know Luxembourgish well (.) just a little and **I find that unfair for the others and zero respect a little**
 Sarah: For the children?
 Schneetiger: Yes (.) because every time when we don’t do something either it’s a punishment or they send you to the corridor³⁸ and (.) they actually always want punishments and I think that is not fair actually

³⁸ A literal translation would be “they send you in front of the door”. This refers to a punishment in schools where students are temporarily removed from the classroom and have to wait in the corridor/by the shut classroom door.

Extract 6.10 (phase 4)

Schneetiger: (...) ech Matteo a Gregory mir schwätzen ëmmer Franséisch a wa mer Franséisch schwätze läscht Kéier krute mer bal eng Strof well mer well mer nëmme Franséisch geschwat hunn **si soten hei si mer zu Lëtzebuerg 't ass besser Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen** dann:: lo maachen ech dat ëmmer am Foyer fir n- net (.) Problemer ze kréien

Schneetiger: (...) I Matteo and Gregory we always speak French and when we speak French last time we almost got a punishment because we beause we were only speaking French **they said here we are in Luxembourg it's better to speak Luxembourgish** then:: now I always do that in the after-school club to n- not (.) get issues

In extract 6.9, Schneetiger highlights the mandatory use of Luxembourgish in the after-school club (*mir sinn obligéiert* [we are obliged]) and argues that students are punished if they do not adhere to this policy. He disagrees with the policing of this policy, describing it as *onfair* [unfair] and a sign of *null Respekt* [zero respect]. Schneetiger further vents his indignation by describing how this policy was even applied to Albert Einstein who, as a newcomer, was not allowed to speak Spanish to another newly-arrived Spanish-speaking student. In this extract, it seems as though Schneetiger is taking on the role of an advocate; first using the plural pronoun *mir* [we] which positions himself within a group of students who are subject to such policing, before then criticising the language policing that happened to his friend on his behalf. In extract 6.10, Schneetiger continues to discuss this topic when he describes how he and his friends had recently avoided being punished for speaking French in the after-school club. Schneetiger provides an insight into the rationale that he is given for the enforcement of the monolingual language policy: you should speak Luxembourgish in Luxembourg. This discourse of territoriality also circulates in wider society in Luxembourg (see e.g. Horner 2011). Although Schneetiger disapproves of the practice of language policing, he does not critically engage with the basic premise that supposedly justifies it. At the end of the extract, he even claims to adhere to the policy now to avoid problems with the after-school club staff.

The essentialist discourse that Luxembourgish should be spoken in Luxembourg was also present in the following two extracts to some degree. Andrea; the speaker in extract 6.11, uses German and English as home languages. She attended a French-medium *crèche* before attending the *précoce*, where she first learnt Luxembourgish. In the *précoce*, which had a Luxembourgish-only policy, Andrea explained that she and her friend Blanche spoke French between themselves and with another francophone friend who did not speak Luxembourgish, and remembered being reprimanded: *mir kruten dann ëmmer gemeckert* [we were always told off then]. Andrea goes on to describe more recent language policing at the beginning of primary school (which was the only reported language policing that happened in primary school):

Extract 6.11 (phase 4)

Andrea: Also mir gouf oft gesot wann ech villäicht mat engem Däitsch geschwat hunn ech soll Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen (.) an jo

Andrea: Well I was often told when I was maybe speaking German with someone I should speak Luxembourgish (.) and yes

Sarah: Mh mhm a wéi hues du dat deemools fonnt?
 Andrea: Also **ech hunn et bässe krass fonnt (.) well ech konnt net nach sou gutt Lëtzebuergesch (.) déi aner konnten och nach net sou gutt Lëtzebuergesch (.)** an jo
 Sarah: Mhm an lo wéi fënns de wann s de lo sou zeréck kucks fënns de dat nach ëmmer bëssen onfair oder?=
 Andrea: =Nee (:) well **et muss een och iergendwéi Lëtzebuergesch léieren (.)** wann ee ganzen Zäiten nëmmen Däitsch schwätzt oder Franséisch da kann een och kee Lëtzebuergesch léieren (.) an jo
 Sarah: Mhm well ech hu matkritt datt hei am Foyer ass dat am Fong och bëssen sou eng Reegel am Fong datt ee soll Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen (...)
 Andrea: Jo also ((zéckt)) hei am Foyer ass et bëssen (.) mengen ech well (.) wann een déi Sprooch net kann (.) an déi aner soen eppes géint hien (.) dat ass onfair well jo. An (.) ech mengen 't ass wéinst (.) 't ass wéinst dat dass si déi Reegel gemaach hunn

Sarah: Mh mhm and how did you find that then?
 Andrea: Well **I found that a bit harsh (.) because I didn't yet know Luxembourgish so well (.) the others didn't yet know Luxembourgish so well either (.)** and yes
 Sarah: Mhm and now how do you find when you look back now do you still find that a bit unfair or?=
 Andrea: =No (:) because **you have to learn Luxembourgish somehow (.)** when you only speak German or French the entire time then you can't learn Luxembourgish (.) and yes
 Sarah: Mhm because I picked up that here in the after-school club that is also actually a bit of a rule actually that you should speak Luxembourgish (...)
 Andrea: Yes well ((hesitates)) here in the after-school club it's a bit (.) I think because (.) when you don't know that language (.) and the others say something against him (.) that is unfair because yes. And (.) I think it's because (.) it is because of that that they made that rule

Remembering being reprimanded for speaking German during school breaks at the beginning of primary school, Andrea reports to have had a critical reaction and describes this policing as *krass* [harsh], given that she and her classmates did not speak Luxembourgish very well at the time. Now, however, she perceives such language policing in a less negative light, as the enforced use of Luxembourgish at the expense of other linguistic resources is perceived to allow students to improve their Luxembourgish. Indeed, discussing the language policing in the after-school club, Andrea argues that in this space, the policy is aimed to prevent the exclusion of others by ensuring that students only use one shared language that everyone understands. Thus, language policing at school is seen to serve a pedagogic purpose, whereas in the after-school club, its implementation is perceived to serve social-inclusionary purposes. The exclusion created by the Luxembourgish-only policy is accepted for the alleged inclusion it creates. Overall, views of monolingual policies and policing as supporting language learning fall under what Flores (2016) terms “friendly language policing”, where the dismissal of home language use in school is justified under the seemingly progressive goal of giving students access to academic or socially important registers/languages.

An even more lenient perspective on language policing was adopted by Lucy, who reported to occasionally ask the educators in the after-school club either for permission to speak in French, or for translations of French words into Luxembourgish in order to avoid being caught speaking French unauthorised. Lucy explained that she thought this policy was GUTT [GOOD]:

Extract 6.12 (phase 4)

Lucy: (...) **well mir sinn och éischtens zu Lëtzebuerg zweetens mussen mer jo léiere wann een Neie kënnt** (.) an:: kuck 't ass zum Beispill Maryse [newcomer] hatt schwätzt jo bis lo nëmmen nach Däitsch gell awer **wa mir net mat him Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen da kann hatt NI Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen** an
Sarah: Mh
Lucy: Dann:: (:) kéinte mer hatt net hëllef
Sarah: Mhm dat heescht dat ass am Fong fir hatt dann sou bësse ze léieren
Lucy: Jo fir déi aner an (.) zum Beispill ech weess de dat ass och säit lo komm mer soe sechs Joer dass ech lo hei si siwe bësse méi ech weess net (.) an ehm (.) **ech muss lo nach awer nach ëmmer Lëtzebuergesch léiere** well et si nach vill Wieder déi ech nach ëmmer net verstoen

Lucy: (...) **because we are also first of all in Luxembourg secondly we have to teach when a newcomer arrives** (.) a::nd look it's for example Maryse [newcomer] up until now she speaks only German right but **if we don't speak Luxembourgish with her then she can NEVER speak Luxembourgish** and
Sarah: Mh
Lucy: Then:: (:) we couldn't help her
Sarah: Mhm that means that is actually to teach her a bit
Lucy: Yes for the others and (.) for example I you know it's now been let's say six years that I've been here seven maybe more I don't know (.) and uhm (.) **I still now have to always learn Luxembourgish** because there are many words still that I still don't understand

Similar to Andrea, Lucy argues that language policing ensures the learning of Luxembourgish, in a first instance for newcomers such as Maryse, who arrived at the school halfway through my fieldwork. The responsibility of teaching and helping newcomers with Luxembourgish is perceived to be that of students themselves: if they do not speak it with Maryse, *da kann hatt ni Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen* [then she can never speak Luxembourgish]. However, the enforced use of Luxembourgish is also seen to help students who have lived in Luxembourg for much longer, indeed Lucy positions herself as someone who is still in need of developing her Luxembourgish proficiency. In addition, Lucy defends the policing as appropriate on the basis that *mir sinn och éischtens zu Lëtzebuerg* [we are also first of all in Luxembourg]. Similar to Schneetiger, this statement shows the influence of territoriality discourses that construct Luxembourgish as being intrinsically and naturally linked to Luxembourg. Such discourses create a perceived right for some and duty for others to use the language that is seen to be connected to the territory and ethnolinguistic nation through a primordial link (see Horner 2011). The reproduction of this discourse erases the linguistic diversity that exists in Luxembourg, as well as within the school community and Lucy herself.

Arguments that relied on the physical reference of being in Luxembourg as an explanation and justification for why Luxembourgish should be spoken were not only raised in relation to language policing. Eight participants drew on this reasoning in relation to other topics. Kevin, for example, when asked if he perceived one of the three school languages to be more important than the others, stated *Franséisch eh- nee am Fong Lëtzebuergesch ass méi wichteg wéi all (...) Mir si jo a Lëtzebuerg* [French uh- no actually Luxembourgish is more important than all (...) We are in Luxembourg after all]. This territorial reasoning is influenced by the one nation, one language ideology, and the unchallenged top

position of Luxembourgish in a metaphorical language hierarchy is based on a perceived essential, natural link between Luxembourgish and the state/territory of Luxembourg.

So far, this chapter has highlighted the tensions that exist in relation to the use of Luxembourgish in the lives of the young people who participated in this study. Section 6.1 covered the highly positive affective and instrumental value of Luxembourgish for most participants with the exception of one case study, as well as its inclusionary use as a common denominator. However, section 6.2 highlighted exclusionary functions of Luxembourgish with a focus on monolingual language policies in Early Years and nursery education, as well as their enforcement through language policing in primary school and the after-school club. Participants expressed various attitudes towards these practices, ranging from outspoken resistance to the internalisation and reproduction of the essentialist beliefs that underpin such practices. Section 6.3 now explores the double-edged role that Luxembourgish was reported to play in participants' development of German language and literacy skills, with a focus on the linguistic proximity of these two languages.

6.3 Luxembourgish, German and language learning: Metalinguistic perspectives

In this study, many participants demonstrated a high degree of metalinguistic knowledge and awareness, often shared in relation to discursive constructions of perceived linguistic (dis)similarities and mutual intelligibilities within and across Romance/Germanic language groups. The language combination most frequently subject to such metalinguistic commentary was Luxembourgish-German, which will be the focus of this section. Indeed, the relationship between Luxembourgish and German can be a contested issue in Luxembourg: on one hand, their linguistic proximity as Germanic language varieties is a key reason behind the use of German as the language in which literacy skills are developed and the medium of instruction in primary education, and students are expected to draw on their Luxembourgish proficiency to establish a so-called literacy bridge to German (Scheer 2017, p.104). On the other hand, connections between the two languages are rejected in other contexts, for instance, in relation to prescriptivist and purist debates around Luxembourgish (see 3.3.3).

There was a wide consensus, articulated by nine participants, that Luxembourgish and German were linguistically closely related and *bal dat sellwecht/nemlecht* [almost the same]. Participants discussed both positive and negative effects of this perceived proximity on their learning of German which coincides with the development of literacy skills. In fact, these two themes are at times difficult to separate in participants' accounts. In extract 6.13 below, Smiley discusses positive effects:

Extract 6.13 (phase 4)
German underlined

Smiley: Also am Fong hunn ech mat sechs Joer Däitsch geléiert (...) a fir mech wor dat **net sou ganz schwéier** (.) **well ehm weess de ech Lëtzebuergesch ass e bësse wéi Däitsch da misst ech nëmme bëssen änneren** zum Beispill Bam Baum
Sarah: Mhm
Smiley: MA. Mee 't ass gutt gaangen (.) awer dat wor bësse keng Anung **huet mech net ganz interesséiert Däitsch ze léieren**
Sarah: Nee firwat net?
Smiley: Ma **wann ech scho Lëtzebuergesch kann dann huet fir mech kee Wäert och Däitsch ze kënnen**
Sarah: Ok mhm
Smiley: Well wann ech zum Beispill an Tréier ginn (:) dann:: (.) och wann du sou eppes sees **si verstinn awer weess de**

Smiley: Well actually I learnt German at the age of six (...) and for me that **wasn't quite so difficult** (.) **because uhm you know I Luxembourgish is a bit like German then I only had to change a bit** for example Bam ['tree' in Luxembourgish] Baum ['tree' in German]
Sarah: Mhm
Smiley: SO. But it went well (.) but that was a bit I don't know **didn't interest me really learning German**
Sarah: No why not?
Smiley: Well **when I already know Luxembourgish then it's of no use to me to also know German**
Sarah: Ok mhm
Smiley: Because when I for example to Trier (:) then:: (.) even when you like say something **they still understand you know**

Smiley constructs the linguistic similarity between Luxembourgish and German by arguing that *Lëtzebuergesch ass e bësse wéi Däitsch* [Luxembourgish is a little like German], and illustrates this by comparing the Luxembourgish and German words for 'tree' (*Bam*, Baum). By drawing on her knowledge of Luxembourgish and adopting the strategy of *bëssen änneren* [slightly change[ing]] words, Smiley argues that the linguistic proximity between these two named varieties supported her learning of German, which she did not experience as very difficult. In addition to this, she describes her lack of interest in learning German *because* of this linguistic similarity. As a speaker of Luxembourgish, she questions the return on investment, or instrumental value, of learning German by arguing that she could also use the former to communicate with individuals in Trier³⁹ through an implied mutual intelligibility.

In total, four participants discussed their Luxembourgish proficiency as a positive support for the learning of German, and one such account was given by Lurdes when asked about her initial learning experience with the latter. She highlighted that this was *bësse schwéier well (...) et war eppes Neies wat s de krus* [bit difficult because (...) it was something new that you got]. Simultaneously, she points to the supporting role of Luxembourgish in this process, arguing that *am Fong et war net sou schwéier well Lëtzebuergesch an Däitsch ass bal dat nämmlecht puer Wieder* [actually it was not so difficult because Luxembourgish and German is almost the same some words]. Lurdes then commented on the language regime and how its demands vary for different students:

³⁹ A German city close to the German/Luxembourgish border and a popular shopping destination among Luxembourgers.

Extract 6.14 (phase 4)

Lurdes: Am Fong **Lëtzebuergesch (:)** **dat léiers du schonn eh (.) dech selwer**. Well wann s du Elteren hues wat Lëtzebuergesch ass da muss du och net Lëtzebuergesch an der Schoul léieren (...) wann s du eh Lëtzebuergesch Elteren hues (...) a si schwätzen net Franséisch muss du och Franséisch léieren. Well **Lëtzebuergesch an Däitsch ass ba:l dat nämmlecht**. Ma. Also Lëtzebuergesch an Däitsch:: (.) wär net fir ze léieren awer Franséisch jo well deng Elteren ware jo Lëtzebuergesch:: ma an eh dofir muss du och Franséisch léieren
 Sarah: Wéi ass et da fir Kanner wou d'Eltere kee Lëtzebuergesch oder keen Däitsch schwätzen?
 Lurdes: Ma eh do musse jo d'Kanner gutt (.) Lëtzebuergesch léieren a gutt Däitsch (...) wann se Franséich sinn mussen se jo Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch léieren. Bon am Fong et ass ëmmer eppes esou. **Well wann een Lëtzebuergesch ass muss e Franséisch léieren (...) wann ee Franséisch ass muss een Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch léieren**

Lurdes: Actually **Luxembourgish (:)** **you already teach uh (.) yourself that**. Because when you have parents who are Luxembourgish then you also don't have to learn Luxembourgish at school (...) when you uh have Luxembourgish parents (...) and they don't speak French you also have to learn French. Because **Luxembourgish and German is a:almost the same**. So. So Luxembourgish and German:: (:) would not be to learn but French yes because your parents were Luxembourgish:: so and uh that's why you also have to learn French
 Sarah: How is it then for children where the parents don't speak Luxembourgish or German?
 Lurdes: Well uh there the children have to learn (.) Luxembourgish well and German (...) if they are French they have to learn German and Luxembourgish. Well actually it's always like this. **Because when you are Luxembourgish you have to learn French (...) when you are French you have to learn German and Luxembourgish**

At the beginning of this extract, Lurdes points to the lack of formal teaching of Luxembourgish: *dat léiers du (...) dech selwer* [you teach (...) yourself that]. This applies to students whose parents speak Luxembourgish at home and as suggested in 6.2, students for whom this is not the case are expected to pick up Luxembourgish along the way. Additionally, Lurdes highlights that the language regime poses different challenges to students depending on their language background, which she constructs as either Luxembourgish or French: *wann ee Lëtzebuergesch ass muss ee Franséisch léieren (...) wann ee Franséisch ass muss een Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch léieren* [when you are Luxembourgish you have to learn French (...) when you are French you have to learn German and Luxembourgish]. It appears that such a language background is constructed as an either/or situation, as bi- or multilingual homes are erased in this discourse. Thus, building on the experience of Luxembourgish and German as similar, Lurdes argues that students with a Luxembourgish background (or high Luxembourgish proficiency) do not need to explicitly learn German, only French. On the other hand, *Franséisch* [French] students (a term which likely includes students with a more general Romance-language background) need to learn German and Luxembourgish at school. Thus, Lurdes' explanation normalises the unequal demands of the institutionalised trilingualism in the Luxembourgish education system, and is underpinned by the construction of two dichotomous groups of students; one Germanophone and one Romanophone.

Jessica described two aspects which had supported her learning of German at school:

Extract 6.15 (phase 4)

Jessica: (...) **am Däitschen do war ech schonn e bësse gutt (.) wéinst eh Lëtzebuergesch** well dat ass dach bal wéi Däitsch a mir hunn OFT Däitsch geliest ech hunn oft ëmmer Däitsch Tëlee gekuckt an **da konnt ech eng Kéier déi meescht Wierder** sou well ech (.) meeschtens ëmmer Däitsch Wie- eh Däitsch Tëlee kucken

Jessica: (...) **in German there I was already a little good (.) because of uh Luxembourgish** because that is almost like German and we OFTEN read in German I often always watched German TV and then **once I knew already most words** because I (.) usually always watch German wor- uh German TV

Jessica argues that her German proficiency was already *bësse gutt* [a litte good] prior to starting formal lessons at school not only because of the linguistic proximity to Luxembourgish, but also as a result of her receptive exposure to German at home through television or reading/listening to stories. Indeed, such use of German is prominent in many Luxembourgish-dominant homes (Scheer 2017, p.93). This familiarised Jessica with German and enabled her to have a knowledge base of vocabulary prior to starting school: *da konnt ech (...) déi meescht Wierder* [then I knew (...) most words]. Thus, Jessica's ability to draw on Luxembourgish to support her learning of German was helped by their linguistic similarity, as well as her receptive exposure to German from an early age onwards.

However, not all participants discussed the role of Luxembourgish as positive in their learning and use of German. Three participants reported on experiences that could be described as negative as a result of the perceived linguistic proximity between Luxembourgish and German. In this light, Schneetiger described the beginning of his learning trajectory with German as *frou mee bësse schwéier* [happy but a bit difficult]. This was linked to the fact that he would *bësse vermësch[en]* [mix up a little] the two languages, and reported to still struggle with this at the time of data collection. He referred to these transfers again when explaining an entry in his notebook (Fig. 3). Here, the difficulty in keeping Luxembourgish and German apart in writing is illustrated with an emoji that features a horrified facial expression.

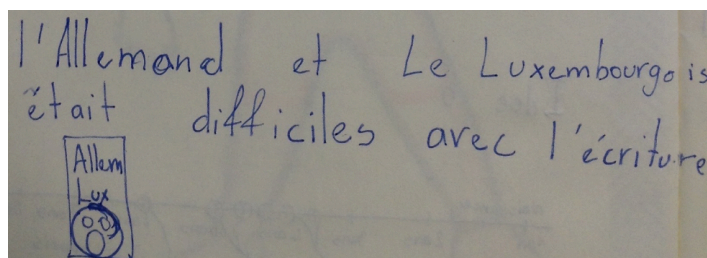


Figure 3: Schneetiger – Notebook entry on German and French⁴⁰

Riyad also described his early learning experiences with German as *bësse schwéier* [a bit difficult] in light of negatively perceived transfers between German and Luxembourgish:

⁴⁰ Translation: “German and Luxembourgish were difficult with the writing”

Extract 6.16 (phase 4)

Riyad: Eh **ech wosst net dass:: Däitsch bal sou wéi Lëtzebuergesch ass dofir hunn ech ëmmer egal wat gesot** (: eemol misste mer am zweete Schouljoer eh fanne wéi ee CADDIE seet op Däitsch jiddereen huet einfach xxx an ech hunn einfach iergendeppes gesot an ech hunn et rausfonnt (.) ech weess net méi wat dat ass

Riyad: Uh **I didn't know that:: German is almost like Luxembourgish because of that I always said any old thing** (: once we had to in second grade uh find how you say TROLLEY in German everyone just xxx and I just said something and I found it out (.) I don't remember what that is

Riyad argues that because *Däitsch bal wou wéi Lëtzebuergesch ass* [German is almost like Luxembourgish], this made his learning experience of German more difficult due to negatively experienced transfers: *dofir hunn ech ëmmer egal wat gesot* [because of that I always said any old thing]. Riyad adds a small story where a random suggestion of a vocabulary item in German ended up being correct. In this instance, the linguistic similarity enabled Riyad to take a lucky guess, but in many other situations the linguistic similarity between Luxembourgish and German created negatively perceived language practices that mixed the two languages.

The analysis in this section has highlighted that many participants experienced Luxembourgish and German as closely related and linguistically similar. Some students described their ability to successfully draw on the former to support the learning of the latter (Smiley, extract 6.13; Lurdes, extract 6.14), and such transfers or support may be further helped by receptive exposure to German from a young age onwards (Jessica, extract 6.15). However, this linguistic proximity can equally constitute a challenge in that students may struggle in using these two languages in the separate, monolingual ways expected by the education system (Riyad, extract 6.16; Schneetiger, Fig. 3). Here, the linguistic proximity, but likely also various classroom practices and pedagogical approaches that will be discussed in section 6.4. may add to the difficulty in establishing the linguistic boundaries that have been drawn between Luxembourgish and German. Thus, these accounts have highlighted that Luxembourgish can play a double-edged role in the learning of German language and literacy skills.

6.4 Concluding discussion

This chapter has analysed how Luxembourgish can function both as a tool for inclusion and exclusion in the reported lived experience of language of primary school students in Luxembourg. Section 6.1 illustrated that Luxembourgish is recognised as a linguistic resource with a highly positive affective value by many participants who expressed their positive attitudes discursively and visually through the language portraits. A case study of a newcomer to the Luxembourgish education system highlighted that, likely because of late exposure to the ideological underpinnings and dominant discourses that maintain the complex role of Luxembourgish in the education system, this participant critically engaged with Luxembourgish and its orthography in particular. In relation to the remainder of participants,

Luxembourgish enjoys an overall vitality and is used extensively in these young people's lives where it fulfils important instrumental and inclusionary functions (see also e.g. de Bres and Franziskus 2014; Redinger 2010).

Section 6.2 analysed the role of Luxembourgish as a tool for exclusion in education, starting with participants' recollections of attending Luxembourgish-only Early Years education and nursery institutions and their discursive (re-)constructions of this policy. Given its vital status in this community of young people, one could argue that the Luxembourgish-only policy in place during participants' pre-school education achieved its aim of reinforcing its status as a language of "integration". However, the analysis provided an insight into some participants' negative experiences of having to integrate in an artificially constructed monolingual environment that is in fact a naturally lived multilingual reality. This monolingual Luxembourgish-only policy was officialised by the 2009 Education Act and revoked by a new policy in 2017, which encourages the use of French as well as the valorisation of students' home languages *alongside* the use of Luxembourgish in state-funded *crèches*. This means that students who speak languages other than/alongside Luxembourgish in the home will now (in theory) be able to use and draw on their entire linguistic repertoire at this early stage of their education. This may result in children not experiencing parts of their language learning trajectory as forced and involuntary, and being able to further develop their linguistic competences in, but also through, all of their linguistic resources.

Next, the focus of the analysis in 6.2 shifted to narratives on language policing, which appeared to be most prominent in the after-school club at the time of data collection, with only one instance happening in primary school being reported. Indeed, during fieldwork, I only observed a couple of language policing instances at school, most of which were directed towards Schneetiger's use of French (see 5.2.4). Participants expressed mixed reactions towards the practice and principle of language policing to enforce a monolingual Luxembourgish-only policy. Whereas some were critical and disapproved, others defended the policy based on beliefs that this ensured the inclusion of all students and supported Luxembourgish language learning. This argumentation falls under Flores' (2016) term "friendly language policing", which captures policies that justify and cover up the marginalisation of linguistic resources with seemingly progressive and supportive goals. Other participants justified policing practices based on beliefs that Luxembourgish should be spoken in Luxembourg, which can be traced back to primordial understandings in relation to language, identity, and the nation-state.

Indeed, the placing of Luxembourgish on top of a metaphorical language hierarchy in a lived multilingual language situation can be linked back to the monolingual, inward-looking model of (linguistic) national identification in Luxembourg, which is rooted in the one nation, one language ideology and influenced by ethnolinguistic nationalism (see e.g. Horner 2007, 3.1.2). Here, the

perceived primordial link between Luxembourgish and Luxembourg serves as a basis for prioritising the former over all other languages that are used in Luxembourg. Constructions of Luxembourgish as the only language of integration that are based on such views effectively marginalise and invisibilise other languages: not only German and French, which are officially recognised in Luxembourg, but also other commonly used minority language such as Portuguese for example. Beliefs and discourses influenced by such monolingual nationalist ideologies co-exist with beliefs and discourses that value individual multilingualism, and the Luxembourgish trilingual ideal more specifically (see Chapter 7). Despite this co-existence of discourses and ideologies, participants' explanations and validations of Luxembourgish-only policies and their enforcement in educational spaces are marked by the absence of discourses that value multilingualism. This signals an internalisation of local power structures and dominant discourses that prioritise Luxembourgish.

The existence, implementation and policing of adherence to monolingual language education policies are justified in the Luxembourgish context (and beyond) for the sake of integration and social cohesion, and have been subject to critique. Despite the recent addition of more diversity and flexibility in language policies for Early Years and nursery education in Luxembourg, the focus is still on integration through Luxembourgish, which virtually disappears from the official curriculum as a formally taught language at the start of primary school albeit for a one-hour lesson a week. Indeed, Weber (2016, p.190) argues that it is German that enables educational integration, if this term is understood as "providing students with the best possible chances of educational success" (Weber and Horner 2010, p.252). Thus, the discursively constructed role of Luxembourgish as the language of integration does not correspond to the lived reality in the education system. Furthermore, Weber and Horner (2010) describe the expectation of children to integrate through Luxembourgish only as assimilationist, and connect such policies to wider trends in language education policies at the level of the EU and EU member states. In a critical analysis of such policies, they demonstrate how key words such as "social cohesion", 'diversity' and 'integration' are often used to advocate ideologies of homogeneity and segregation", and constitute a complex interface between inclusion/exclusion (2010, p.242). Luxembourgish-only policies that are discursively constructed as serving the purpose of integrating non-Luxembourgish students are in fact linked to a "hegemonic" and "disempowering" "assimilationist discourse" (Weber and Horner 2010, p.252). By immersing all students in a monolingual Luxembourgish environment so that they may follow the later language regime which focuses on standard (written) German and French, the education system continues to fit students into the model of the "ideal (trilingual) Luxembourger" at the expense of other linguistic resources they may have.

Thus, participants' accounts in section 6.2 highlighted the exclusionary function of Luxembourgish through monolingual language education policies that marginalise and discursively erase the linguistic diversity that exists in Luxembourg at large, but also within this school community and students

themselves. Some participants supported such policies and the argumentation behind them, which suggests a contradiction between their lived multilingual experiences and an approval of monolingual policies. It is precisely such a co-existence of beliefs, discourses and ideologies that creates the tensions that are brought to the surface in individuals' accounts through qualitative discursive approaches. Language education policies that prioritise certain languages over others contribute to the reproduction of wider power structures in Luxembourg via the proxy of languages. Taking a critical, structural view of the connection between policy, ideology and their effects on students' material lives, Weber and Horner (2010, p.252) argue that many students are effectively fashioned into "second-class Luxembourgers" by the education system, given the overwhelming evidence that it reproduces social stratification and disadvantages students with a low SES and/or a language minoritised background (see 1.2, 3.2.4).

Finally, section 6.3 analysed participants' metalinguistic comments surrounding the perceived linguistic similarity between Luxembourgish and German, and demonstrated how this effectively constitutes a double-edged sword in relation to the development of German language and literacy skills. Some students experienced this similarity as a positive support that enabled them to successfully use their Luxembourgish linguistic resources (and pre-existing familiarity with German, in one instance) as stepping stones to form a "literacy bridge" for German (Weber 2008; Scheer 2017), while others experienced this similarity in a negative light in that participants struggled to keep the two languages apart. Here, the inclusionary and exclusionary functions of Luxembourgish surface once more: whereas Luxembourgish as a linguistic resource benefits some students under the current language regime by supporting their development of literacy and language skills in German, others are likely to experience disadvantages in this light.

Difficulties in using German and Luxembourgish along the socially constructed linguistic borders between them may be caused by a myriad of reasons, which may include the lack of formal teaching of Luxembourgish at school or frequent translanguaging practices that students and teachers engage in (see e.g. Redinger 2010; Muller 2016). Another key element is likely the pedagogical approach through which German language and literacy skills are taught; namely as a "second mother tongue" (Scheer 2017, p.93, my translation) rather than a "foreign" language. In an analysis of results from standardised tests on precursory and actual literacy skills among students in Luxembourg, Weth (2018) argues that although most students develop the necessary Luxembourgish skills in the *Spillschoul* to (theoretically) support their development of literacy skills in German in primary school, their actual low (German) literacy skills in higher grades suggests that it is the teaching and pedagogical input students receive which is insufficient in supporting their literacy development in German. Indeed, Weber (2016, pp.190–191) highlights the struggle that especially students from Romance-language backgrounds experience

in this light, who “have to learn two closely related Germanic languages (Luxembourgish and German) almost simultaneously, which inevitably leads to interferences between the languages”.

The subsequent chapter will continue the discussion of the role of German in participants’ lived experience of language and language education policy by focusing on German and French in relation to (dis)connections that participants experienced and discussed in relation to language policy intersections between the macro and meso level.

Chapter 7: Narrating (dis)connections between the educational language regime and wider language situation: Focus on German and French

The previous chapter analysed participants' lived experience of language with Luxembourgish in relation to its dual function as a tool for exclusion and inclusion in the context of the Luxembourgish education system. The present chapter shifts the focus to lived experience of language with German and French by drawing predominately on the data analysis of one-on-one interviews from the final research phase. Framed by discursive approaches to language policy (Barakos and Unger 2016a) and an understanding of language policy as experience (Shohamy 2009), this chapter explores participants' discursive constructions of (dis)connections between the language regime and language education policies at primary school (meso level) and the societal language situation and wider language practices in Luxembourg (macro level). How this relates to participants' individual linguistic repertoires (micro level) will be the focus of attention in Chapter 8. The distinction between macro, meso and micro levels as such is, of course, simplified and the importance of moving past such dichotomies in language policy and planning (LPP) was discussed in 2.5. In this light, I align with Cushing (2019, p.4) who draws on Johnson (2015) to highlight that these distinctive levels are not based on clear delineations but are rather "convenient labels". As such, these levels/labels facilitate the structure of the two subsequent chapters, and the in-depth analysis of data extracts will highlight the complexity inherent in participants' perspectives and experiences as they relate to contact points between these levels.

Section 7.1 explores participants' metaperspectives on language learning with a focus on constructions of individual multilingualism as positive and important (7.1.1). This aligns with the language as resource orientation that underpins the education system and institutionalised trilingualism (Ruíz 1984; Horner 2011), and will be contrasted with a counterexample in 7.1.2. Of particular interest will be various perspectives that participants adopted when explaining and justifying the presence of German and French in the education system, as well as the construction of these linguistic resources as necessary in order to communicate with others. Next, section 7.2 focuses on French specifically, and how the majority of participants constructed it as an instrumentally important language in Luxembourg at large, which was also discursively linked to its presence in the language regime. In relation to German, on the other hand, a certain number of participants highlighted gaps that exist between the role that German plays in the education system and its role in wider society, and section 7.3 explores this. Critical voices that pointed to such disconnections between meso and macro levels only applied to German, and not French, and although 7.2 and 7.3 foreground discussion on German and French respectively, they were frequently discussed in conjunction with one another. The concluding discussion in section 7.4 discusses participants' overall positive attitudes towards individual multilingualism in relation to their perspectives of the perceived and lived overlaps, matches, and disparities that exist between the primary

school language regime and language education policies (LEP), and the language practices that they observe in Luxembourg at large.

7.1 Meta-perspectives on the educational language regime and language learning

7.1.1 Constructing individual multilingualism as a (national) resource

Chapter 5 explored the strong presence of language desire and open dispositions towards languages in the narratives of the young people who participated in this study. The present subsection focuses in more detail on participants' constructions of language learning and individual multilingualism as important; a belief that was expressed through positive attitudes that are underpinned by what Ruiz (1984) terms the language as resource orientation. In Luxembourg, such orientations are reflected in wider societal discourses that highlight the "instrumental benefits of additive bi-/trilingualism" (Horner and Weber 2008, p.91). Such discourses are, however, restrictive in that they focus on and value the trilingual ideal with increasingly also English, but do not include other widely spoken minority languages such as Portuguese. These views also underpin the curriculum of the national education system, in which the learning of the trilingual ideal constitutes a major pillar. An example that illustrates the level of salience of such discourses can be illustrated with an extract from a Luxembourgish secondary school textbook from the 1990s, which overtly highlights the value of the trilingual ideal as linguistic capital:

In addition to their Luxembourgish, most Luxembourgers today know German and French, and many also English. And that is the way it should be! We are dependent on our neighbours; in order to have conversations with foreigners, we must be able to speak their languages. (Translation taken from Horner 2007, p.373)

This extract naturalises mastery of the trilingual ideal among a homogenised group of Luxembourgers, and explicitly depicts these linguistic resources as having high instrumental value that translates into important linguistic capital as it is "necessary for dealing with people considered as outsiders" (Horner and Weber 2008, p.93). In addition, this extract highlights how positive attitudes towards the trilingual ideal can be bound up with understandings of national identity (see 3.1.2). This provides a general backdrop for understanding many participants' attitudes towards language learning and the language regime in Luxembourgish primary schools, as can be seen in the following extract. Preceding my prompt that initiated the exchange depicted below, Lurdes had discussed Portuguese-monolingualism among older generations in Portugal:

Extract 7.1 (phase 2)

Sarah: Ah dat ass interessant (:) zu
Lëtzebuerg hm
Jessica: **Mir kënnen vill Sproochen**

Sarah: Ah that's interesting (:) in Luxembourg
hm
Jessica: **We know many languages**

(...)
 Sarah: Mee also dee Prinzip vun der Schoul
 wou ee keng Sprooche léiert wéi fannt der dat
 Jessica: Ech fannen dat net sou cool well ech
 fannen (.) **an ALL an all Land muss een
 Haaptsaach ZWOU SPROOCHE
 KËNNEN** (: sou (.) stell der vir lo a
Lëtzebuerg sinn ok méi a Portugal ech géif
 Dä- ehm (.) Portugisesch a Franséisch an
 England géif ech eh Frans- eh Englesch an (.)
 Däitsch (: esou Saachen
 Sarah: An du Lurdes wéi géings du dat fanne
 wann hei- wann s du an der Schoul wiers wou
 keng Sprooche geléiert ginn?
 Lurdes: Net cool well **sooss léiers de jo
 näischt** (.) du léiers do nëmme molen
 ((d'Jessica an d'Sarah laachen))

(...)
 Sarah: But well that principle of the school
 where you learn no languages how do you find
 that
 Jessica: I find that not so cool because I find (.)
**in ALL in all countries you have to KNOW
 at least TWO LANGUAGES** (: like (.)
 imagine now **in Luxembourg are ok more** in
 Portugal I would Ger- uhm (.) Portuguese and
 French in England I would uh Fren- uh English
 and (.) German (: things like that
 Sarah: And you Lurdes how would you find
 that if here- if you were at the school where no
 languages are taught?
 Lurdes: Not cool because **otherwise you lean
 nothing** (: you only learn drawing there
 ((Jessica and Sarah laugh))

When prompted to speak on the (language) situation in Luxembourg, Jessica argues *mir kënnen vill Sproochen* [we know many languages], thus discursively constructing Luxembourgers as a homogeneous group of (multilingual) speakers, within which Jessica positions herself through the first person plural pronoun. An implicit connection is made between being Luxembourgish and being multilingual, and this reflects elements from dominant discourses in Luxembourg that celebrate individual multilingualism (i.e. the trilingual ideal) as a resource and key element of Luxembourgish identity (see e.g. Horner 2011; Horner and Weber 2008).

In addition, language learning is understood to be so important that it is equated with education as such. Prior to my question about participants' thoughts on an education system in which no languages are taught, Jessica had described an ostensible example of a school in the Philippines where, due to a lack of funding, students only learn how to paint. In response to this example, Jessica and Lurdes argue for the importance of learning languages at school: Jessica rejects the idea of a school that does not include language learning as *net sou cool* [not so cool], which Lurdes repeats and adds *sooss léiers de jo näischt* [otherwise you learn nothing]. Jessica states that students in every country should learn at least two languages and provides suggestive examples for this. Although it is unlikely that Jessica is familiar with the European Council's recommendation of "mother tongue plus two", her proposition bears resemblance to it. Interestingly, the application of this premise to the Luxembourgish context is quickly dismissed because Jessica accepts that in Luxembourgish schools there are *ok méi* [okay more] languages in the curriculum. Thus, participants construct language learning as a central element in education at the expense of other subjects (e.g. arts, science), which may be unsurprising given that 40.5% of curricular time in primary school is dedicated to language instruction (Kirsch 2018a, p.40).

In extract 7.2 below, Vanessa was asked about why she thought that French was part of the curriculum in Luxembourgish schools; a question that all participants were asked as part of the final one-on-one

interview (also about German). She stressed the importance of learning French despite her dislike of it because *déi Sprooch déi NERVT mech bëssen* [that language it ANNOYS me a bit], and expanded:

Extract 7.2⁴¹

Vanessa: Well: **ech kann net sou Franséisch schwätzen** (.) well ech kann net gutt Franséisch schwätze fir mech **klegt dat esou méi: (:)** **krazeg** bei mir sou
(...)
Vanessa: Jo dat ass scho gutt dass mer dat léiere mee **ech hunn dat jo net sou gär mee mee ech fannen dat awer awer wis- WICHTEG**

Vanessa: Becau::se **I can't speak French like that** (.) because I can't speak French well for me that **sounds mo::re like (:)** **scratchy** for me like
(...)
Vanessa: Yes that is good that we learn that but **I don't like that so much but I still find that imf- IMPORTANT**

Vanessa articulates a negative affective orientation towards French that is marked by a low self-perceived proficiency, as she believes that she knows/speaks French *net sou* [not really] and *net gutt* [not well]. In addition, she describes an unease when speaking French, as she perceives herself as sounding *krazeg* [scratchy] when doing so. Despite this negative affective orientation and discomfort, Vanessa believes that learning French at school is important; a point she makes by stating that learning French is *gutt* [good] and *WICHTEG* [IMPORTANT]. Thus Vanessa's lived experience with French is complex and includes a low affective orientation that co-exists with a perceived importance for which no specific cause is mentioned. It is likely, however, that this is influenced by the societally widespread use of French that the majority of participants discussed (see 7.2).

Many participants validated the importance of the language regime and the teaching of German and French by discussing potential applications of these languages, which can be grouped into two (linked) categories; international and national. In relation to international motives, participants oriented towards the facilitation of travelling, the international use or presence of German and French, and most frequently stated, the fact that Germany and France are neighbouring countries of Luxembourg. National motives included the general presence and use of German and French within Luxembourg, participants' personal use of them within Luxembourg, and the use of German specifically in school. These motives supported participants' perspectives and will be explored in more depth in the two subsequent extracts:

Extract 7.3

Sarah: (...) firwat mengs de dass Däitsch hei geléiert gëtt?
Elma: Ma well et och **vill Däitscher hei gëtt a well Lëtzebuerg nient Däitschland ass**
(...)
Elma: An **dass mer ehm (.) méi Sprooche kënnen** wa mer zum Beispill an der Welt (:)
zum Beispill mir reesen iergendwou hinner an dann (.) kënnen villäicht puer Leit

Sarah: (...) why do you think that German is taught here?
Elma: Well because there are also **many Germans here and because Luxembourg is next to Germany**
(...)
Elma: And **so that we uhm (.) know more languages** when for example we [travel] in the world (:)
for example we travel somewhere and

⁴¹ This and all subsequent extracts in this chapter are from research phase 4.

eh Franséisch oder sou (.) an da kënne mer
mat deene schwätzen

then (.) maybe some people know uh French or
so (.) and then we can speak with them

Elma invokes the fact that Germany is a neighbouring country and refers to the presence of *vill Däitscher* [many Germans] in Luxembourg, thus drawing on international and national perspectives in explaining why students are learning German in Luxembourg. She also highlights the importance of *dass mer méi Sprooche kënnen* [that we know more languages], which validates the multilingual language regime and individual multilingualism (of the trilingual ideal) as important linguistic capital. Learning German is perceived to be important as it is part of students' "development" of individual multilingualism, and Elma stresses the value of the latter in facilitating international travels and interactions where students may encounter speakers of other languages.

Neymar also drew on a range of international and national motives in explaining his perspective on why German and French are taught at school:

Extract 7.4
(German underlined)

Neymar: Also ech mengen ech weess
**Franséisch well et eng (.) eng int-
international Sprooch ass**
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: An **Däitsch ass och bal (.)** zum
Beispill Polen schwätze vill Däitsch
(...) well (.) **et komme jo ëmmer nei- nei**
Leit an déi meescht Leit si jo Fransous da
musse mer och mat si Franséisch zum
Beispill schwätzen
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: An de Land vu Lëtzebuerg
(...)
Sarah: (...) fënns du et wichteg dass du
Däitsch léiers an der Schoul?
Neymar: Franséisch JO (:) Däitsch (:) jo
Sarah: [Jo?
Neymar: [Well et eis Nachbarländer sinn
Sarah: Mhm dat heescht du=
Neymar: =a vill Leit vun do kommen
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: Well **wann zum Beispill ech (.) en**
Accident mat ee maachen an hie schwätzt
Däitsch da versteet hie mech jo net

Neymar: Well I think I know **French because**
it [is] a (.) an int- international language
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: And **German also almost (.)** for
examples Poles speak a lot of German
(...) because (.) **there are always new- new**
people coming and most people are French
then we also have to speak French with them
for example
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: In the country of Luxembourg
(...)
Sarah: (...) do you find it important that you
learn German at school?
Neymar: French YES (:) German (:) yes
Sarah: [Yes?
Neymar: [Because they are our neighbouring
countries
Sarah: Mhm that means you=
Neymar: =and many people come from there
Sarah: Mhm
Neymar: Because **when for example I (.) have**
an accident with someone and he speaks
German then he doesn't understand me

Neymar highlights an important instrumental value of both French and German by describing French as an international language and German as *bal* [almost] so. He emphasises the importance of learning French with a prompt *JO* [YES], while this affirmation is delayed and less strong for German. This suggests an overall lesser perceived importance or utility of German compared to French (see 7.3). Neymar also orients towards their importance within Luxembourg by highlighting the geographical proximity and status of neighbouring countries. By arguing that *vill Leit vun do kommen* [many people come from there], he refers to the international composition of the resident population and workforce in

Luxembourg. In this light, he specifically mentions the large presence of francophone speakers in Luxembourg: *déi meescht Leit si jo Fransous* [most people are French]. This statement represents a larger theme in the data where many participants discussed French and its societal presence as important and omnipresent (see 7.2), but also discursively constructs a homogeneous group of French speakers, which likely refers to a highly diverse group of speakers who navigate public spheres in Luxembourg speaking French.

As a result of this important French presence, Neymar argues that it is up to the local population (*mir* [we]) to speak French with these speakers, leaving it unclear whether he refers to resident French-speakers and/or commuters (*si* [they/them]). Neymar positions himself within the group of Luxembourgers who adapt their language practices to incoming francophones in *de Land vu Lëtzebuerg* [in the country of Luxembourg]. He also suggests an imagined scenario in which his future self is involved in a (car) crash with another person who, it is implied, speaks only German. Neymar argues that in such a situation, it would be important for him to know German in order for them to communicate, as the other speaker is not imagined to be able to understand Neymar. Indeed, the majority of participants constructed their individual multilingualism – always in reference to German and French rather than other languages – as an instrumental necessity to communicate with others. Such narratives emerged most frequently in discursively constructed “imagined language encounters”. Here, participants described hypothetical situations in which they perceived it as their responsibility to speak either their interlocutor’s language, and/or several languages. These imagined language encounters also play out in national and international perspectives and can be grouped into three wider categories; international travelling, future job communications in Luxembourg, and other communications within Luxembourg, which will now be explored in more depth.

Many participants discursively connected the necessity of their own language skills to (hypothetical) travels to Germany and France specifically, but other examples also pertained to travelling more generally. These narratives were based on the premise that if you travel to another country, you need to or will benefit from speaking the local majority language. For instance, Sandra explained why she thought that it was important to learn German at school:

Extract 7.5

Sandra: (...) wann een an Däitschland zum
Beispill geet an (.) mat senger Famill an (.)
et kann een Däitsch net dann ass ee sou
verluer an (.) an dofir muss ee scho bëssen
all Sprooche kennen an (:) jo

Sandra: (...) when you go to Germany for
example and (.) with your family and (.) **you**
don’t know German then you are like lost and
(.) and that’s why **you kind of have to know a**
bit all languages and (:) yes

Sandra argues that if someone were to visit Germany without knowing German, they would be lost, and this statement is followed and backed up by the perceived importance of knowing *bëssen all Sproochen* [a bit all languages]. This constructs individual multilingualism as necessary linguistic capital for

travelling, in relation to which communication is imagined only within a monolingual paradigm.

Kevin also supported the principle of linguistic adaptation to interlocutors:

Extract 7.6

Sarah: (...) wann der dat [Franséisch] net méi géingt léiere wéi géings de dat fannen?
Kevin: Net gutt well (.) ehm (:) zum Beispill et gi Leit déi wëllen herno (.) soe mer mol sou **hire Wonsch ass a Frankräich goen (.) wann si kee Franséisch wëssen dann (:) Problem**

Sarah: (...) if you were to not learn it [French] anymore how would you find that?
Kevin: Not good because (.) uhm (:) for example there are people later they want to (.) let's say like **their wish is to go to France (.) if they don't know French then (:) problem**

Kevin rejects the possibility of not learning French at school by arguing for its instrumental value in allowing speakers to travel to France, which is imagined to be made more difficult and cause problems if they do not speak French. Thus, both this extract and extract 7.5 are underpinned by a perceived necessity of individual multilingualism to enable communication with others when abroad, and the absence of the necessary linguistic resources to enable such monolingual communication is presented in a negative light.

Many participants also constructed individual multilingualism as an essential skill within Luxembourg, where it was constructed as an essential resource on the job market. In this light, many participants invoked the interactions they imagined to have once they are part of the workforce in Luxembourg, and the linguistic adaptations involved. For instance, when asked whether she had been happy to start learning French at school, Sofia responded *jo well da konnt ech och zu Frankräich goe sou (.) an da villäicht wann ech méi grouss sinn am Beruff wann ech jo (.) muss ech jo Franséisch schwätze wann se net meng Sprooch kënnen* [yes because then I could also go to France like (.) and then maybe when I'm older at work when I (.) I have to speak French when they don't know my language] (phase 4). Similar to Kevin in extract 7.6, Sofia describes learning French as allowing students to travel to France and also links this linguistic resource to her own professional future. Sofia does not detail what sector she would like to later work in, but believes that French will be an important and necessary resource to communicate with others who do not know *meng Sprooch* [my language], although it is unclear if this refers to Luxembourgish and/or Portuguese.

Regina also constructed individual multilingualism as a necessary job requirement in Luxembourg. She argued that a student with low French proficiency would have *manner Capacitéiten dono eng gutt Aarbecht ze hunn* [lesser capacity afterwards to have a good job], and expanded:

Extract 7.7

Regina: (...) well wann en eng gutt Aarbecht huet an et si grad Leit déi aus Frankräich kommen da muss en dat och kënnen an dat selwecht mengen ech lo och fir am Däitschen

Regina: (...) because when you have a good job and there are people who come from France then you have to know that too and the same I think also now for German

Sarah: Mhm dat heescht wat geschitt wann ee Schüler an der Schoul net gutt Däitsch léiert- net gutt Däitsch kann?
Regina: **Wann en eng Aarbecht wëll déi (.) ehm (:) déi gutt ass da muss e schonn och Däitsch kënnen (.) mee da muss ee bësse vun alle Sprooche kënnen (...)**

Sarah: Mhm that means what happens when a student at school doesn't learn- doesn't know German well?
Regina: **If you want a job that (.) uhm (:) that is good then you still have to know German too (.) but then you have to know a bit of all languages (...)**

Regina sees individual multilingualism as a prerequisite for having a good job where the employee is required to adapt to the linguistic repertoire of their interlocutors. Regina exemplifies this by arguing for the importance of being able to speak to *Leit déi aus Frankräich kommen* [people who come from France]. The use of French is implied here as the imagined interlocutors hailing from France are constructed as (monolingual) French-speakers, and Regina argues that the same principle of linguistic adaptation would apply in interactions with German-speaking interlocutors. In fact, similarly to Sandra (extract 7.5), Regina argues that in order to be able to flexibly adapt to different interlocutors, this requires the ability to *bësse vun alle Sprooche kënnen* [know a bit of all languages].

In both extracts 7.6 and 7.7 above, participants explain the necessity of individual multilingualism from the perspective of the employee. Andrea, however, framed this narrative from the perspective of the customer or client when asked whether she perceived the learning of French to be important:

Extract 7.8

Andrea: Eh jo well hei kënne vill (.) **vill Leit kommen aus Frankräich fir hei ze schaffen (.)** a wann s de zum Beispill an e Buttek bass (.) an du probéiers iergendengem eppes ze erklären an hie versteet net well **du kee Franséisch kanns an hie keen (.) Däitsch zum Beispill da geet dat jo net** also- da kënnt der iech jo nëmmen (.) da kann een nëmmen mat sou Zeechesprooch iergendwéi (...)

Andrea: Uh yes because here many can (.) **many people come from France to work here (.)** and when for example you're in a shop (.) and you try to explain something to someone and he doesn't understand because **you don't know French and he doesn't know (.) German for example then that doesn't work** so- then you can only (.) then you can only somehow with sign language (...)

Andrea refers to the many employees in Luxembourg who speak French (as a lingua franca) and discusses retail as a commercial area in which such employees are frequently encountered. She was one of four participants who referred to the persona of a monolingual francophone salesperson, who can sometimes feature as a straw (wo)man in public discourses condemning the use of French as a lingua franca in Luxembourg, insisting on the duty of foreign commuters and residents to learn Luxembourgish, and claiming the right of Luxembourgers to use “their” language in “their country” (see Horner 2011, 3.1.2). Andrea, however, does not invoke such language as right and duty orientations, but rather highlights the necessity of her own linguistic repertoire in communicating with an international workforce in Luxembourg. Similar to other extracts above, this imagined scenario plays out in a restrictive monolingual paradigm in which no communication is imagined to be possible unless there exists a mutually shared language and participants linguistically adapt to the other interlocutor.

The restrictive nature of this paradigm is further highlighted by Andrea's suggestion that resorting to *Zeechesprooch* [sign language] would be the last option to avoid a communicative breakdown.

To summarise, the young people in this study demonstrated a positive attitude to individual multilingualism which falls under Ruíz' (1984) orientation of language as resource. Participants articulated various instrumental and symbolic benefits of individual multilingualism and argued for the importance of learning German and French at school by drawing on national and international perspectives. These constructions tie in with wider societal discourses that value the trilingual ideal in Luxembourg. Extending beyond the resource orientation, many participants constructed their linguistic repertoire as necessary capital to communicate with others in Luxembourg now, as well as in other physical places and in the future. This perspective may also have been underpinned by an awareness that Luxembourgish is a lesser-spoken language. It is notable that these "imagined language encounters" played out in monolingual paradigms in which interlocutors were imagined to be monolingual and in which no communication was believed to be able to take place unless participants themselves spoke a mutually shared language. Whereas the overwhelming attitude shared by the participants in this study regarded language learning and individual multilingualism as important, there was one participant who did not share the same enthusiasm. This counterexample will be explored next.

7.1.2 Case study 6: Questioning the importance of the educational language regime

The only participant who argued that he did not want to learn any additional languages in the future and who took a critical approach to the multilingual language regime was Albert Einstein; the newcomer whose negative lived experience with Luxembourgish was explored in 6.1.2:

Extract 7.9

(Original extract in English, German underlined)

Sarah: But do you think that the SCHOOL thinks that languages are important?

Albert Einstein: Uh (:) like **school thinks (.) languages are very very important** for life

Sarah: Yeah?

Albert Einstein: Actually (:) we'll only learn the languages but **I will use them (.) but not like learn them more like I don't need to be the Einstein of German** (:) I don't be the Einstein of German like you know like not the best one in the world but like ((tsk)) good one I don't- **I just want to be normal**

Sarah: [So

Albert Einstein: [in languages AND (.) and chemistry biology things like that Mathematik and computer science I want to be like (:) like super super super good ((in quiet voice)) I want to learn it SO much

(...)

Albert Einstein: (...) **why don't we just talk it and stop learning it and writing it?** So books and things like that well **MAYBE the ones who WANT and are not in my opinion then they go to another school (.) that THERE you learn more for languages**

Sarah: So you think it would be good if you could choose

Albert Einstein: Yeah

Albert Einstein describes the emphasis that is put on language learning in Luxembourgish primary schools, which he describes as perceiving language learning as *very very important for life*. This, however, stands in contrast to Albert Einstein's interests and desires, as he is passionate about STEM and IT subjects. He has high ambitions for his own learning trajectory in these subjects; wanting to be *super super super good*, and explains that he is not personally invested in language learning. Although he engages with the language regime at school and acknowledges the instrumental value of languages in the future (*I will use them*), Albert Einstein explains that he will not invest in more language learning in his future.

Instead, Albert Einstein suggests that he would prefer to learn a language up to a certain proficiency level and then stop the learning process. In this light, his willingness to invest in language learning is aligned with his goal to just *be normal*: he has no interest in perceived excessive language learning and does not need to be *the Einstein of German*, mocking the perceived excessive expectations of the Luxembourgish language regime. In this light, Albert Einstein makes a plea for a different approach to language learning and teaching that is more in line with his own expectations: *why don't we just talk it and stop learning it and writing it?* This suggests that his desired language learning and teaching pedagogy aligns more with communicative approaches where less emphasis is put on writing, grammar and orthography. Finally, he highlights the need for flexibility and choice, suggesting that students should be able to choose how much their education should include language learning.

Albert Einstein was the only student who questioned the entire status quo of the language regime, and suggested that students should have a say in how much of their education should be dedicated to language learning and under what pedagogical approach. Indeed, as a newcomer who joined the Luxembourgish education system half-way through primary school, the analysis suggests that due to his relative late exposure to the Luxembourgish education system and dominant societal discourses valuing the trilingual ideal, Albert Einstein does not readily and unquestioningly endorse the language regime. Although he is open to learning languages to the point of communicative proficiency and sees the instrumental value of languages for this future, he relativises the importance of the language regime, especially against his own personal interest in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) and IT which do not feature prominently in most stages of the Luxembourgish education system.

Having explored participants' attitudes towards language learning and individual multilingualism which strongly orient towards the trilingual language ideology in Luxembourg, and contrasted them against a counterexample, the remainder of this chapter focuses more closely on the roles of French and German that participants discussed in relation to the language regime and language education policies, as well as the wider language situation in Luxembourg.

7.2 Connecting the role of French in education to its societal role

The present section explores how participants discussed the overall perceived importance of learning French and its observed widespread societal use, and focuses on the connections that were constructed between the curricular role of French at school (meso level) and its perceived societal role (macro level). Discussions on this topic emerged not only in relation to prompts which encouraged participants to reflect on the reasons why French may be taught in schools and the importance thereof, but also in more general commentaries on the language situation and job market in Luxembourg. Participants described the important status of French, its widespread use, and the presence of *Fransousen* [French people] in Luxembourg. In relation to the latter label, it may well be that participants referred to speakers as “French” based on their use of French given its frequent use as a lingua franca in Luxembourg, rather than their actual nationality/citizenship or dominant language background.

The important status of French in Luxembourg was, for example, discussed by Elma. She had stated her personal preference of German over French at various points during data collection, but acknowledged prior to the discussion depicted in extract 7.10 that German proficiency is *net sou wichteg* [not so important] to function socially in Luxembourg. Rather, it is French, a language she personally dislikes (at one point during the interview she reacted to its mention with *beurk* [yuck]), which is essential for navigating public domains. Elma engaged in a discussion of this after arguing that French is part of the language regime because *ganz vill Fransousen hei wunnen* [very many French people live here] which, as previously mentioned, likely includes speakers of other nationalities/citizenships and with diverse linguistic repertoires. She continued:

Extract 7.10

Elma: **Dat meescht ass am Fong op Franséisich (:)** also zum Beispill (.) eh wann s de an e Geschäft gees:: zum Beispill e Kleedergeschäft déi Madamm schafft och rëm villäicht op Franséisich

Sarah: Mhm (:) fënns de datt dat vill ass? Sou wann s de an e Geschäft datt déi Persoun déi do schafft Franséisich schwätzt [gëtt et dat vill?]

Elma: [Jo (:)] Jo

Sarah: Mhm

Elma: Sou achtzeg Prozent ((heh))

Sarah: Achtzeg Prozent jo? An da schwätzt de mat deene Franséisich?

Elma: Also wann een eppes nofroe wëll **da muss ee jo ehm (:)** mat Fran- Franséisich schwätze well soss versteet e jo näischt (...)

Sarah: (...) Wéi wichteg fënns du et dann dass Franséisich an der Schoul geléiert gëtt?

Elma: Also (:) hei fir Lëtzebuerg ass dat ganz wichteg well (:) et brauch een dat am Liewen hei a Lëtzebuerg

Elma: **Most is actually in French (:)** so for example (.) uh when you go:: to a shop for example a clothes shop that lady also may work in French again

Sarah: Mhm (:) do you find that is a lot? When you go to a shop that the person who lives there speaks French [does that exist a lot?]

Elma: [Yes (:)] Yes

Sarah: Mhm

Elma: Like eighty percent ((heh))

Sarah: Eighty percent yes? And then you speak French with them?

Elma: Well when you want to ask something then **you have to uhm (:)** with Fre- speak French because otherwise they understand nothing

(...)

Sarah: (...) How important do you find it then that French is taught at school?

Elma: Well (:) here for Luxembourg that is very important because (:) you need that in life here in Luxembourg

Despite Elma's personal dislike of French, she perceives it to be an essential linguistic resource because *et brauch een dat am Liewen hei a Lëtzebuerg* [you need that for life here in Luxembourg]. Thus, the learning of French at school is perceived to be important as it reflects the important value of French in Luxembourg more broadly, and equips students with the necessary linguistic skills to participate in social life. Elma refers not only to the presence of many francophone speakers in Luxembourg, but also describes the common use of French in shops, which she estimates to lie at 80 percent, thus making up the vast majority of such interactions. Similar to narratives reviewed in section 7.1, Elma highlights the need to adapt to francophone salespeople and the (female) francophone salesperson makes another appearance in this extract, as Elma describes the necessity of her own linguistic adaptation: *da muss ee jo (...) Franséisch schwätze well soss versteet e jo näischt* [then you have to (...) speak French otherwise they understand nothing].

Smiley also engaged in a wider discussion of French when she explained why she perceived it to be important to learn French at school:

Extract 7.11

Smiley: Well zum Beispill zu Lëtzebuerg (.) du gees am Coiffeur schwätzen se nëmme Franséisch du gees akafen schwätzen se Franséisch ((inhales)) du gees am Kino ass et op Franséisch (: **iwwerall (.) also alles ass hei op Franséisch** dofir fannen ech mir missten dat och léieren

Smiley: Well for example in Luxembourg (.) you go to the hairdresser they speak only French you go shopping they speak French ((inhales)) you go to the cinema it's in French (: **everywhere (.) well everything is in French here** that's why I think we had to learn that too

Smiley supports the perceived importance of learning French by referring to the wider language situation in Luxembourg, where French is omnipresent and an important linguistic resource for speakers to have. Using the hairdresser, shopping, or going to the cinema as examples, Smiley illustrates the presence of French in these domains and argues that *iwwerall (.) also alles ass hei op Franséisch* [everywhere (.) well everything is in French here]. This extract is but one example in which participants describe French as omnipresent in Luxembourg, which reflects their lived experience of the language situation in the various public spaces they navigate.

In the following extract, Naruto extends the connection between the perceived role of French in education (meso) and its societal role (macro) to the micro level:

Extract 7.12

Sarah: (...) A waars de och frou fir dat [Franséisch] ze léieren oder?
Naruto: ((roueg)) mega
Sarah: Mega? Jo? Firwat waars de do sou frou?
Naruto: Ech weess net wisou mee **Franséisch hunn ech gär ech weess net firwat mee och a Lëtzebuerg schwätzen déck vill Franséisch an alles**

Sarah: (...) And were you also happy to learn that [French] or?
Naruto: ((quietly)) super [happy]
Sarah: Super [happy]? Yes? Why were you so happy there?
Naruto: I don't know why but **French I like I don't know why but also in Luxembourg very many speak French and everything**

(...)
 Sarah: Firwat mengs de dass dir dann och Franséisch léiert?
 Naruto: Ech mengen et ass (...) **WICHTEG (.) wichtig eh well kuck hei a Lëtzebuerg schwätze vill Franséisch (:)** an:: jo

(...)
 Sarah: Why do you think then that you also learn French?
 Naruto: I think it is (...) **IMPORTANT (.) important uh because look here in Luxembourg many speak French (:)** and:: yes

Naruto expressed a highly positive attitude towards French at several points during his final interview, and explains in this extract that he was *mega* happy to start learning French at school. His positive affective orientation towards French is also connected to its wider societal role: *hei a Lëtzebuerg schwätze vill Franséisch* [here in Luxembourg many speak French]. This important presence and broad range of opportunities for use affirm Naruto's perceived importance of learning French. This alignment between the value of French at micro, meso and macro levels may have positive effects on Naruto, such as reinforce his imagined identity as a speaker whose linguistic repertoire includes French, or his investment in learning French at school.

Over half of the students who participated in an interview in the final research phase affirmatively discussed the importance of learning French at school and its importance in society at large. Sandra was the only participant who critically engaged with this after being asked if she perceived the learning of French at school to be important:

Extract 7.13

Sandra: (:) geet
 Sarah: Mhm kanns de mer dat bësse méi erklären?
 Sandra: Eh:: (:) **fir mech ass Franséisch net sou wichtig well (.) also- dach 't ass scho wichtig** mee net sou wéi Lëtzebuergesch well (:) ech weess net

Sandra: (:) so so
 Sarah: Mhm can you explain that to me more?
 Sandra: Uh:: (:) **for me French is not so important because (.) well- yes it is rather important** but not like Luxembourgish because (:) I don't know

Sandra argues that French is *net sou wichtig* [not so important] for her personally, and bases this on a comparison with the highly positive affective value that Luxembourgish has for her. Indeed, Sandra was one of the few participants who reported to speak only Luxembourgish in the home, and this was also the only language present in her language portrait (see 5.2.3). Although Sandra relativises the importance of learning French on the basis of this lack of personal affective value, she nonetheless concedes that it is *scho wichtig* [rather important], which likely refers to the important presence of French in Luxembourg more widely. Sandra was the only participant who critically engaged with the perceived importance of French-language learning; however, critical accounts in relation to the presence of German in the language regime were more frequent in the data and will be discussed in the subsequent section.

7.3 Navigating the disparity between German’s educational and societal roles

This section analyses critical accounts in relation to German in which participants described a perceived disparity between the importance attributed to it at school, and its societal status and use. In this light, nine participants relativised or rejected learning German as important when prompted to comment on this and pointed to a mismatch between its roles on the meso and macro levels. Fabio provided one such response when asked if he found it important to learn German at school:

Extract 7.14

Fabio: (:) Eh net sou well am **zu Lëtzebuerg schwätze mer net sou vill Däitsch et ass méi Franséisch**
Sarah: Mhm (:) méi Franséisch jo
Fabio: An ech hunn och gehéiert vu meng Mamm am Lycée maache mer déi- déi Rechesaachen net méi am Fran- am Däitsch mee am Franséischen

Fabio: (:) Uh not so because in **in Luxembourg we don’t speak so much German it’s more French**
Sarah: Mhm (:) more French yes
Fabio: And I also heard from my mum in secondary school we do those- those maths things no longer in Fren- in German but in French

Fabio relativises the importance of learning German at school by describing it as *net sou* [not so] important. He links this to the wider language situation in Luxembourg, where there is *net sou vill Däitsch et ass méi Franséisch* [not so much German it is more French]. Thus, German is perceived to have a low presence outside of school with fewer usage opportunities than French. Fabio also highlights the discontinuity that exists between language education policies in primary and secondary school: whereas German is the language of instruction for all academic subjects throughout primary school, Fabio points out that mathematics is taught in French in secondary school. In fact, in the *lycée classique*, most academic subjects are taught in French in the final four years (see 3.2.2). This switch from German to French as the main language of instruction in secondary school contributes to Fabio’s perceived low importance of learning German, as French is expected to be more instrumentally valuable in his future academic trajectory (and beyond).

Lurdes was another participant who was critical of the role of German in education; categorically rejecting the importance of learning it as *nee (.) guer net* [no (.) not at all] important. She also critically engaged with the wider language regime when discussing German:

Extract 7.15

Lurdes: Am Fong eh- du misst am eh an der Primärschoul Englesch léieren esou am Lycée (.) well du léiers réischt am op Huitième mengen ech (.) Englesch oder Septième an eh DO (.) do ass eppes Neies do ass nach méi schwéier dann
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: An da kréie mer nach eh BI- Bio an eppes (.) MA an dat ass nach méi schwéier mee **am Fong mer misse schonn am sechsten oder am fënneften ufänke mat Englesch ze léieren (.) well**

Lurdes: Actually uh- you should uh learn English in primary school that way in secondary school (.) because you only learn English in in the eighth grade [second year of lycée technique] I think (.) or in the seventh grade [first year of lycée technique] and uh THERE (.) there is something new there it’s even more difficult then
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: And then we also get uh BI- biology and something (.) SO and then that’s even more difficult but **actually we should already start learning English in the sixth or fifth grade [of**

Däitsch ass net sou eng Sprooch wat mer brauchen

Sarah: Mhm

Lurdes: Ben amplaz Däitsch ze maache misste mer Englesch maachen

Sarah: Jo

Lurdes: Well sou konnte mer scho bëssen eng Iddi hu wat dat ass

primary school] (.) because German is not such a language that we need

Sarah: Mhm

Lurdes: Well instead of doing German we should do English

Sarah: Yes

Lurdes: Because that way we could already have an idea what that is

Lurdes' perception of German as *net sou eng Sprooch wat mer brauchen* [not like a language that we need] is likely linked to its low instrumental value in the wider language situation in Luxembourg, but also in Lurdes' own language use and language practices outside of school. Lurdes argues for the introduction of English language lessons in the later years of primary school at the expense of German, as the former is perceived to be more important (see also 5.3.1). This suggestion is informed by an expectation that the start of secondary school, with the introduction of English lessons and other new subjects such as biology, will be difficult. In light of this, Lurdes argues that an earlier introduction of English lessons would be beneficial as students could develop *bëssen eng Iddi (...) wat dat ass* [a bit of an idea (...) what that is]. Thus, in her critical questioning of the importance of learning German, Lurdes orients to expected educational experiences in secondary school, and also its perceived overall low instrumental value. In fact, Lurdes was not the only participant who brought forward suggestions for the language regime that were detrimental to the current role of German as five participants joined Lurdes in her suggestion to do less, or no, German at school.

Matteo relativised the importance of learning German in a less overtly critical way when asked about why he thought German was part of the language regime:

Extract 7.16

(French underlined)

Matteo: Ech weess net mee ((schwätzt méi séier an opgereegt)) et fält mer just nach eppes a firwat dass mer Franséisch léieren (.) well och vill Leit Fransousen zu Lëtzebuerg wunnen (.) an och bestëmmt Däitsch a vill Leit sou étrangeren a Lëtzebuerg kommen
Sarah: Mhm

Matteo: An dat villäicht och (.) herno Däitsch weess ech net genau mee ((fff)) ((heh)) (.) et ass och eh WICH- jo ((fff)) **wichtig ech weess net ganz**

Sarah: Fir dech perséinlech ass et wichtig dass du Däitsch léiers an der Schoul?

Matteo: Bëssen 't ass net (.) **'t ass eng PLUS Sprooch eigentlech 't ass bësse bonus**

Matteo: I don't know but ((excited, speaks rapidly)) another thing occurs to me why we learn French (.) because also many people French [people] live in Luxembourg (.) and also surely Germans and many people like foreigners come to Luxembourg

Sarah: Mhm

Matteo: And that maybe also (.) then German I don't know exactly but ((fff)) ((heh)) (.) it is also uh IMP- yes ((fff)) **important I don't really know**

Sarah: For you personally is it important that you learn German at school?

Matteo: A bit it is not (.) **it is a PLUS language actually it is a bit bonus**

When asked about why German is taught in Luxembourgish schools, Matteo reflects on this for a few seconds (*ehm (:)* *mh* [uhm (:) mh]), before agitatedly suggesting that French features in the language regime because many French speakers live in Luxembourg, as well as *och bestëmmt Däitscher a vill Leit sou étrangeren* [also surely Germans and many people like foreigners]. Matteo then argues that he

is unsure about the importance of learning German, and his hesitation can be seen in his two audible exhales ((fff)), the nervous brief laughter ((heh)), and his self-interruption of *wich-(teg)* [import-(ant)]. He finally states that German is *bëssen* [a little] important; conceptualising it in a positive light as a *bonus* language that is an “added plus” to his linguistic repertoire, albeit one that is not perceived to be immediately important.

Having provided an insight into the perceived lack of importance of learning German among some participants, the remainder of this section reviews such critical assessments against a wider backdrop in which participants discursively navigate the disparity between the role of German in school (meso level) and in wider society (macro level). Kylo Ren was one participant who engaged with this when explaining why he thought German was taught at school. He listed Germany’s status as a neighbouring country, its large size, as well as the existence of many Germans in the world as reasons for this, in addition to stating that *ech menge si fannen déi- déi Sprooch wichteg* [I think they find that- that language important]. This statement likely refers to teachers, policy makers, or individuals who represent the “school” as an institution, and Kylo Ren does not identify with this group who believe in the importance of German, which is expressed implicitly through the use of *si* [they]. Kylo Ren then demonstrates a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the importance of learning German:

Extract 7.17

Sarah: (...) a fënns de da wichteg datt et [German] geléiert gëtt an der Schoul?

Kylo Ren: Mh (:) ech fannen datt jo **dat ass wichteg mee fir d'Liewe fannen ech et net mega wichteg**

Sarah: (...) ok dat heescht du sees fir d'Schoul ass et wichteg awer fir d'Liewen NET sou

Kylo Ren: Nee

Sarah: Jo kanns de mer dat villäicht bëssen erkläre firwat ass et wichteg an der Schoul?

Kylo Ren: Well **an der Schoul musse mer vill Sprooche léieren** an zweetens 't ass och eisen Noperland an ehm (:) ehm also also an (.) fräi Liewe fannen ech et net wichteg well (.) norma- also ech gi jo iergendwou s anescht wunne wéi zu Lëtzebuerg (.) dofir fannen ech et einfach net wichteg am fräie Liewen

Sarah: (...) and do you find it important that it [German] is taught at school?

Kylo Ren: Mh (:) I think that yes **that’s important but for life I find it not super important**

Sarah: (...) okay that means you say it is important for school but for life NOT so

Kylo Ren: No

Sarah: Yes can you maybe explain a bit to me why it’s important at school?

Kylo Ren: Because **at school we have to learn many languages** and secondly it is also our neighbouring country and uhm (:) uhm well- well in (.) free life I find it not important because (.) norma- well I will go live somewhere other than Luxembourg that’s why I find it simply not important in free life

Kylo Ren’s ambivalent attitude towards the importance of learning German includes two positions: on one hand, he views it as important in the Luxembourgish education system where it functions as a cog in the trilingual language regime and subsequent development of individual multilingualism (*well an der Schoul musse mer vill Sprooche léieren* [because at school we have to learn many languages]). On the other hand, German is perceived to lack importance in the *fräie Liewen* [free life] outside of school. Indeed, in his extracurricular life, Kylo Ren does not perceive German to be *mega wichteg* [super important], and he does not anticipate for it to become an important language in the future. Based on

an understanding that German can play an important role in Luxembourg, Kylo Ren does not expect that this will apply to him in the future as he would like to live somewhere else.

Finally, Kevin's critique of the role of German in education targeted pedagogical practices at school and its relative absence in Luxembourg. In this light, Kevin critiqued German listening and reading comprehension tasks, which he (and several other participants) complained about at various points during data collection: *nee mee lo éierlech firwat maache mer dat?* [no but honestly now why do we do that?]. He questions the "real life" utility of such tasks, and would prefer to do more grammar-focused exercises (*Grammaire zum Beispill (:)* *richteg schreiwe kënnen richteg ofschreiwen* [grammar for example (:) being able to writing correctly copy correctly]), thus orienting towards standard language ideologies and prescriptivism in that he wants to be able to write *correctly*. Kevin then shifts the focus of his critique from classroom-based practices to the role of German outside of school:

Extract 7.18

Kevin: Well zum Beispill du weess jo dat fir d'Poubellen ze maachen zum Beispill (.) fir ofzeginn (.) weess de fir am:: Recycling (...)

Kevin: Maja an hei an dëse Quartier muss een sou e Blat maachen (.) **an dat ass alles op Lëtzebuergesch dat ass guer näischt méi op Däitsch**

Sarah: Sérieux op Lëtzebuergesch?

Kevin: Jo

Sarah: Nëmmen op Lëtzebuergesch?

Kevin: Jo

Sarah: Wow

Kevin: Nee also Lëtzebuergesch mee (:)
wann si net versti Lëtzebuergesch da maachen se op Franséisch

Sarah: Mhm

Kevin: Awer guer keen Däitsch (.) also hei zu Lëtzebuerg

Sarah: Gëtt Däitsch net sou vill benotzt?

Kevin: Mh nee

(...)

Sarah: (...) Mengers de dat dann d'Sproochen och wichteg si fir dono Vétérinaire ze ginn? (:)
Wat mengers de?

Kevin: **Däitsch ass (.) NET wichteg (.) mengen ech well déi meescht Leit hei zu Lëtzebuerg (.) schwätze jo Portugisesch (:)**
Lëtzebuergesch (.) Franséisch

Sarah: Mhm

Kevin: An Englesch

Kevin: Because for example you know that to do the bins for example (.) to hand in (.) you know for the:: recycling (...)

Kevin: Right and here in this neighbourhood you have to do such a form (.) **and that is all in Luxembourg that is nothing in German anymore**

Sarah: Seriously in Luxembourgish?

Kevin: Yes

Sarah: Only in Luxembourgish?

Kevin: Yes

Sarah: Wow

Kevin: No well Luxembourgish but (:)
when they don't understand Luxembourgish then they do in French

Sarah: Mhm

Kevin: **But no German at all (.) well here in Luxembourg**

Sarah: Is German not used as much?

Kevin: Mh no

(...)

Sarah: (...) Do you think then that the languages will also be important to become a veterinarian later on? (:)
What do you think?

Kevin: **German is (.) NOT important (.) I think because most people here in Luxembourg (.) speak Portuguese (:)**
Luxembourgish (.) French

Sarah: Mhm

Kevin: And English

Kevin argues that German plays no important societal role in Luxembourg, and illustrates this with the example of an administrative form that is needed for recycling services in his council area. This form is in Luxembourgish and French, but Kevin stresses that there is *guer keen Däitsch also hei zu Lëtzebuerg* [no German at all well here in Luxembourg]. This points to its relative absence in, for

instance, written communications from the council, but also implicitly refers to other domains in Luxembourg where French and/or Luxembourgish feature more than German. This perception of the language situation in Luxembourg is further reinforced in the second half of the extract, prior to which Kevin had been describing his desire to later work as a veterinarian. Asked about language requirements for this career, Kevin stresses that German is *NET wichtig* [NOT important]. He supports this statement by referring to the wider language situation in Luxembourg where, he argues, German does not play an essential role. Rather, Portuguese, Luxembourgish, French, and English are listed as widely used languages.

7.4 Concluding discussion

This chapter has explored the co-existence of an overall positive attitude towards language learning and individual multilingualism as “a positive strength” (Prasad 2015, p.84) that reaffirms the institutionalised trilingual ideal and analysed perceptions of the (mis)matches of the societal and education roles of German and French. Subsection 7.1.1 focused on the importance that participants attached to language learning at school (specifically in relation to German and French) and individual multilingualism in a wider environment in which the education system and its language regime are essential mechanisms for the reproduction of the trilingual ideal that upholds a central element in outward-looking models of national identity (see e.g. Bourdieu 1991; Blackledge 2002; Shohamy 2006; Tollefson and Tsui 2003, see also 2.6). In addition, wider societal (meta)discourses that reproduce the trilingual language ideology are highly salient in Luxembourg, and have emerged as such in the narratives of the young people who participated in this study. Similar to the restrictive nature of the trilingual language ideology, participants’ accounts of the value of individual multilingualism focused exclusively on German and French; home languages or other widely used minority languages were not explicitly framed as such capital. The counterexample, focused on Albert Einstein (7.1.2), showed how the perceived value of language learning and individual multilingualism is relative and ideological, given that as a newcomer from an education system in which language learning was not prioritised over other subjects, Albert Einstein did not share the same enthusiasm as other participants and adopted a more functional approach.

In explaining and affirming the importance of the current language regime, participants portrayed proficiency in German and French as capital and a necessity in order to communicate with others on national and international levels. National perspectives reflected language practices and the language situation in Luxembourg, whereas international arguments, such as travelling or the international value and use of German and French, resonate with elements of dominant narratives in Luxembourg that portray an outward-looking national identity (Spizzo 1995; Horner 2007, see also 3.1.2). Such narratives construct Luxembourgers as citizens who are proudly trilingual and have a positive, open-

mindful and collaborative mind-set towards their neighbouring nation-states between which they function as a metaphorical bridge (as was demonstrated in the textbook extract on p.129). Understandings of the trilingual ideal as a quintessential characteristic that distinguishes Luxembourgish speakers as “good Luxembourger[s]” or “good European[s]” from other nationalities underpin the “imagined language encounters” that participants discursively constructed (Horner 2011, p.505). These imagined scenarios were described within a monolingual paradigm in which interlocutors were positioned as monolingual and it was participants’ responsibility to adapt to the shared language in order to communicate. Indeed, there were no examples in the data in which participants actively described these imagined interlocutors as having more diverse linguistic repertoires. Following the rationale presented by the one nation, one language ideology, speakers from/in France were positioned as monolingual French speakers, and speakers from/in Germany were imagined to speak only German. Although participants themselves had diverse linguistic repertoires, none of them projected these onto other speakers in these hypothetical situations.

In addition, and despite many participants reporting to regularly engage in flexible multilingual language practices with their friends and family outside of school, participants imagined their hypothetical conversations to only be successful if they follow a monolingual paradigm. The idea of using a lingua franca, such as English for example (which was constructed as a global lingua franca in 5.3) or engaging in more fluid language practices, was only implied in one instance. A similar monolingual bias was found by Almér (2017) among pre-schoolers in Swedish-medium schools in Finland. Lastly, the mutual intelligibility between named languages that participants commented on at other points during data collection (see 7.3 and 8.2) does not feature in these imagined language encounters either. In relation to Luxembourgish and German for example, these are constructed as two separate languages with no mutual intelligibility (see extract 7.4). This points to the co-existence of a monolingual perspective on intercultural communication in the above data with lived multilingual experiences that are omnipresent in participants’ lives.

The analysis in section 7.2 provided an insight into how participants described the important value of French in Luxembourg on the macro level, and connected this to the perceived importance of learning French at school (meso). This may be linked to the fact that this research was conducted in the capital city of Luxembourg, where the use of French is particularly frequent, but also reflects the important role that French plays in both spoken and written domains in Luxembourg at large. Even participants who expressed a personal negative affective orientation towards French such as Vanessa (extract 7.2), Elma (extract 7.10) or Sandra (extract 7.13), still acknowledged the importance of learning French in relation to its ubiquity in Luxembourg. For German, on the other hand, some participants did not hold back their critical perspectives on a personal level or in relation to its role in the education system. As such, certain participants overtly questioned the importance of learning German at school by pointing

towards a disparity in its importance on the macro and meso levels, and these perspectives were discussed in section 7.3. Participants' critical accounts targeted perceived gaps in language education policies in relation to the decreased importance of German as the medium of instruction in secondary school, as well as its subordinate instrumental value to French on a societal level and English on a global level. Despite the decreased value of German in some domains in Luxembourg as the result of changes in the wider language situation and language practices, it still is the most important language in the education system at primary school level (see 3.2.2). Participants' critical engagement and, to a certain degree, resistance, towards this were connected to these tensions that exist in relation to the role of German on macro and meso levels. The analysis of this has benefitted from a discursive approach to studying language policy as experience by examining "the match or mismatch between idealized language policies 'on paper' and the practical reality derived from the evidence of personal experience and ethnographic study" (Shohamy 2009, p.186).

To summarise, Chapter 7 has highlighted the co-existence of several perspectives among the young people who participated in this study, which align with different ideologies and lived experiences of language. In this light, participants demonstrated highly positive attitudes towards language learning and individual multilingualism in alignment with the trilingual language ideology, with the exception of Albert Einstein who appreciated the communicative value gained through language learning but was not committed to language learning beyond this point. However, the reification of the importance of the trilingual ideal stands in tension with the disparity of the educational and societal roles of German that some participants experience and observe. Focusing on this contact point between macro and meso levels, some participants critically engaged with the role that German plays in education. For the case of French, on the other hand, students perceived its role in the education system as positive and justified given the important role that it plays in the wider language situation in Luxembourg. These findings highlight the importance of studying language policy as experience (Shohamy 2009), as they reveal the resistance or support that participants express towards language education policies based on their experiences and perspectives. Although the analysis in this chapter aimed to focus on macro and meso levels of policy, some of the data extracts explored above have also given an insight into the role that the lived experience of language and participants' linguistic repertoires on the micro level play in this intersection. This will be the focus of Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Lived experience of German and French

Before introducing the analysis of this final data analysis chapter, a brief review of the previous three chapters will help to set the scene. Chapter 5 analysed participants' understandings of their linguistic repertoires as represented through language portraits and accompanying narratives, and foregrounded the importance of the affective dimension of language by focusing on visual silence and language desire. Chapter 6 focused on participants' lived experience of Luxembourgish, and explored the complex inclusion/exclusion interface that can mark students' experience with it. Chapter 7 moved the focus to German and French as school languages, and participants' perceptions of (dis)connections between their value in the language regime and language education policies (meso level) and in the wider language situation in Luxembourg (macro level). The present and final data chapter expands on the discussion of German and French, but focuses on the micro level by analysing participants' lived experience of language with German and French and how the language regime and language education policies may influence this.

The structure of this chapter differs from previous ones and this is linked to the nature of its analytical focus. The analysis is centred around several case studies in order to provide a rich insight into the spectrum of lived experiences of individual participants with German and French as school languages, while reflecting wider themes in the data. These themes are first presented in section 8.1, and then illustrated in more depth through subsequent case studies where the focus lies on discursive data from final one-on-one interviews, complemented with visual data from participants' notebook entries where relevant. The order in which case studies are presented starts with one in which educational challenges with German are constructed in a positive light, then moves from cases in which negative lived experiences of language with French were prominent to cases in which negative lived experiences with German were most important. This sequence is informed by the fact that students struggling with German likely face a wider range of educational difficulties at primary school due to its use as a medium of instruction.

8.1 Themes underpinning participants' lived experience of language

This section provides a synopsis of the main themes that featured in participants' narratives surrounding their lived experience of language with German and French as school languages while linking them to the theoretical framing of this research. Five important and interconnected thematic pillars underpinned participants' narratives: affective orientation, level of difficulty, ability to connect linguistic resources, self-evaluated language proficiency and improvement discourses. These themes can be conceptualised as continua on which participants positioned themselves when discussing their lived experience of

German and French at school, as they were present in participants' discursive constructions to different degrees and in different constellations.

Affective orientation

Chapter 5 foregrounded the importance of the affective dimension of language in participants' visual and verbal representations of their linguistic repertoires. In the final one-on-one interview, participants were prompted to discuss their affective orientation towards German and French as school languages through the use of a Likert scale as a prompt (see 4.3.4 and Appendix 11). In the majority of cases, participants' affective orientations towards German and French played an important role in their narrated lived experience of language and were, overall, stable throughout the fieldwork period.

Level of difficulty in language learning and use

Participants' narratives on their lived experience of language frequently referred to the experienced level of difficulty in learning and using German and French at school. This included general descriptions of the respective language as easy or difficult, but also more detailed explorations of difficulties or ease in which participants demonstrated metalinguistic knowledge.

Self-evaluated proficiency in competence areas viewed through an academic lens

Many participants evaluated their linguistic proficiency during their final interview in terms of "competence areas" that are assessed at school: reading, writing, speaking and comprehension. These self-evaluations often served participants in negatively portraying their linguistic proficiencies, sometimes even presenting them as deficient. Other functional aspects or competence areas of language outside of the academically assessable realm were not focused on. In fact, references to academic elements of evaluation (e.g. number of mistakes, test grades, ability groups) were commonly used by participants to validate their self-evaluations. These self-evaluated proficiencies in competence areas played an important role in many participants' narrated lived experience of language.

Ability to draw on already existing linguistic resources for language learning

Some participants invoked their ability to draw on already existing linguistic resources as a supportive strategy for language learning at school, and this theme was discussed in section 6.3 in relation to German and Luxembourgish specifically. In the present chapter, this theme is further elaborated by including data in which participants discussed being able to draw on already existing linguistic resources other than Luxembourgish; in most cases a Romance language that was present to some degree in the home, to support their learning and use of French. This theme emerged in some participants' discussions about (past) experiences with learning French at school, and is connected to a frequently discussed belief among participants that a student's home language environment influences their experience with language learning at school.

Improvement discourses

Many participants' narratives on their lived experience of language were, to some extent, underpinned by native speaker ideals and standard language ideologies (see 2.6.2). These ideological influences are particularly visible in participants' negative or deficient representations of their linguistic resources, but also in their engagement with improvement discourses. These were often linked to participants' motivations to reach abstract native speaker ideals against which they compared their language skills, or adhere more closely to orthographic norms in writing. Indeed, many participants claimed that they needed to improve their proficiency in German and/or French or explained that they had been told to do so, and described initiatives and activities they engaged in to achieve this.

8.2 Case studies

8.2.1 Case study 7: German as a positive challenge (Sibylline)

In her final interview, Sibylline connected some of her lived experience of language, especially in relation to French at school, to her home language environment in which she uses French. She did not experience the beginning of German or French lessons at school as difficult, but drew on an explicit self-positioning as French when arguing that learning French was *villäicht bésse méi einfach well ech Franséisch sinn* [maybe a bit easier because I am French]. Sibylline also described German as an academic area of difficulty that needed more work and improvement. Because of this, she chose to complete her notebook entries in German *well Däitsch hunn ech méi Problemer also sou kann ech Däitsch üben* [because German I have more problems so this way I can practice German]. Thus, she chose to do free writing in German in her notebook as an initiative to practice more and improve.

Sibylline also demonstrated a high degree of reflexivity and (meta-)linguistic awareness when discussing her German and French proficiencies. In the extract below, she evaluated the extent of her difficulties with German:

Extract 8.1 (phase 4) (German underlined)

Sibylline: Däitschen ass **d'Syntax wat ech net ganz gutt (.) kann**. Wann ech Sätz maachen dann- ech kann schreiwen d'Saz mee (.) puer **fir schwéier Sätz ass d'Syntax falsch (.)** enfin net ganz vill also net "Gut Deutsch sprechen ich kann" ((heh)) sou ein paar Wörter zu wechseln (...) An **Rechtschreibung auch (:) hunn ech puer Problemer**

Sibylline: German is the **syntax that I can't (.) do very well**. When I make sentences then- I can write the sentence but (.) some **for difficult sentences the syntax is wrong (.)** well not a lot so not like "good German speak I can" ((heh)) like changing a few words (...) And **orthography too (:)** I have a few problems

Sibylline identifies orthography and syntax as her main areas of difficulty in German, and also articulates these in German which perhaps served to reproduce the feedback she receives from teachers.

At other points in the interview, she expressed a positive attitude towards German as the medium of instruction and as a language subject precisely because of the existence of a certain level of difficulty. As already suggested by her voluntary use of German in the notebook, Sibylline was keen to push herself and improve, and constructed her difficulties in German as a positive challenge. This challenge does not exist for French, as she explained in reference to her Likert scale (Fig. 4):

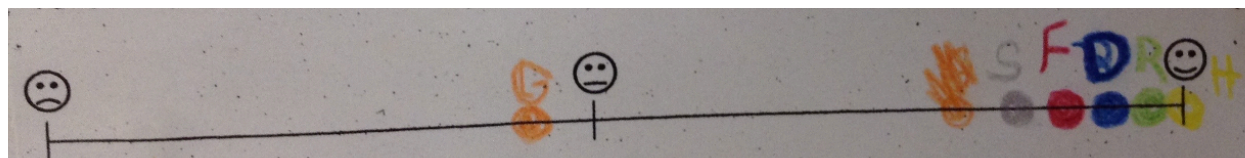


Figure 4: Sibylline – Likert scale⁴²

Extract 8.2 (phase 4)

Sibylline: Jo **Däitsch** (.) **hunn ech::** (.) **GÄR** well 't ass eng **Sprooch** dass ech **gär** **hunn** an 't ass mat méi ehm **Niveau** **dee méi interessant fir mech** ass (...) Franséisch ass hannert **Däitsch** [op der Skala] well ech Franséisch schwätzen an (...) **wat mer am Franséisch maachen** net d'Orthographe mee Lieseverständnes a sou weider (.) **weess ech schonn** zum Beispill Mathurin Popeye hat ech schonn am drëtt Schouljoer gelies
 Sarah: Ah sou?
 Sibylline: Jo
 Sarah: [Dat heescht du fënns dat
 Sibylline: [**Dofir ass den Niveau ze einfach sou ass dat bässe langweileg** (.) **dofir** **hunn ech net sou gär. Däitsch ass méi e Niveau bässe méi schwéier fir mech also** **hunn ech méi gär** (...) ech mengen ech **hunn bässe wéi** dass ech am:: **méi wäit sinn** (.) **wéi déi aner** [am Franséischen]. Enfin ausser am Orthographe do sinn d'selwecht Niveau vläicht bässe méi wäit an (.) also langweilen ech mech bessen

Sibylline: Yes **German** (.) **I:: LIKE** because that is a language that I like and it is more with a level that is more interesting for me (...) French is behind German [on the scale] because I speak French and (...) **what we do in French** not orthography but reading comprehension and so on (.) **I know already** for example Mathurin Popeye I already read in third grade
 Sarah: Really?
 Sibylline: Yes
 Sarah: [That means you find that
 Sibylline: [**That's why the level is too easy so it's a bit boring** (.) **that's why I don't like so much. German is more a level a bit more difficult for me, so I like [it] more** (...) I think I have a bit tha::t I am **more advanced than the others** [in French]. Well except in orthography there I am the same level perhaps a bit more advanced and (.) so I am a litte bored

Sibylline expresses a positive affective orientation towards German as a school subject and language on three occasions in this extract, and describes her difficulties with German not as a negative element, but rather as a positive challenge as more *interessant* [interesting] and *schéiwer* [difficult], and because of which she enjoys the subject at school. For French, however, she feels that she is *méi wäit* [more advanced] than many of the other students. As a result, French lessons are boring for Sibylline and because of this *hunn ech net sou gär* [I don't like so much]. To clarify this situation and her advancement in relation to other students, Sibylline positions herself as a French speaker: “*well ech Franséisch*

⁴² From left to right: G = geography, S = science, F = French, D = German, R = maths, H = history

schwätzen [because I speak French]” refers to the use of French as her main home language and Sibylline also illustrates her advanced proficiency by stating that she read books from the series ‘Mathurin dit Popeye’ on her own two years prior to when they featured on the French curriculum.

Sibylline’s experience of enjoying the challenge posed by German at school was atypical for this cohort of young people. Whereas she thrives in this challenging environment, other case studies in this chapter highlight that many students face a rather submersive experience as a result of difficulties with German. Sibylline’s example also illustrates the lived experience of language of students whose home languages or already existing resources are not acknowledged or incorporated at school, as the French curriculum is designed with a foreign language pedagogy (Scheer 2017, p.93) that does not address her educational needs and desires as a student who uses French as the dominant home language.

8.2.2 Case study 8: French as a barrier, German as a friend (Sandra)

Sandra demonstrated an overall negative attitude towards French and argued that learning French was not important for her on a personal level (see extract 7.13). The beginning of French lessons at school was a negative experience for Sandra which she described as *schlecht* [bad] and *mega haart* [super hard] because *mir huet déi Sprooch net gefall* [I didn’t like that language]. Sandra positioned herself as a language learner in a negative light, arguing that *ech sinn net gutt am Franséisch* [I am not good in French] and reifying this view at other points during the final interview. For example, Sandra wrote her notebook entries in German and explained that with French *do maachen ech ëmmer vill Feeler an sou (.) an do fillen ech mech net sou wuel wann ech schreiwen* [there I always make many mistakes and so on (.) and there I don’t feel at ease when I write]. Thus, she describes a discomfort when writing in French and points to the high number of mistakes that she makes. When asked if she was happy when she started learning French at school, Sandra produced an ambivalent response by arguing *geet (.) well bässe jo well ech dann eng NEI Sprooch geléiert hunn a bëssen nee well se schwéier da war* [so so (.) because a little yes because then I learnt a NEW language and a bit no because it was difficult then] This illustrates the overall positive attitude and openness that participants demonstrated towards individual multilingualism and the learning of new languages (see also 7.1.1), which co-exists in this particular case with the negative lived experience of actually learning French at school.

Sandra, who had created a monolingual language portrait (5.2.3), rejected a positioning of herself as multilingual on the basis that *well ech (:) eigentlech nëmmen zwou Sprooche schwätzen* [because I (:) actually only speak two languages], referring to German and Luxembourgish:

Extract 8.3 (phase 4)

Sarah: A Franséisch?
Sandra: Mh mh

Sarah: And French?
Sandra: Mh mh

Sarah: Géings de soen dat schwätz de net?
 Sandra: Mh mh
 Sarah: Wéi géings de da soen dass also du a Franséisch wéi ass dat dann?
 Sandra: **Eng Grenz**
 Sarah: Eng Grenz? Wéi dann?
 Sandra: **Ech ginn net mat Franséisch sou eens** awer (:) also (.) keng Anung mee **dat mécht mer net sou Spaass och**
 Sarah: Mhm (.) dat heescht=
 Sandra: =ze schreiwen net mee ze schwätzen jo mee de Problem ass ech ka keng Sätz formuléieren sou gutt

Sarah: Would you say you don't speak that?
 Sandra: Mh mh
 Sarah: How would you then say that well you and French how is that then?
 Sandra: **A border**
 Sarah: A border? How so?
 Sandra: **I don't like manage with French but** (:) well (.) I don't know **I don't have fun with that either**
 Sarah: Mhm (.) that means=
 Sandra: =to write not but to speak yes but the problem is I can't formulate sentences so well

Sandra's non-verbal responses (*mh mh*) in this extract signal a reluctance to discuss the role that French plays in her linguistic repertoire, and she conceptualises French metaphorically as a *Grenz* [border], which illustrates her adverse and distant attitude towards it. This perspective is based on a negative lived experience of language: *ech ginn net (...) sou eens* [I don't (...) like manage] and *dat mécht mer net sou Spaass* [I don't have fun with that]. Sandra discusses once more her difficulties in French with writing and *Sätz formuléieren* [formulating sentences], and her perceived low proficiency may have been an influential factor in her discursive distancing from French speakerhood.

Following her description of French as a border, Sandra described her relationship with German as *Frënn* [friends]. She argued for the importance of learning German to enable travels to Germany (see section 7.1.2), and demonstrated an overall positive attitude: *déi Sprooch huet mech ëmmer (...) begeeschtert* [that language always (...) fascinated me]. Sandra described the beginning stages of learning German as *cool*, although she also reported that this was not without difficulties. Whereas at the beginning, she struggled to formulate sentences, she now no longer has problems with speaking *mee am schreiwen do maachen ech oft Feeler* [but in writing there I often make mistakes]. Although she expressed an overall positive attitude towards German, Sandra took a less positive stance towards German as a school subject, which she described as *geet sou* [alright] and *bësse langweileg* [a bit boring]:

Extract 8.4 (phase 4)
 (German underlined)

Sandra: (...) **do maache mer oft Saachen déi ech scho KANN** an sou dofir (...)
 Sandra: Zum Beispill (.) mir liesen een Text fir mech en einfachen (:) an dann ehm (:) ((fff)) an dann zum Beispill freet den Här Lehrer wat ass zum Beispill Sonnenblumenkerne oder sou an **da weess ech dat schonn** an dann (.) an da schwätze mer eng Stonn oder sou doriwwer dat dann jo

Sandra: (...) **there we often do things that I already KNOW** and stuff that's why (...)
 Sandra: For example (.) we read a text an easy one for me (:) and then uhm (:) ((fff)) and then for example the teacher asks what is for example sunflower seeds or stuff like that and **then I already know that** and then (.) and then we speak about that for like an hour or so then yes

Sarah: Mee firwat schwätzt dir dann sou laang doriwwer an der Klass? Oder firwat freet den Här Lehrer dat iwwerhaapt?
 Sandra: Ma **well ganz vill (.) dat net verstinn**
 (...)
 Sarah: Mee firwat wëssen da sou vill Schüler net wat Sonnenblumenkerne sinn?
 Sandra: NEE dat war lo e Beispill
 Sarah: Ok mee firwat sees de sinn do souvill Saachen déi déi aner Schüler net wëssen?
 Sandra: (:) Keng Anung **déi meescht si sou Portugisen oder wat weess ech (:) an (:) déi verstinn dat eben net**

Sarah: But why do you speak about that for so long in class? Or why does the teacher even ask that?
 Sandra: Well **because really a lot (.) don't understand that**
 (...)
 Sarah: But why do so many students not know what sunflower seeds are?
 Sandra: NO that was an example now
 Sarah: Ok but why do you say there are so many things that the other students don't know?
 Sandra: (:) I don't know **most are like Portuguese or what do I know (:) and (:) they just don't understand that**

Sandra argues that some of the content in German lessons is too easy for her and that she knows, or understands, more German than many of her classmates. This is similar to Sibylline's reported experience with French as a school subject. Sandra illustrates this with the German word *Sonnenblumenkerne*, which many of her classmates did not know when encountered in a text that Sandra perceived as easy. When asked about why she believes that such difficulties arise for many of her classmates but not herself, Sandra describes the students who are in need of the teacher's perceived excessive explanations as *Portugisen oder wat weess ech* [Portuguese or what do I know], thus positioning them along national/linguistic lines in order to explain their linguistic proficiencies and needs. Whereas someone with a certain degree of Luxembourgish proficiency is likely to connect *Sonnenblumenkerne* to the Luxembourgish equivalent *Sonneblummekären*, it is unlikely that someone would make such a connection to the equivalent term in a Romance-language (e.g. *graines de tournesol* in French, *sementes de girassol* in Portuguese). She applied a similar reasoning that connects linguistic proficiency or comprehension to one's national/linguistic background in relation to her own situation, when asked about why she thought she was experiencing difficulties with French:

Extract 8.5 (phase 4)
 (French underlined)

Sarah: Firwat mengs de dass dat dann sou ass dass de am Franséisch bässe méi::
 Sandra: **Well ech doheem kee Franséisch schwätzen (.) a jo mee ech liesen awer vill Franséisch mee awer**
 Sarah: Jo?
 Sandra: **Ech hu Franséisch net sou gär**
 Sarah: Lies de dat awer also- firwat lies de Franséisch Bicher?
 Sandra: Eh well (.) **ech wëll och BESSER ginn** weess de am liesen och (.) well ech OFT dann zum Beispill ehm (:) zum Beispill 'vendu' steet do an ech liesen 'vendou' oder sou

Sarah: Why do you think that it's like that then that in French you [have/are] mo::re
 Sandra: **Because I don't speak French at home (.) and yes but I do read a lot of French** but still
 Sarah: Yes?
 Sandra: **I don't really like French**
 Sarah: But do you read that well- why do you read French books?
 Sandra: Uh because (.) **I also want to get BETTER** you know in reading also (.) because I OFTEN then for example uhm (:) for example it says 'sold' and I read 'sowld' or so

Sandra perceives her home language environment, where French is not habitually present as the reason why she experiences more difficulties with it. Sandra states her dislike of French, but argues that she occasionally reads in French at home to improve her pronunciation and proficiency. In this light, she expresses a desire to improve and explains that she engages in voluntary extracurricular reading and also sometimes initiates spoken French conversations: *WANN ech mol wëll da schwätzen ech mat menger Mamm Franséisch* [IF I ever want to then I speak French with my mum]. Furthermore, Sandra highlights that these efforts are encouraged by her mother, and that the latter can also actively support and teach her: *ech liesen och puermol mat menger Mamm Franséisch (...) well si da mech verbessert an sou* [I also sometimes read French with my mum (...) because she then corrects me and stuff]. As will be demonstrated in subsequent case studies, participants in this research reported on various levels of (language) support available through family members.

Thus, Sandra's learning trajectory with French has been marked by difficulties since the beginning, and she expresses a negative attitude towards it. Although she likes German, she finds the school lessons boring partly because the educational needs of many of her classmates differ from her own. She constructs the underlying reasons behind this as running along national/linguistic lines. Sandra also repeatedly highlights her difficulties in writing in both German and French, and frequently mentions making many mistakes in writing. Such references were a prominent theme in the data overall, which reflects the effects of grammar- and orthography-focused pedagogies implemented in Luxembourgish schools that emphasise the importance of orthographical norms in written language with regard to German and French language teaching.

8.2.3 Case study 9: I am not the French person (Jessica)

Jessica reported an overall difficult learning trajectory with French at school. At one point during her final interview, she described herself as *net déi Franséisch Persoun* [not the French person]; discursively distancing herself from this linguistic resource. Based on a notebook entry that prompted Jessica to discuss her linguistic repertoire in terms of set competence areas, Jessica described her linguistic repertoire as follows:

Extract 8.6 (phase 4) **(German underlined)**

Jessica: (...) déi Sprooch wéi eng ech ka sprechen ass Lëtzebuergesch (.) **Franséisch (.) net dat bescht mee ech ka Franséisch schwätzen** Däitsch an Englesch a ganz ganz e bësse Philippinnesch mee sou puer Wieder (...) ech kann (.) Lëtzebuergesch eh Däitsch a Lëtzebuergesch liesen ehm **Franséisch och mee och net sou gutt an Englesch kann ech lese mee net**

Jessica: (...) the languages that I can speak are Luxembourgish (.) **French (.) not the best but I can speak French** German and English and a little little bit Filipino but only like some words (...) I can (.) read Luxembourgish uh German and Luxembourgish uhm **French also but also not so well and English I can read but not perfectly (...)**

perfekt (...) schreiwé kann ech (.)
Lëtzebuergesch Däitsch Franséisch an
Englesch (.) **awer all net sou perfekt** (...)

writing I know (.) Luxembourgish
German French and English (.) **but**
all not so perfectly (...)

Jessica negatively evaluates not only her French speaking and reading skills, but also her English readings skills and her overall writing skills. She compares her own proficiencies to an abstract ideal influenced by standard language ideologies, and as a result perceives her own language skills as *net dat bescht* [not the best] and *net perfekt* [not perfect]. Jessica also used this benchmark for assessing her linguistic repertoire as a whole when she expressed an ambivalent view as to whether she would describe herself as a multilingual speaker: *Also net ganz (:)* *ech kann (.) puer Sprooche mee net perfekt* [well not fully (:)] I know (.) some languages but not perfectly]. Here, Jessica's self-identification as multilingual is ambivalent because even though she speaks *puer Sproochen* [some languages], she believes that her mastery is imperfect and thus insufficient to qualify her as multilingual.

Jessica's first learning experiences with French were also marked by difficulties and negative emotions:

Extract 8.7 (phase 4)

Jessica: (...) an (:) déi zwee [éischt] Joer
sinn ech ëmmer am Appui gaang ech krut
Holle- gehëllef (.) an **d'Joffer wosst dat**
schonn dass ech net Franséisch ka
schwätzen oder verstinn well ech hunn
déi meescht Wieder net verstanen
(...)

Sarah: (...) wéi hues du dech do gefillt
dat s de [dat geléiert huet?
Jessica: [Also ech hu mech **déck schlecht**
gefillt well ech wierk- well déi meescht
Schüler konnte Franséisch a sou an **ech**
war ee vun dee- et waren sou zwee oder
dräi Meedercher déi konnte kee
Franséisch an da waren mir ëmmer sou
(.) wéi (.) **ëmmer hannendru waren** a
sou jo

Sarah: Firwat konnten déi aner da
schonn?
Jessica: Ma si konnten schonn wéi
Blanche hatt ass eng Frans- eh Fransousin
an (.) da kann hatt dat schonn

Jessica: (...) and (:) the two [first]
years I always attended after-school
help I was hel- helped (.) and **the**
teacher already knew that I can't
speak or understand French
because I didn't understand most
words
(...)

Sarah: (...) how did you feel there
[that you were learning that?

Jessica: [Well I **felt really bad**
because I reall- because most
students knew French and stuff and **I**
was one of those- there were like
two or three girls that didn't know
French and then we were always (.)
like (.) **were always behind** and stuff
yes

Sarah: Why did the others already
know?

Jessica: Well they already knew like
Blanche she is Fren- uh French and
(.) then she already knows that

Jessica was part of a numerical minority of students in her class who had no knowledge of French when starting school, and this reflects a linguistic and demographic reality for many primary school classrooms in Luxembourg today (see 1.2, 3.2.4). Jessica experienced her position in French lessons as *ëmmer hannendrun* [always behind], and in connection to this felt *déck schlecht* [really bad]. Because of her lack of familiarity and proficiency compared to other students, Jessica attended *Appui* [after-school support] during the first two years of French lessons as an additional learning support. She refers to Blanche, whom she positions as a *Fransousin* [French], as an example of a student who had an easy

learning experience with French at school. In fact, Jessica believes that her own home environment was an influencing factor in her experience with language learning. Indeed, she argued to have benefitted from passive exposure to German at home prior to starting school, as well as from its linguistic similarity to Luxembourgish (see extract 6.15). Jessica outlined how the situation was different for French when asked why she thought she struggled more with this language:

Jessica: Well (:) ehm well (.) éischten
**meng Elteren si kënne kee Franséisch
 schwätzen (...) wou ech kléng war ech
 krut nach ni Franséisch bäigeléiert ech
 wosst nach net wat dat war** an ech krut
 nëmmen an der Schoul gesot wat wierklech
 Franséisch ASS (...)

Extract 8.8 (phase 4)

Jessica: Because (:) uhm because (.)
 firstly **my parents they can't
 speak French (...) when I was
 little I was never taught French I
 didn't know then what that was**
 and I was only told at school what
 French really IS (...)

Similar to Sandra, Jessica explains her own difficulties with French through a lack of exposure to, or experience with, French at home and when she was younger. Jessica also positions her parents as not proficient in French. Thus, in comparison to other students who arrived at school with (various degrees of) French proficiency, school marked the first contact point for Jessica where she was taught *wat wierklech Franséisch ASS* [what French really IS]. As such, she negatively experienced her own position as a French language learner lagging behind others who were able to draw on already existing linguistic resources.

At the time of data collection, Jessica was still experiencing difficulties with French: *'t ass awer nach ëmmer Schwieregkeete well et komme MÉI Wierder MÉI Vokabele méi schwéier Saachen dra (.) wéinst Grammaire a sou a wéi ee muss schreiwen* [it's still always difficulties because there are MORE words MORE vocabulary more difficult things (.) because of grammar and stuff and how you have to write]. Focusing on difficult vocabulary, grammar points and orthography, Jessica highlights the extent of her difficulties as *wierklech schwéier* [really difficult]. She also engaged in improvement discourses and highlighted her father as a driving force in this light: *mäi Papp probéiert och lo dass ech méi Franséisch [Télee] ehm (.) kucken (:) dass ech besser ka léieren (...) mee dat ass net ((heh)) einfach* [my dad is also trying now that I uhm (.) watch more French [TV] (:) so that I can learn better (...) but that is not ((heh)) easy]. Watching French television is hoped to help Jessica improve her French, and she also saw an opportunity in speaking French to her friend Eden's parents at play dates: *da probéieren ech Franséisch ze schwätzen (...) 't ass gutt fir mech fir ze léieren an 't ass och schwierig (.) mee ech probéiere mäi bescht awer* [then I try to speak French (...) it is good for me to learn and it is also difficult (.) but I try my best still].

Thus, Jessica expressed a negative attitude and lived experience of language with French, that were also connected to low perceptions of her French proficiency. Despite past and current difficulties, Jessica highlighted the importance of learning French at school: *och wann ech net gären hunn mee ech fannen*

et ass wichteg awer [even if I don't like but I find it important still] and repeatedly engaged in improvement discourses. Thus, her low affective orientation is outweighed by the perceived linguistic capital of French for her academic trajectory and later on the job market (see also 5.2.2).

8.2.4 Case study 10: I speak that at school and it's annoying (Smiley)

Smiley expressed an ambivalent attitude towards German as a language. She watched films and television in German, and argued that *ech verstinn an dat mécht mer Spaass (:)* *AN jo dat ass gutt (.) also (:)* *'t ass lo näischt wat (:)* *mech sou (:)* *wéi seet een (.)* *dass ech dat sou gären hunn* [I understand and that is fun (:) AND yes that is good (.) well (:) it's nothing now that (:) for me (:) how do you say that (.) that I really I like it]. Thus, despite her ease with understanding German, she does not particularly like it. As a school subject, Smiley describes German as *langweileg* [boring] and *net eppes wat mech lo (:)* *interesséiert* [not something that (:) interests me]; critically discussing lesson content and activities that are done for the sole purpose of testing or with too strict a focus on grammar components (see Fig. 5). In relation to the use of German as the medium of instruction, Smiley also expressed a rather negative attitude to the two-fold challenge this constitutes, using mathematics as an illustrative example: *ech fannen dat domm well (.)* *dann hu mer sou am Fong sou zwee Fächer an eng Kéier* [I think that's stupid because (.) then we actually have like two subjects at once].

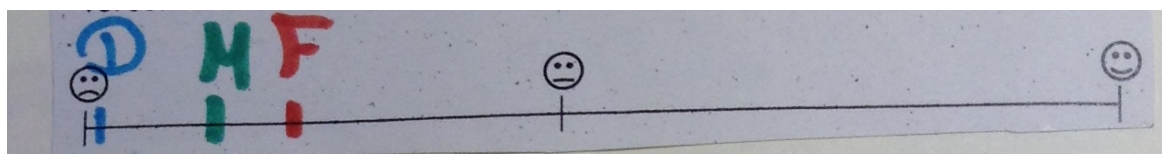


Figure 5: Smiley – Likert scale⁴³

Smiley expressed a strong negative attitude towards French at school (see Fig. 5). Reflecting on the beginning of her learning trajectory with it, she argued that she was not motivated or happy. She described this experience as *net cool* [not cool] as she found it difficult (*ech sinn net oft eens ginn* [I often didn't manage]). At the same time, she described being able to understand new French vocabulary by drawing on her already existing Italian knowledge given their linguistic similarity which she illustrated with the French word *cuisine* [kitchen] and the Italian *cucina*. I then prompted Smiley to elaborate on this with a positively framed question:

Extract 8.9 (phase 4)

(French underlined, Italian underlined)

Sarah: (...) Geschitt dat dann oft datt s de sou an dengem Kapp op Italienesch bëssen denks an dann hëlleft der dat an der Schoul?
Smiley: Jo

Sarah: (...) Does that happen a lot that you think in your head in Italian a little and that helps you then in school?
Smiley: Yes

⁴³ D= German, M= maths, F= French

(...)
 Smiley: Also wa mer zum Beispill ehm
 also lo net méi well **lo weess ech déi
 meescht Wieder** (: awer am zweete
 Schouljoer (: zum Beispill le rat weess
 de (.) le rat sot ech a mää Kapp ratto dat
 ass ehm och (.) MA an dann (.) wéi
 d'Kanner soten wat dat ass hunn ech mer
 iwwerluecht **ech muss nëmmen nach
 den 'o' fort huelen (.) an da war et
 d'nämmlecht an dann hunn ech sou
 iwwerluecht ëmmer**

(...)
 Smiley: So when we for example
 uhm well now not anymore because
now I know most words (: but in
 second grade (: for example the rat
 you know (.) the rat I said in my
 head rat that is uhm also (.) SO and
 then (.) as the children said what that
 is I was thinking **I just have to take
 away the 'o' (.) and then it was the
 same and then I was always
 thinking like that**

Smiley explains her strategy, which she called *iwwersetzen* [translate], through which she was able to build on the similarity of French words that were *bal sou wéi op Italiensch* [almost like in Italian], and demonstrates metalinguistic awareness by commenting on morphological details (e.g. nouns ending in –o in Italian). Smiley describes her meta-reflections with the example of *rat – ratto* to highlight how this strategy served as a scaffold at the beginning of her French language learning trajectory. Quietly connecting new French input to her already existing Italian knowledge *a mää Kapp* [in my head], Smiley argued that this does not work for German.

Smiley expressed her negative attitude and lived experience of language with French at school (*ech hunn net Franséisch sou ganz gär [I don't really like French very much]*) using an entry in her notebook with the support of emoji stickers which all (but one randomly selected happy face) depict negative emotions (Fig. 6). Based on these visuals, she explained: *also ech schwätzen dat an der Schoul an dat NERVT (:)* ((*weist op verschidde Stickeren*)) *'t ass mer langweileg (:)* *'t ass en Horror* [so I speak that at school and that's ANNOYING (:)) ((*points to different stickers*)) *I am bored (:)* *it's a horror*].

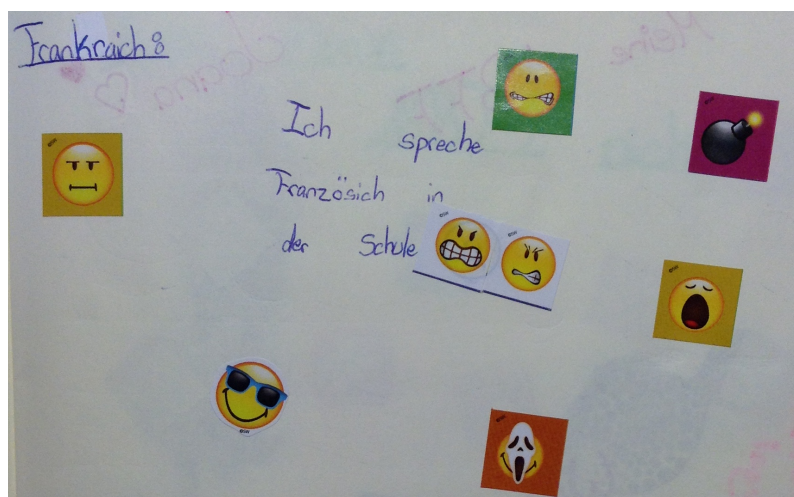


Figure 6: Smiley – Notebook entry on French⁴⁴

Smiley also commented on her French (and German) proficiency:

⁴⁴ Translation: France: I speak French at school

Extract 8.10 (phase 4)

Smiley: Bei Franséisch hunn ech och méi Schwieregkeete well ech sinn dat net säit klengem u gewinnt (:)
dofir (.) also ech muss nach vill do (:)
üben. An am Däitsche sinn ech sou geet (.) also ech weess d'Verben net sou an all Zäit mee also ech versti vill a jo a schreiwen och (:)
awer mat vill Feeler also awer manner wéi op Franséisch

Smiley: With French I also have more difficulties because I've not been used to that from a young age (:) that's why (.) so I still have to (:)
practice a lot there. And with German I'm like alright (.) so I don't know the verbs in like all the tenses but well I understand a lot and yes and writing too (:)
but with many mistakes well but less than with French

Smiley argues that the absence of French growing up was a contributing factor in her difficulties with French, and highlights a need to practice more to improve. Although she did not discuss her French proficiency in detail, Smiley positioned herself in relation to her ability group⁴⁵ at a different point during her final interview: *net sou bei déi Bescht (...) méi ënnen* [not like with the best (...) further below]. In relation to German, Smiley describes an overall good level of proficiency while highlighting that she makes many mistakes in writing. Indeed, her narratives were marked by references to written and orthographic mistakes which suggests that this is a salient element in Smiley's attitudes and experiences with German and French. For example, she expressed annoyance in relation to accents in French, which she saw as small but inconvenient details: *((an engem genervten Toun)) wann du zum Beispill eppes schreifs do feelt een Accent sou (.) WIERKLECH?* [((in annoyed tone)) when you for example write something and there is an accent missing like (.) REALLY?]. Indeed, this focus on mistakes appears to be linked to Smiley's identity as a student and language learner, as she argues towards the end of the interview that *am schreiwen sinn ech eng Katastrophe* [in writing I am a catastrophe].

8.2.5 Case study 11: I still have to learn a little (Sofia)

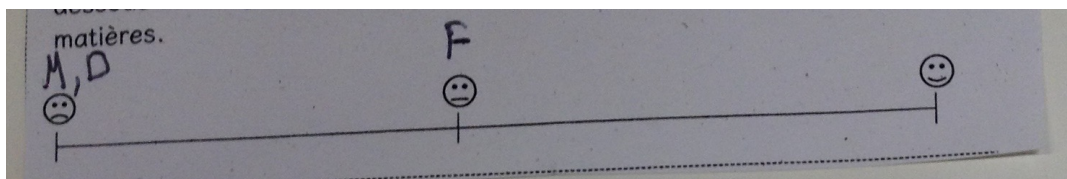


Figure 7: Sofia – Likert scale⁴⁶

Sofia's attitudes towards and educational experiences with German and French were vastly different from each other (see Fig. 7). Overall, her narratives on German centred predominately around low proficiency, experienced difficulties and low grades. Sofia only expressed her (negative) affective

⁴⁵ During part of the fieldwork, students were placed in three ability groups for the main subjects German, French and mathematics.

⁴⁶ M= maths, D= German, F= French

orientation for German on a few occasions (e.g. *Däitsch hunn ech net gär well ech verstinn näischt an ech (.) dat ass mer ze komplizéiert* [German I don't like because I understand nothing and I (.) that is too complicated for me]). Sofia reported that at the beginning of her learning trajectory with German, she was *frou fir eng nei Sprooch ze léieren* [happy to learn a new language], but struggled with difficulties to learn this unfamiliar language: *d'Wierder si mer KOMESCH virkomm* [the words seemed WEIRD to me] and *dat war schwéier fir mech dofir sinn ech net sou frou* [that was difficult for me that's why I'm not so happy].

Sofia's difficulties with German revolved mostly around *méi Schwieregkeeten am liesen a Saache verstoen* [more difficulties with reading and understanding things], and she discussed how this affected her educational experience. In relation to class participation, Sofia argued that she generally adhered to the policy of speaking German in class (*wa mer mussen op Däitsch schwätzen da schwätzen ech op Däitsch* [when we have to speak in German then I speak in German]), but she often also contributed to class discussions in Luxembourgish. This was sometimes encouraged by the teacher (*wann ech puer Wierder net weess da seet Här Lehrer jo so op Lëtzebuergesch* [when I don't know some words then the teacher says yes say it in Luxembourgish]), but Sofia also took this initiative herself:

Extract 8.11 (phase 4)

Sofia: (...) ech wëll puer Wierder soe mee **ech weess net wéi een dat seet (:)** **dat ass fir mech schwéier** (.) weess de wann ech net w- wëll eppes soen an **da weess ech dat net äntweren**

Sarah: Mhm (.) dat heescht soe mer du wëlls eppes soen du hues eng Iddie mee du weess net wéi s de dat op Däitsch sees wat méchs de dann? Sees de dann näischt oder?

Sofia: Also dach **ech probéieren et ze soen a wann ech net grad kann da soen ech op Lëtzebuergesch (.) well Här Lehrer soen dann dat ass falsch (.) wat ech soen** da soen ech einfach op Lëtzebuergesch

Sofia: (...) I want to say some words but **I don't know how you say that (:)** **that is difficult for me** (.) you know when I don't w- want to say something and **then I don't know what to reply**
Sarah: Mhm (.) that means let's say you want to say something you have an idea but you don't know how to say that in German what do you do then? Do you say nothing or?

Sofia: Well yes **I try to say it and when I can't then I say in Luxembourgish (.) because the teachers then say that is wrong (.) what I say** then I just say in Luxembourgish

Sofia highlights the difficulties she experiences when wanting to contribute in class but being unable to do so as a result of not knowing *wéi een dat seet* [how you say that] in German. Thus, she occasionally contributes to class in Luxembourgish when she cannot articulate her ideas in the medium of instruction in order to avoid saying something incorrect. This use of Luxembourgish is scaffolding (Jaffe 2009, p.123): although not officially sanctioned by language education policies, it allows students to participate in class who would be excluded or refrain from participating if a strict German-only policy was implemented. The use of German in tests also represents a struggle for Sofia:

Extract 8.12 (phase 4)

Sofia: (...) **am Tester (:)** **kréien ech puer mol net gutt Notten well ech**

Sofia: (...) **in tests (:)** **I sometimes get not good grades because I don't (:)**

verstinn (:) net wat (:) **wat do steet**
(.) a mir däerfe jo net Här Lehrer
grad froen (:) soss géif ech ((roueg))
 jo mee so- mee mir kënnen net (:) **so-**
 soss **géif ech villäicht wann ech géif**
dat verstoen villäicht bëssi besser
sinn

understand what (:) **what it says there**
(.) and we aren't allowed to just ask
the teacher (:) **otherwise I would**
 ((quietly)) yes but oth- but we can't (:)
 othe- otherwise **maybe I would if I**
would understand that maybe be a bit
better

Sofia describes how her low comprehension of German causes her to receive low test grades. She also highlights that being prohibited from accessing support during tests, such as asking the teacher for the meaning of an unknown word, makes the experience of writing tests in German even more difficult. Sofia's suggestion that *wann ech géif dat verstoen [géif ech] villäicht bëssi besser sinn* [if I understood that maybe [I would] be a bit better] is an alarming indication of the extent to which German as the language of instruction hinders Sofia from learning and performing academically. Nonetheless, Sofia expressed a complex attitude towards her learning of German in general, which is linked to her negative educational experience and other beliefs she holds about its value:

Extract 8.13 (phase 4)

Sofia: Also fir MECH fannen ech et (.)
 GUTT fir mech dass ech kann Däitsch
 léieren mee ech fannen dat ass sou (...)
 well net alleguerten ass nämmlecht a si
 maache schwéier Wieder fir mech also
 well (.) **keen ass d'nämmlecht (.) well**
fir puer Leit ass dat net schwéier fir
(:) puer schwéier (.) fir mech ass dat
schwéier well ech weess jo net ganz
gutt Däitsch (.) soss (:) **soss ass näischt**
 Schlëmme ((hehe))
 (...)
 Sofia: (...) **am Däitsche kréien ech**
ëmmer schlecht (.) Notten an dat
fannen ech net gutt an ech wëll dat
besser maachen (:) **mee heiansdo**
 kréien ech dat net well Här Lehrer fënnt
 och ze vill Hausaufgaben fannen ech

Sofia: Well for ME I find it (.) GOOD
 for me that I can learn German but I
 find that is so (...) because not
 everyone is the same and they make
 difficult words for me well because (.)
no one is the same (.) because for
some people that is not difficult for
(:) some difficult (.) for me that is
difficult because I don't know
German very well (.) other than that
 (:) **other than that it's nothing bad**
 ((hehe))
 (...)
 Sofia: (...) **in German I always get**
bad (.) grades and I don't find that
good and I want to do that better (:)
 but sometimes I don't manage because
 the teacher also gives too much
 homework I find

Sofia thinks it is *gutt* [good] that she has the opportunity to learn German at school and she conceptualised it at another point during her interview as linguistic capital that could support future travel plans. However, Sofia also highlights the everyday struggles she experiences with German at school, and is reflexive in framing her individual perspective, arguing that *keen ass d'nämmlecht* [no one is the same]. Although some people might find German easy, *fir mech ass dat schwéier well ech weess jo net ganz gutt Däitsch* [for me that is difficult because I don't know German very well]. Thus, she highlights the flaws of the rigid language regime in the Luxembourgish education system that forces all students to go through German-medium schooling by sharing her perspective as a student whose educational (and linguistic) needs are not appropriately met. Finally, Sofia highlights that she is unhappy about her difficulties with German and low test grades, and is unable to improve this situation despite her desire to do so.

Indeed, Sofia reproduced improvement discourses on numerous occasions, mostly in relation to German but also French. For example, she argued *'t ass méi schwéier op Däitsch ze schwätze well ech sinn do nach net gutt (.) an ech muss nach bësse léieren* [it is more difficult to speak in German because I'm not good there yet (.) and I still need to learn a little]. Thus, as a result of her low German proficiency and academic performance, Sofia proclaims a need on her part to study more to improve, and indeed she was the participant who reproduced such beliefs the most, claiming on multiple occasions that she had to *bësse léieren* [learn a bit].

Sofia thought that learning French is important as it is a widely used language in Luxembourg (see 7.1.1, 7.2), and also expressed a positive attitude in which her comprehension skills and proficiency are connected to her affective orientation: *Franséisch fannen ech ça va weess de well ech hunn dat méi gär well ech méi verstinn* [French I find alright you know because I like that more because I understand more]. Sofia described her proficiency in French as *nach GUTT mee do muss ech nach bëssi léieren* [still GOOD but there I have to learn a bit], and explained how she was occasionally able to use Portuguese as a scaffold to support her learning of French. She first mentioned this when reflecting on the beginning of her language learning experiences with French at school:

	Extract 8.14 (phase 4)
	(French underlined, Portuguese underlined)
Sofia: (...) dat war (.) nach ça va well Franséisch huet puer Wierder sou wéi Portugisesch (.) wéi <u>micro-ondes</u>	Sofia: (...) that was (.) still alright because French has some words like in Portuguese (.) like <u>microwave</u>
Sarah: Ok	Sarah: Ok
Sofia: An op Portugisesch ass <u>microondas</u> dat ass bal dat nämmlecht (.) dann hunn ech puer Wierder verstan mee ech muss do och nach bëssi léieren	Sofia: And in Portuguese is <u>microwave</u> that is almost the same (.) then I understood some words but I also still have to learn a bit there

Sofia explains that the linguistic similarity between French and Portuguese helped her with the comprehension of new French vocabulary, as some words are *bal dat nämmlecht* [almost the same]. Later, when prompted by a question that explicitly queried the supportive function of Portuguese for learning at school, Sofia confirmed that this happened in French lessons: *ma ech denken ëmmer wann ech net e Wuert soen dann op Franséisch dann denken ech op Portugisesch an herno wa mer dat am Kapp kënnt da schreiwen ech* [well I always think when I don't say a word then in French then I think in Portuguese and afterwards when that comes in my head I write it]. Connecting her Portuguese knowledge to French and drawing on lexical similarities, Sofia is able to use her home language as a support for French at school. Similar to Smiley, Sofia also pointed out that she is unable to use such strategies with German.

Finally, Sofia oriented the perception of her own linguistic resources towards native speaker ideals when discussing her positive affective orientation towards French:

Extract 8.15 (phase 4)

Sofia: (...) **ech hunn d'Sprooch gär Franséisch** (...) Well **den Accent fannen ech schéi** mee (.) ech kréien dat net sou hin (.) **ech sinn net Fransousin oder sou da kréien ech dat net gutt hunn wéi si** (...)
Sofia: D'Sprooch hunn ech gär ze héieren (:)
(:) mee **ech kann dat selwer net schwätzen**

Sofia: (...) **I like the language French** (...) Because **I find the accent beautiful** but (.) I can't manage it like that (.) **I'm not French or so then I can't manage it so well like them** (...)
Sofia: I like to hear that language (:)
but **I can't speak that myself**

Sofia expresses an admiration for French native speaker ideals against which she positions her own French language skills in a more negative light. Sofia described the (French) *accent* as *schéin* [beautiful], and explained that she was unable to mimic speaking *wéi si* [like them]. Indeed, she explains her inability to achieve this ideal by the fact that she is *net Fransousin* [not French], thus invoking national and linguistic group membership as has already been seen at other points in this chapter.

This case study has illustrated that low proficiency and a perceived need to improve were re-occurring themes in Sofia's interview that influenced her language attitudes, educational experiences, and self-positioning as a student and language learner. Sofia's accounts of her difficulties with German provide detailed insights into her lived experience of language and educational difficulties that she faces as a student going through a German-medium education system.

8.2.6 Case study 12: Unfair for me because I'm not good at German (Kylo Ren)

Kylo Ren expressed a positive affective orientation towards French (see Fig. 8), which is one of his home languages, and perceived its learning to be important: *jo ech fannen dat wichteg* (:)
an ech hunn dat souwisou gär dofir (.) *ass et gutt* [yes I find that important (:)
and I like that anyway that's why (.) it's good]. Thus, his positive affective orientation aligned with its perceived importance.

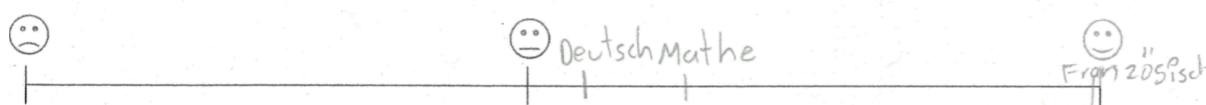


Figure 8: Kylo Ren – Likert scale⁴⁷

Kylo Ren's attitude and his educational experience with German were complex, and his narratives in the final interview were centred around his low proficiency and academic performance rather than his affective orientation. He noted that German is absent from his private life: *Däitsch schwätzen ech och net vill* (.) *ausser an der Schoul mee soss net* [German I also don't speak much (.) except at school but otherwise not], and he referred to its absence in the home prior to starting school (*well Däitsch hat ech*

⁴⁷ Deutsch= German, Mathe= maths, Französisch = French

nach ni geléiert doheem [because German I had never learnt at home]) and the fact that it is his fourth language in explaining why he was experiencing difficulties: *et ass déi déi ech am mannste ka schwätzen (...)* also *do sinn ech net ganz gutt* [it is that which I can speak the least (...) so there I'm not very good]. Additionally, he described having access to only limited support for German at home: *do hëlleft meeschtens meng Mamm mee am Däitschen ass se- war hatt och net gutt dofir (.) am Däitsche kann hatt mer net vill hëllef* [my mum usually helps there but she- wasn't good at German either that's why (.) she can't help me much with German].

Kylo Ren described his German proficiency as very low, and negative self-evaluations occurred multiple times during his final interview. Kylo Ren even referred to the ability group he was placed in to position himself: *lo sinn ech bei déi Schlecht*⁴⁸ [now I'm with the bad]. Such labelling can have detrimental effects on students' learner identities and become self-fulfilling prophecies. In relation to his German difficulties, Kylo Ren especially struggled with listening and reading comprehension and described himself as *net gutt and dofir hunn ech schlecht Notten dodran* [not good and that's why I have bad grades in those]:

Extract 8.16 (phase 4)

Kylo Ren: Mh (.) also
Leseverständnes (.) ass heiansdo **well ech puer Wieder net verstinn** mee
Här Lehrer seet ëmmer ehm **mir dierfe net Dictionnaire huelen a mir dierfen hien net froen (.) an da kréien ech schlecht Notten** an (:) ehm (...)
Kylo Ren: An Hörverständnes (.) **liesen se ëmmer schnell**

Kylo Ren: Mh (.) well reading comprehension (.) is sometimes **because I don't understand some words** but the teacher always says uhm **we are not allowed to use a dictionary and we are not allowed to ask him (.) and then I get bad grades** and (:) uhm (...)
Kylo Ren: And listening comprehension (.) **they always read fast**

Similar to Sofia, Kylo Ren highlights the causal link between his low proficiency in German and poor test grades. He also argues that comprehension tests are too difficult for him as the reading speed in listening comprehensions is too fast, and he cannot access support (e.g. using a dictionary) which he would need in order to successfully pass these tests.

Kylo Ren also expressed a negative attitude towards the use of German as the language of instruction as he struggles with it:

Extract 8.17 (phase 4)

Kylo Ren: Ma do also ech fannen dat (:) **onfair well (.) fir mech ech si jo net gutt am Däitschen** an (.) **ech hu léiwer wann d'Bicher op Franséisch sinn** oder sou
Sarah: Mhm

Kylo Ren: So there well I find that (:) **unfair because (.) for me I'm not good at German** and (.) **I prefer it when books are in French** or so
Sarah: Mhm

⁴⁸ Teachers did not use these labels when referring to ability groups, rather it was students themselves who named and propagated these hierarchical labels: *déi Gutt, déi Mëttel, déi Schlecht* [the good, the middle, the bad].

Kylo Ren: Well d'Natalie hatt huet jo
mega Gléck hatt huet all Bicher op
Franséisch
Sarah: Firwat huet hatt déi dann op
Franséisch?
Kylo Ren: Well hatt ka jo net gutt (.)
Däitsch

Kylo Ren: Because Natalie is super
lucky she has all books in French
Sarah: Why does she have them in
French?
Kylo Ren: Because she doesn't know
German (.) well

The obligation to use German as the medium of instruction appears *onfair* [unfair] to Kylo Ren when he sees Natalie, a newcomer in the Luxembourgish education system who has access to the French versions of textbooks because *hatt ka jo net gutt (.) Däitsch* [she doesn't know German (.) well]. However, these alternative French-medium textbooks are not systematically available for “mainstream” students such as Kylo Ren, even if they also struggle with German. When asked if he would prefer a language of instruction other than German, Kylo Ren found himself in a dilemmatic situation:

Extract 8.18 (phase 4)

Kylo Ren: Ech fannen dat wär (:)
bësse blöd mee awer och also ech fannen dat cool fir mech well dann hunn ech och keng Schwieregkeeten
(...)
Kylo Ren: Jo well eh (.) et ass e
Noperland an et ass jo wichteg
Sarah: Mh mhm (.) mee dat heescht du
soss du häss dann net méi sou vill
Schwieregkeeten fënns de dann dass du
(.) an der Schoul sou Schwieregkeeten
déi s de hues dass déi wéinst dem
Däitsche sinn?
Kylo Ren: Jo (.) zemools Däitsch (.) an
Mathe (.) geet heiansdo hunn ech
schlecht Notten heiansdo gutt

Kylo Ren: I think that would be (:)
a bit stupid but I also find that cool for me because then I also don't have any difficulties
(...)
Kylo Ren: Yes because uh (.) it is a
neighbouring country and that is
important
Sarah: Mh mhm (.) but that means you
said you wouldn't have so many
difficulties do you find then that you (.)
at school difficulties that you have that
those are because of German?
Kylo Ren: Yes (.) especially German (.)
and maths (.) is alright sometimes I
have bad grades somestimes good

Although he perceived German to be unimportant for “free life” (see extract 7.17), Kylo Ren argued that it is important (for school) and because Germany is a neighbouring country. This belief, connected to the trilingual language ideology and outward-looking models of national identity conflicts with his awareness that if he were no longer educated in German, this may alleviate (some of) the educational difficulties he is facing.

8.2.7 Case study 13: I just don't like German (Lurdes)

Lurdes expressed a preference for French over German in relation to her affective orientation, and this was also linked to her comprehension and overall language skills. Indeed, she uses French as an “additional” home language next to Portuguese and Luxembourgish, and reflected on this when asked about her experience of first learning French at school:

Extract 8.19 (phase 4)

Lurdes: (...) **ech hu Franséisch gär och** (.)
well Franséisch ass e **bësse méi liicht wéi**
Däitsch
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: Well **ech schwätzen och**
Franséisch doheem
Sarah: Konnts- hues du da scho
Franséisch geschwat iers du dat an der
Schoul geléiert hues?
Lurdes: Eh nee nëmme meng Elteren (...) **déi**
schwätzen sech op Franséisch (.) a
Portugisesch. Ma an dann eh:: een Dag eh::
hunn ech héiere schwätzen an dann hunn
ech verstan dass dat Franséisch war an eh::
an dann eh lo schwätze mer Franséich. **Am**
Fong et war e bësse méi liicht wéi
Däitsch

Lurdes: (...) **I also like French** (.)
because French is **a bit easier than**
German
Sarah: Mhm
Lurdes: Because **I also speak**
French at home
Sarah: Could- did you speak French
then before you learnt that at
school?
Lurdes: Uh no only my parents (...) **they**
speak to each other in French
(.) and Portuguese. So and then uh::
one day uh:: I heard [them] speak
and then I understood that that was
French and uh:: and then uh and
now we speak French. **Actually it**
was a bit easier than German

Lurdes discusses the presence of French as a home language that was initially only used by her parents as a factor that influenced not only the relative ease of learning French at school, but also her positive affective orientation towards it (*ech hu Franséisch gär* [I like French]). This demonstrates the positive connection she is able to draw between French as a linguistic resource that is present both in the home and at school.

Lurdes discussed not only her personal preference for French, but also that of other classmates. Indeed, a few participants discussed such linguistic preferences by discursively constructing two groups of students: those who preferred German and those who preferred French. In fact, Lurdes had already described two such groups of students in explaining the demands of the Luxembourgish language regime (see extract 6.14). In her final interview, Lurdes discussed a task for which students were expected to write the same story in German and French, and it was left up to them with which language they started. Lurdes argued that most students started with French because *ech mengen Däitsch hu et net all Mënsch gär dofir* (.) *dofir hu si all mat Franséisch ugefaang* [I think not everybody likes German that's why (.) that's why they all started with French]. Lurdes then lists which students started with which language: *Tom Patrick mee déi hu mat Däitsch dann ugefaang* (.) *mee eh- Kylo Ren an dann ech Chloe Kevin Blanche Sibylline mir hunn all mat Franséisch ugefaang* [Tom Patrick but they started with German then (.) but uh Kylo Ren and then I Chloe Kevin Blanche Sibylline we all started with French]. This discursive construction of groups of students who prefer French or German was consistent across participants who engaged with this topic and my own observations, and such linguistic preferences were also confirmed by many students themselves. Although it would be a simplified and incorrect generalisation to endorse the existence of two such homogeneous groups, it was observable that most students consistently expressed a preference for one of the school languages across the data collection period.

Despite her positive attitude towards French, Lurdes was not confident in her proficiency in French and argued that she was not *me::ga me::ga gutt* [re::ally re::ally good], and in fact constructed her overall linguistic repertoire in negative terms. She did not identify as multilingual on the basis that *ech ka jo nēmnen dräi Sproochen (:) nee véier* [I only know three languages (:) no four], and then went on to negatively evaluate her spoken French and Portuguese: *ech hunn ëmmer e kléngen Accent do bei Franséisch a Portugisesch* [I always have a little accent there with French and Portuguese] and *ech sinn déck komesch am schwätzen* [I am really weird at speaking]. Thus, Lurdes compares herself to native speaker ideals and is bothered by her accent, which she would like to be able to *raushuelen* [take out] in order to speak *GUTT GUTT GUTT* [GOOD GOOD GOOD].

Lurdes' lived experience of language with German centred mostly around a very negative affective orientation, and the expression *ech hunn Däitsch net gär* [I don't like German] (with variations) was articulated on multiple occasions. Indeed, she argued that learning German was not important and should be replaced with English (see extract 7.15), and expressed a low motivation and resistance towards learning German: *Däitsch wëll ech net léieren* [German I don't want to learn]. She also described German as *komplikiert* [complicated] and *komesch* [weird]. Although Lurdes' narratives focused predominately on her negative affective orientation towards German, she also discussed academic difficulties, low proficiency and low test grades. In this light, she said *ech si gutt am Franséischen am Rechnen ausser et ass den Däitschen (.) den Däitsch wat mech bässe stéiert well do ass bessen (.) keng Anung ech sinn net gutt do* [I am good at French and maths except it is German (.) German that bothers me a little because there is a bit (.) I don't know I'm not good there] (see Fig. 9).



Figure 9: Lurdes – Likert scale⁴⁹

Lurdes also discussed negative experiences with German as the language of instruction in other subjects. She described history as a difficult subject that has *komesch Wierder* [weird words]; an ambiguous phrasing that may also have referred to technical language in history as an academic field, and in response to which I asked if she thought it would be easier if French was the language of instruction:

Extract 8.20 (phase 4)

Lurdes: Jo (.) mee puermol wollt ech gäre bei Natalie sinn well **Natalie huet jo de Buch op Franséisch** a puermol ehm am Rechnen do- do sinn- mir maache jo Sachaufgaben (.) ma eh an do steet ëmmer alles op Däitsch a **wann e**

Lurdes: Yes (.) but sometimes I would like to be next to Natalie because **Natalie has the book in French** and sometimes uhm in maths there- there are- we do word problems (.) so uh and there everything is always in

⁴⁹ D= German, M= maths, F= French

Wuert net ass wat ech net gutt verstinn da froen ech Natalie wann ech deng Déngens ka- weess de deen Abschnitt ka liesen an da verstinn ech e bësse besser

Sarah: Well dat op Franséisch dann ass?

Lurdes: Jo well do sinn och bësse méi Wieder déi bësse méi gutt erklären well **wann zum Beispill sou déck schwéier Wieder sinn (.) am Däitschen an am Franséischen do sinn méi liicht (...)** **Wieder (:)** ma (.) an eh dofir froen ech hatt ëmmer wann ech dierf liesen well **dat ass am Fong bësse schwéier den Däitsch (:)** dofir

German and if there is a word that I don't understand well then I ask Natalie if I can [use] the thing- you know read that paragraph and then I understand a bit better

Sarah: Because that's in French then?

Lurdes: Yes because there are also a few more words that explain a bit better because **if for example there are like really difficult words (.) in German and in French there are easier (...) words (:)** so (.) and uh that's why I always ask her if I can read because **that is actually a bit difficult German (:)** that's why

Lurdes specifies that the use of German as the language of instruction poses difficulties for her; *dat ass am Fong bësse schwéier den Däitsch* [it is actually a bit difficult German]. Natalie, the newcomer also mentioned by Kylo Ren, makes another appearance in this extract: Lurdes sometimes asks her to use her French-language mathematics textbook, because she understands this *bësse besser* [a bit better]. Similarly, Lurdes reported on difficulties with a recent word problem that involved the measurement of a glass door and included *komesch Saachen (.) déi mer wat mer net verstinn* [weird things (.) that we that we don't understand]. She then detailed that she struggled *wéinst der Sprooch déi Däitsch (...)* *dat ass déck schwéier awer* [because of the language the German [language] (...) that is really difficult though].

Lurdes had internalised a view that German is a constant negative element in her educational trajectory: *Bei Däitsch weess ech ech wäert ni eng gutt Nott kréien dofir (:)* *et ass net 't ass net ech wäert NI eng gutt Nott kréie mee bei Däitsch ass well dat ass deck schwéier an dofir (.) zemools bei de Verben* [with German I know that I will never get a good grade that's why (.) it's not it's not that I will NEVER get a good grade but with German it's because that is really difficult and that's why (.) especially with the verbs]. She was resigned to the fact that German was *déck schwéier* [really difficult] and that, as a result, she did not expect to get good grades. When discussing her expectations for entry to secondary school and hopes to attend a *lycée technique*, the internalisation of these negative associations emerged in a more explicit way:

Extract 8.21 (phase 4)

Lurdes: **Nee Classique ass am Fong net fir mech** well (.) (...) am Fong da misst de schonn déck gutt eh an- an all Fach sinn (.) ben dat ass net mäi Cas dofir ((otemt haart a séier an)) dat ass well **ech sinn déck nul ech sinn net gutt (.) am Däitschen** wann ech gutt an all wär dann- eh dann jo (.) da géif ech vläicht Classique goen (:) awer lo ginn ech Tech- ech hoffe mol Technique ze goen well xxx

Lurdes: **No Classique is actually not for me** because (.) (...) actually then you would have to be already really good in- in all subjects (.) well that is not my case that's why ((quick sharp inhale)) that's because **I am really zero I am not good (.) at German** if I were good in all then- uh then yes (.) then maybe I would go to Classique (:) but now I'll go to Tech- I'm hoping to go to Technique because xxx

Repeated negative experiences and attitudes can produce deficit views. Projected onto herself generally (*ech sinn déck nul* [I am really zero]), but also to German specifically (*ech sinn net gutt am Däitschen* [I am not good at German]), such views are part of the narrative that Lurdes has built around herself as a student and language learner, and that negatively influence her sense of self.

8.2.8 Case study 14: I repeated a year because of that (Naruto)

Naruto's lived experience of language with German was consistently negative and linked to his grade repetition in Year two. This event has had an important effect on Naruto and he was keen to discuss it, indeed, he articulated (variations of) the expression *ech sinn duerchgefall* [I repeated a year] on nine occasions during his final interview. He also introduced the topic when recounting his learning experience with German at the beginning of primary school, where he reported to have been happy to start learning it and initially found it *ganz liicht* [very easy] but then increasingly difficult:

Extract 8.22 (phase 4)

Naruto: (...) an dono wann zweet Schouljoer **wann ech sinn duerchgefall war ech net frou an (.) lo hunn ech net sou gär Däitsch**
 Sarah: Weess de da firwat dass de duerchgefall bass?
 Naruto: Wéinst Däitsch
 Sarah: Also soten si dat wier net (.) gutt genuch oder?
 Naruto: Mhm net gutt genuch well meng Mamm sot ëmmer jo du muss méi (:) méi Däitsch léieren (...)
 Naruto: **Ech wollt wierklech léiere mee (.) et ass einfach net gaang (:)**
an dann:: (:) war ech schlecht an dann jo da sinn ech duerchgefall

Naruto: (...) and afterwards when second grade **when I repeated the year I wasn't happy and (.) now I don't like German so much**
 Sarah: Do you know why you repeated a year?
 Naruto: Because of German
 Sarah: So they said it wasn't (.) good enough or?
 Naruto: Mhm not good enough because my mum always said yes you have to [learn] more (: learn more German (...)
 Naruto: **I really wanted to learn but (.) it simply didn't work (:)** and then:: (.) **I was bad and then yes then I repeated the year**

Naruto sees his grade repetition as the result of a gradual increase in difficulty in German that he was unable to keep up with, and identifies it as a direct consequence of his low proficiency. It is also the cause for the deterioration of his affective orientation: *lo hunn ech net sou gär Däitsch* [now I don't like German so much] (see Fig. 10). In his narrative, Naruto and his mother perceive the responsibility for improving his German proficiency as lying with him and he reports on a high motivation to improve (*ech wollt wierklech léieren* [I really wanted to learn]). However, his inability to reach the required competency level to progress to Year three caused not only the grade repetition, but also an internalisation of a deficit view (*ech si schlecht* [I am bad]).

Naruto already discussed his dislike and difficulties with German in his very first interview, as can be seen in the extract below which begins with a prompt to explain a previous statement that mathematics and French were Naruto's favourite school subjects:

Extract 8.23 (phase 1)

Sarah: Mhm awer Naruto du sees
 Rechnen a Franséisch (.) jo? Firwat
 hues du déi gär?
 Georges: **'t ass méi liicht ne** (.) oder =
 Naruto: =éischstens ech hunn net
 Däitsch gär well::
 Georges: Jo
 Naruto: Well
 Georges: **Du schwätz net vill Däitsch**
 Naruto: (...) **ech hunn net gär well**
ech sinn duerchgefall wéinst dat an
 (:)
 weess net sinn **déck komplizéiert**
Saachen (.) ech hu méi gär
Franséisch (.) Franséisch och e sou
 puer Saachen verstinn ech net mee (.)
Däitsch verstinn ech bal näischt

Sarah: Mhm but Naruto you're saying
 maths and French (.) yes? Why do you
 like those?
 Georges: **it's easier right** (.) or=
 Naruto: =first of all I don't like German
 becau::se
 Georges: Yes
 Naruto: Because
 Georges: **You don't speak a lot of**
German
 Naruto: (...) **I don't like because I**
repeated a year because of that and (:)
 don't know [there] are **really**
complicated things (.) I prefer French
 (.) French also like a few things I don't
 understand but (.) **German I**
understand almost nothing

Naruto highlights his dislike of German and the causal effect between the grade repetition and his negative attitude, and details the extent of the difficulties he experiences. He expresses his preference of French over German, and highlights that even though some aspects of French are also challenging, his difficulties with German are more severe. The interaction with his co-interviewee Georges is also noteworthy, as both participants co-construct Naruto's positioning towards German: Georges implies Naruto's difficulties by suggesting that French and maths are easier, validates Naruto's dislike of German, and also notes the relative absence of German from Naruto's life.

Indeed, Georges' evaluation of Naruto's language practices outside of school is accurate, as Naruto himself confirmed the absence of German not only in his immediate environment, but also its perceived absence on a wider societal level. When asked to comment on the presence of German in the education system, he responded with the uncertain suggestion that it might be *villäicht ech weess net wichteg fir d'Liewen?* [maybe I don't know important for life?]. However, when asked if he thought so, Naruto expressed a critical response by shaking his head. This contrasts with Naruto's positive affective orientation towards French and its perceived important societal status (see extract 7.11).

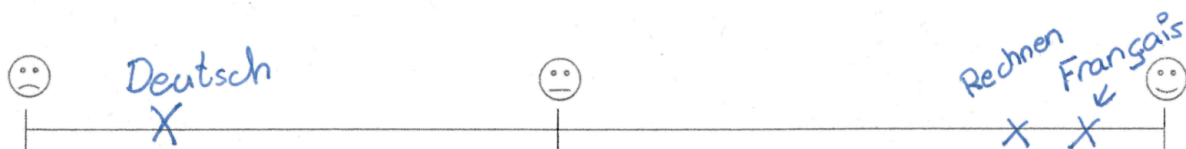


Figure 10: Naruto – Likert scale⁵⁰

As a result of Naruto's low German proficiency, he also reported on difficulties in other subjects:

⁵⁰ Deutsch= German, Rechnen= maths, Français= French

Extract 8.24 (phase 4)

Naruto: ((moolt en X fir Däitsch op d'Skala)) wat mengs de?
Sarah: ((heh)) Däitsch?
Allen zwee: ((laachen))
(...)
Naruto: Ech hunn hei gär (.) **ech hu mega gär Fr- eh (.) Rechnen** (.) MEE et ass just och Däitsch ass weess de **do muss ee lesen an et ass Däitsch (.) dat hunn ech net gär**
Sarah: Dat hues de net gär? (:) Ass dat och sch:weier heiansdo oder?
Naruto: **Sachaufgaben**
(...)
Naruto: (...) **Ech versti bal näischt**
(...)
Naruto: **Wéinst dat sinn ech och am Appui**

Naruto: ((draws X for German on scale)) guess what?
Sarah: ((heh)) German?
Both: ((laugh))
(...)
Naruto: Here I like (.) **I really like Fr- eh (.) maths (.)** BUT it's just that it's also German you know **you have to read and it's German (.) I don't like that**
Sarah: You don't like that? (:) Is that also difficult sometimes or?
Naruto: **Word problems**
(...)
Naruto: (...) **I understand almost nothing**
(...)
Naruto: **Because of that I am also in the after-school support**

The use of German as the language of instruction adds a difficulty for Naruto in other academic subjects, as his ability to carry out exercises or answer questions in history is dependent on his comprehension of the instructions. This is difficult for him and he reports to frequently understand *bal näischt* [almost nothing]. In relation to his favourite subject; mathematics, he describes disliking the fact that he needs to use German and that *Sachaufgaben* [word problems] are difficult because of this. These difficulties have also been recognised by the teachers, who invited Naruto to attend bi-weekly German *Appui* [after-school support], which Naruto likes because *do maache mer net sou schwéier Saachen* [there we don't do such difficult things] and these activities may be more appropriate for his proficiency level. Indeed, Naruto prefers Appui to regular German classes:

Extract 8.25 (phase 4)

Naruto: (...) wann ass et **mat der Klass oder éischer hate mer Gruppe gemaach ech hu guer net gär well (.) ech hat ëmmer vill Feeler an dann déi aner hu gelaacht**
Sarah: Wann s de geschwat hues oder sou?
Naruto: Jo oder oder mir misste sou Froe beäntwerten an dann (.) and **da seet ëmmer Schoulmeeschter jo dat ass keen Däitsch**

Naruto: (...) when it's **with the class or before we did ability groups I didn't like at all because (.) I always had many mistakes and then the others laughed**
Sarah: When you were speaking or so?
Naruto: Yes or or we had to answer like questions and then (.) **and then the teacher always says yes that's not German**

Naruto strongly dislikes the regular German lessons with his class or in ability groups, where he feels that he was making many mistakes. In these situations, classmates would laugh at him or the teacher would openly criticise his contributions, thus creating a negative lived experience involving public loss of face, ridicule and shame. Such experiences can have long-lasting negative ramifications such as low class participation, and Busch (2017, p.353) states that “an accumulation of situations of shame can

become concentrated into particular dispositions, such as feelings of inferiority or shyness”. This evidences the negative impact that language education policies can have on the lives of young people.

Naruto explained that, similar to him, his older brother also struggled with German in primary school and equally repeated second grade:

Extract 8.26 (phase 4)

Naruto: **Hien huet guer net gär- souguer elo weess e bal näischt op Däitsch**
Sarah: Wierklech?
Naruto: An an ech froen ëmmer “kanns de mer hëllef” an **hie kuckt (.) “bon ech weess net”**
Sarah: An deng Elteren kënnen si der hëllef
Naruto: ((otemt séier an)) nee **guer keen**
Sarah: Nee? Wéi ass dat da wann s de doheem deng Hausaufgabe méchs (.) méchs de déi eleng oder?
Naruto: **Ech froe puer mol op Snapchat** (.) op Georges oder Riyad

Naruto: **He doesn’t like at all- even now he knows almost nothing in German**
Sarah: Really?
Naruto: And and I always ask “can you help me” and **he looks (.) “well I don’t know”**
Sarah: And you parents can they help
Naruto: ((sharp inhale)) no no one
Sarah: No? How is it then when you do your homework at home (.) do you do this by yourself or?
Naruto: **Sometimes I ask on Snapchat** (.) Georges or Riyad

This extract reveals that Naruto shares the grade repetition as an element in his academic trajectory with his older brother who, in his early twenties, still has low German proficiency and a strong negative attitude towards it. These factors in his wider familial environment may also contribute to Naruto’s overall negative attitude towards German. In addition, because no family member is able to help Naruto with his homework or studying for tests, he describes his friends and mobile communication technologies as sources of extracurricular academic support. Naruto turns to his friends for support via Snapchat; a smartphone app that allows text messaging, as well as audio and video calls. His friends help him with German, history, geography and science; all subjects where German plays a key role.

Naruto’s lived experience of language with German is a central element in how he sees his wider linguistic repertoire:

Extract 8.27 (phase 4)

Sarah: (...) Géings du soen dass du méisproocheg bass dass du vill Sprooche schwätzt?
Naruto: Mh ((réselt de Kapp))
Sarah: Nee? Firwat net?
Naruto: Well (:)
(...)
Sarah: Dat heescht wéi géings du soen du schwätzt dann net sou vill Sproochen oder?
Naruto: Nee
Sarah: Nee?
Naruto: ‘t ass ((zéckt)) eh Portugis (.) Lëtzebuergesch (:)
Dä- **bëssen**

Sarah: (...) Would you say that you are multilingual that you speak many languages?
Naruto: Mh ((shakes head))
Sarah: No? Why not?
Naruto: Because (:)
(...)
Sarah: That means how would you say you don’t speak that many languages then or?
Naruto: No
Sarah: No?
Naruto: It is ((hesitates)) uh Portuguese (.) Luxembourgish (:)
Ger- **a bit of**

Däitsch mee guer net vill a
Franséisch
Sarah: Mhm
Naruto: **Net sou vill**

German but not much at all and
French
Sarah: Mhm
Naruto: **Not so many**

Naruto appears to have internalised the idea that his language skills are not valuable enough to qualify him as a multilingual speaker, as he describes his linguistic resources as *net sou vill* [not so many] and perceives himself as speaking *bëssen Däitsch mee guer net vill* [a bit of German but not much at all]; downplaying his proficiency in a language he has been studying at school for six years. This misrecognition has likely been framed by his negative educational experience and label of a student who has repeated a year because of their low academic performance in German. Similar deficit views emerged when Naruto discussed his expectations for secondary school, where he argued that *villäicht ginn ech Technique Classique sécher net (...) wéinst Däitsch (...) fir Classique ze sinn (.) muss een (.) alles gutt* [maybe I'll go to Technique Classique surely not (...) because of German (...) to be Classique (.) you have to have (.) everything good]. Similar to Lurdes, Naruto identifies German as a factor that will be influencing the decision on which secondary school he will be able to attend.

To summarise, Naruto's narratives highlighted a disconnection in relation to German between his own linguistic repertoire, that of the school and his family, and societal language practices that he witnesses. The situation is different for French as his attitudes, practices, and perceptions on the micro, meso and macro levels align. Indeed, German is a language Naruto has no application for outside of school but that constitutes an obstacle to his academic trajectory and as a result, Naruto seems to have internalised the negative lived experiences with German.

8.3 Concluding discussion

Participants' attitudes and lived experience of language with German and French as school languages were complex, and their narratives included various interconnected elements. One such element; affective orientation, was a key theme in most participants' accounts. The case study approach in this chapter enabled the analysis to provide a rich insight into the wide spectrum of participants' lived experiences of language in the Luxembourgish education system, and some were vocal in expressing their feelings of dislike, distance, discomfort, but also closeness and liking in relation to the school languages. Generally, it can be said that among the cohort of young people who participated in this research, there was a tendency towards more negative affective orientations towards German and more positive ones towards French (see also Chapters 5 and 7). However, this does not endorse the existence of two homogeneous groups of students with a certain linguistic background favouring German and another group of students with a different linguistic background favouring French, and as such attitudes and experiences are highly complex and individual.

Another important element in participants' lived experiences was the level of difficulty they faced with the school languages. Most participants expressed some degree of difficulty with one or both school languages, and students who faced difficulties with German experienced these in other academic subjects as well, where it functions as the medium of instruction. Sibylline illustrates an unusual case of a student who framed their difficulties with German as a positive challenge, when most participants experienced them in a negative way. This was not only linked to the discursive framing that Sibylline adopted, but likely also due to the lesser extent of her difficulties when compared to other students who experience more severe difficulties with German as a submersive experience and important obstacle to their educational trajectory. These students reported on low academic test grades, negative lived experience of taking tests when the linguistic comprehension level is low and no support allowed, and even an instance of grade repetition as a result of low academic performance in German.

In most cases, participants' discussions of the level of difficulty in a school language were also linked to self-evaluations of their linguistic proficiency, as they discussed the latter in various competence areas. Some participants extensively referred to orthographical correctness in writing and pointed out the high number of writing mistakes they made. This highlights the effects of grammar-focused pedagogies in relation to German and French teaching that also emphasise written over spoken language and place "concomitant emphasis on orthographic and grammatical correctness" that targets "conceptual-written perfection" (Weber and Horner 2010, p.248; Scheer 2017, p.92). This can influence the specific understanding of linguistic competence or proficiency that is transmitted to students as based on abstract ideals, and shows that institutionally imposed evaluations of linguistic resources can influence students' own understandings of their linguistic repertoires.

Some participants even expressed deficit views in relation to their linguistic proficiency in a particular language or their linguistic repertoire overall, and such negative self-evaluations and representations of linguistic resources were influenced by various factors. Some students appeared to have internalised negative feedback and experiences at school (e.g. public criticism from teachers, low test grades, placement in low ability group), and some compared their linguistic resources to idealised native speaker ideals or oriented towards standard language ideologies. In connection with negative self-evaluations and deficit views, many participants reproduced improvement discourses, proclaiming the perceived need to invest more in their learning in order to improve. Some students also discussed the initiatives they had taken to improve, and these varied. Common were, and this was highlighted in some of the case studies above, watching television and reading, which are often treated as remedies to improve language proficiency in Luxembourgish schools.

Another element that a few participants linked to levels of difficulty and self-evaluated proficiencies was the (in)ability to draw on already existing linguistic resources to support language learning at

school. In this light, participants' reported experiences of using Luxembourgish as a stepping stone in the development of German proficiency were already reviewed in 6.3. With the exception of narratives involving these two Germanic language varieties, all other reports on such linguistic support involved students' (Romance) home languages and French. An exposure to French at home prior to starting school was also presented as helpful for the learning of French. Lurdes, for example, perceived this as not only facilitating the learning of French, but also highlighted her positive affective orientation towards it. At the same time, students also described the absence of a school language in the home or the fact that they had never encountered it prior to starting school as contributing to the difficulties they were facing with that language. In the discussion of the perceived effects that home language environments and linguistic repertoires have on language learning, many students positioned themselves and others along national and linguistic lines and usually along a preference for/ease with German or French.

It emerged that part of the reported influence of the home language environment on language learning at school included students' access to support with homework. Although only a few case studies directly addressed this linguistic support at home through family members, this was discussed in many interviews. Structural inequalities were revealed in this light as participants had access to highly different levels of such support at home. Some reported that no family member had the linguistic resources to help with (German) homework (see also Weber 2009a, p.122), whereas others discussed actively practicing and studying with their parents or seeking help from older siblings. The case studies of Kylo Ren and Naruto specifically highlighted that in some families, German may have had a negative influence on the academic trajectory of family members spanning over generations.

Thus, this chapter has highlighted the lived experiences of language with German and French as school languages of students in an education system that is built on a rigid trilingual language regime. Busch (2012, p.8) highlights that each space that a speaker navigates

has its own language regime – its own set of rules, orders of discourse, and language ideologies – in which linguistic resources are assessed differently. If speakers participate in a space of communication, they position themselves in relation to the rules that apply therein, either by submitting to them willingly or reluctantly or by transgressing them.

By combining the notion of the lived experience of language (Busch 2017) with discursive approaches to language policy (Barakos and Unger 2016b), the analysis in this chapter was able to frame participants' experiences with and positionings towards various language education policies, discourses and ideologies that mark the educational space they navigate on a daily basis. Whereas Sibylline was bored in French lessons because the focus of the curriculum did not respond to her needs as a francophone student, Sandra reported boredom in German lessons and a feeling of being underchallenged. Jessica's learning trajectory with French was marked by difficulties, and several of

the above case studies featured students who experience different degrees of difficulties with German. In order to offer students the educational and linguistic support they need to ensure equitable access to education, language regimes, curricula, language education policies and teaching staff need to be flexible to adapt to their local environments. As the case studies above have shown, in an education system that enforces a one-size-fits-all language regime, different students will face difficulties and have negative experiences in different ways: some students may feel bored and underchallenged in class, while others struggle to the extent that very little learning can take place. Students who struggle with German are particularly disadvantaged, as these difficulties also have ramifications for other academic subjects. Some suggestions to incorporate more flexibility in the language regime to enhance students' learning will be discussed in the final conclusion in the following chapter.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This study has explored the lived experience of language and language education policy with a focus on primary school students in Luxembourg who are part of an education system that has been shown to contribute to the reproduction of social stratification by disadvantaging students from lower socioeconomic and/or language minoritised backgrounds (OECD 2006, SCRIPT and LUCET 2016, Davis 1994, Weber 2009a, Tavares 2018). An important obstacle for many students is the trilingual language regime (De Korne 2012; Weber 2008), because of which the education system is frequently applauded in national and international discourses. Thus, Luxembourg makes for a complex research site that this study explored through the experiences of young people who are navigating the education system. To this end, it adopted an ethnographic perspective, drew on a mosaic of qualitative, multimodal research methods and was guided by the following overarching research question:

What are primary school students' lived experiences with language and language education policies in Luxembourg, and how do they visually represent and discursively construct these?

Three sub-research questions further supported the study, and their focus and formulation was shaped throughout the research process and crystallised predominately during the thematic data analysis. These three questions were addressed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, and will guide the subsequent summary of empirical findings:

- * How do primary school students in Luxembourg visually represent and discursively construct their linguistic repertoires?
- * What are the lived experiences of language with Luxembourgish, French and German as school languages of primary school students in Luxembourg, how do they relate them to language education policies and the language situation in Luxembourg, and how are they visually represented and discursively constructed?
- * What language ideologies underpin the visual representations and discursive constructions of students' linguistic repertoires and lived experiences of language and language education policy?

The findings brought forward by this study are discussed in section 9.1 in relation to each sub-research question. Although this research has focused on the case study of Luxembourg, its findings are also more widely relevant as classrooms around the globe are diversifying under processes of globalisation with language curricula, language education policies and teaching practices not necessarily being

adapted. In this light, section 9.2 addresses the implications of the findings of this study for Luxembourg and other sites beyond this context in relation to language awareness and the valuing of language diversity in schools, as well as appropriate language teaching pedagogies, language of instruction policies and language regimes. This discussion will be particularly important for policy makers, teachers and educators. Section 9.3 outlines the theoretical and methodological implications of this study. Methodologically, this section discusses contributions to creative visual and multimodal methods, and it addresses the theoretical significance of combining an expanded conceptual framework based on the lived experience of language with discursive approaches to language policy. This has implications for sociolinguistic and educational linguistic scholarship in the fields of language (education) policy and biographical approaches in multilingualism research, but is also relevant for research on language and education in cognate fields such as sociology or anthropology. The limitations of this study and directions for future research are considered in 9.4.

9.1 Discussion of findings

In Luxembourg, the majority of students have a transnational and/or language minoritised background and go through an education system that favours, as many national education systems do, students from an upper- or middle-class background (Bourdieu 1991; Davis 1994), and which is marked by a rigid trilingual language regime designed primarily for students with a monolingual Luxembourgish background (De Korne 2012, p.484). Students' linguistic resources outside of the official language regime are generally not taken into account at school and remain invisible or ignored (Hélot 2007; Weber 2009a). In this light, one aim of this study was to explore students' linguistic backgrounds through a biographical approach to foreground their linguistic repertoires and biographies:

- * How do primary school students in Luxembourg visually represent and discursively construct their linguistic repertoires?

This study used the language portrait method to explore participants' understandings of their linguistic repertoire, which is inextricably linked to the lived experience of language (Busch 2017). As such, the language portrait data focused on in Chapter 5 provided not only a first insight into participants' diverse linguistic backgrounds, but also created an important backdrop for contextualising the lived experience of language as it was discussed in subsequent chapters. The overarching finding that emerged in the exploration of participants' visual and discursive constructions was the important role that the lived experience of language plays in participants' understandings of their linguistic repertoires and the processes in which they represented the latter. This was explored with a specific analytical focus on visual silence (5.2) and language desire (5.3); two notions that were found to be closely connected to participants' imagined identity in many cases.

Indeed, participants strongly oriented to the lived experience of language which was connected to language attitudes, language desire, the notions of “home” and “school” as different spaces, family heritage and nationality/citizenship. These elements were central in many participants’ decisions to use the pictorial affordances of the portrait to visually represent how they felt towards individual linguistic resources in their repertoire. This led to some peripheral representations, and some linguistic resources were excluded altogether for these reasons. Such omissions were conceptualised as visual silence, and highlight the importance of including elements that are absent in the analysis of language portraits.

Participants also drew on the visual dimension of the language portrait to represent languages they wanted to learn and know, and these elements were frequently bound up with language desire, which had a strong presence in the entire data set. Participants oriented towards both symbolic (e.g. friendship, curiosity about unfamiliar language) and instrumental resources (e.g. advantages on job market) when discussing their language desire, and these two dimensions were sometimes closely intertwined. Although English was the most frequently named object of language desire and constructed as a global lingua franca, many participants also expressed a desire to learn the home languages of their friends, which do not necessarily carry the same symbolic or instrumental capital as English. This also shows an overall openness towards languages among participants.

The findings also highlighted the close connection between language desire and imagined identity. Chloe’s example (5.3.2) illustrated most clearly how the creation of a language portrait can align with and represent one’s imagined identity, as her silhouette was distinctly underpinned by a sense of futurity and depicted the linguistic resources she desired to have as a speaker in the future. Although only explicitly commented on by Chloe and Lucy (extract 5.15), the ability to choose a language of desire by one’s own free will may be another important factor in the connection between desire and imagined identity. Indeed, reports of perceived involuntary learning and using of Luxembourgish and German (7.3, Chapter 8) suggest that these circumstances may negatively affect participants’ lived experience of language, their linguistic repertoire and sense of self.

In addition, the analysis revealed that the majority of participants constructed German and French as part of their linguistic repertoire as an important resource or capital. Other languages such as Luxembourgish or other home languages were not explicitly presented in this light. Participants explained the importance of learning German and French at school by stressing their instrumental value (e.g. for international traveling, on the job market in Luxembourg). A certain symbolic dimension was also implicitly present when participants argued that in imagined encounters with foreigners, in Luxembourg or abroad, the responsibility of linguistically adapting to their interlocutor was on them. This linguistic capital and adapting was positioned as typical for speakers from Luxembourg and something that is not expected from other nationals, and such narratives oriented to dominant discourses

in Luxembourg that value the trilingual ideal and construct it as an important marker of national identity (Horner 2011). The ideological implications of these perspectives will be addressed in more detail in relation to the third sub-research question below.

The findings of this study also highlight the strong influence of native speaker ideals and standard language ideologies, which are connected to prescriptivism with a focus on orthographic and grammatical correctness in writing, on participants' discursive constructions of their linguistic resources (Chapter 8). Many participants shared various degrees of negative, sometimes even deficient, self-evaluations of their linguistic skills in relation to German and French as school languages. These evaluations corresponded to competence areas that are assessed at school, emphasise writing, and reflect the language teaching pedagogies implemented in Luxembourgish schools (Weber and Horner 2010, p.248; Scheer 2017, p.92). Many participants also engaged in improvement discourses; expressing their intentions or efforts to improve their linguistic proficiencies. This highlights how ideological underpinnings of language education policies and academic discourses that shape what is perceived to be good and correct language can influence how students perceive their linguistic repertoires. Such negative views can also affect students' wider sense of self; for instance, Naruto (8.2.8) and Lurdes (8.2.7) evaluated themselves to be overall not good enough students to attend a "good" secondary school (i.e. *lycée classique*).

Finally, this study has brought forward findings in relation to participants' metalinguistic perspectives and perceived connections between their linguistic repertoires and language learning at school. A large number of participants described Luxembourgish and German as linguistically very similar (6.3), which may be surprising given that this relationship can be a contested issue in Luxembourg (see 3.3.3). Many participants argued that their proficiency in Luxembourgish was a source of support in the learning of German. In a similar light, some participants described being able to draw on their knowledge of Romance home languages to help them with French. Whereas some participants were able to construct positive connections between elements from their linguistic repertoire to support their language learning at school, a few participants reported to experience the linguistic similarity between Luxembourgish and German as an obstacle to their learning and use of German, and described being unable to adhere to the socially constructed linguistic boundaries between these two Germanic language varieties.

The experience of building on already existing linguistic resources in their language learning at school was one element that emerged to be important in participants' lived experience of language at school, and this was the focus of the second sub-research question:

- * What are the lived experiences of language with Luxembourgish, French and German as school languages of primary school students in Luxembourg, how do they relate

them to language education policies and the language situation in Luxembourg, and how are they visually represented and discursively constructed?

In a first instance, the findings of this study suggest that Luxembourgish enjoys a vital status among the community of young people who participated in this study (see also Redinger 2010). Luxembourgish was the language that was included in most language portraits and serves an important instrumental function as a common denominator among participants who have diverse linguacultural backgrounds. Many participants expressed positive affective orientations towards it. Whereas these functions and uses of Luxembourgish were framed as inclusionary (6.1), Luxembourgish was also found to have exclusionary functions. These were explored in relation to participants' recollections of being subject to Luxembourgish-only policies and their policing in educational spaces (6.2). Most participants who discussed this expressed negative lived experiences with such policies, feeling obligated to use Luxembourgish in an artificially enforced monolingual environment in which children were not allowed to draw on other linguistic resources.

The analysis highlighted that although some participants resisted these policies and their policing, others agreed with them; constructing the policing of Luxembourgish-only policies among young people as fulfilling social and inclusionary purposes, or highlighting pedagogical purposes as they believed that this enables students to better learn Luxembourgish. Many also articulated attitudes that were underpinned by essentialist, territorial ideologies that construct Luxembourgish as being the most important language in Luxembourg, thus justifying its prioritisation over other languages through such policies. Even participants who disagreed with language policing, did not question or resist this discourse. The example of peer language policing (extract 6.8) highlighted the tensions that can exist in relation to such language policing: minutes before Neymar articulated his disapproval of the language policing by educators in the after-school club, he had been ordering his friend Riyadh to stop speaking Arabic because he thought the use of their shared home language in this space was "weird". How the negative lived experience of language policing can impact on the linguistic repertoire and sense of self was demonstrated by Schneetiger, who excluded Luxembourgish and his home language French from his language portrait because of negative lived experiences (5.2.4).

Several findings can be brought forward in relation to participants' lived experience of language with French, towards which the majority of participants expressed an overall positive attitude. Whereas some used it as their main home language, it was also present as an additional home language for the majority of lusophone students (see also Weber 2009a). The analysis of participants' perspectives on the micro level revealed a wide spectrum of different kinds of lived experience of language. Whereas one participant provided an insight into experiences of boredom and feeling unchallenged in French lessons, others reported various degrees of difficulties with French, which was frequently also connected to a

low affective orientation towards it. Participants who expressed a negative lived experience of language with French at school, referring to a low affective value and/or experienced difficulties, nonetheless supported the importance of learning French because of its perceived instrumental value in Luxembourg and beyond. Indeed, the majority of participants described French as a language that is widely used and important in Luxembourg; a status that was discursively connected to and justified its presence in the language regime.

In relation to German, the majority of participants expressed negative attitudes towards it that are connected to negative lived experiences of language at school, but also a perceived disparity between its symbolic and instrumental value in the educational language regime (meso level), the wider language situation (macro), and many students' language practices outside of school (micro) (see also Weber 2009a, pp.122–127). Many participants acknowledged that the instrumental value of German outside the classroom was inferior to that of French, and those who argued for the importance of learning German referred to, for instance, the geographical proximity of Germany or the fact that it facilitates travelling to justify its presence in the language regime. A few students explicitly critiqued the disparity between the important role of German in education, where it causes educational difficulties for many of them, and its relative absence from societal life outside of school and drew on this to resist the role of German in education. Participants' lived experiences of language with German also existed on a continuum; indeed, a small number of students reported having no major difficulties with German at school and a few even described positive attitudes towards it. However, many students described a lived experience of language with German that was marked by difficulties that led to low comprehension levels and bad test grades, negative affective orientations, low self-esteem and negative perceptions of self as a learner. Although it is not a novel discovery that many students (especially with a Romance language background) struggle with German at school (see e.g. Weber 2009a), the present study has contributed important insights into the lived experience of this. This is particularly important because it illustrates the human dimension and individual life stories behind statistics that have been documenting the wide-reaching negative effects of the current role of German in the Luxembourgish education system for a large number of students.

The final part of this section addresses the third sub-research question:

- * What language ideologies underpin the visual representations and discursive constructions of students' linguistic repertoires and lived experiences of language and language education policy?

This study has taken a language ideological approach that uncovers the ideologies and wider social discourses that underpin language education policies in Luxembourg. It also highlights how these

influence the experiences and perspectives of young people, or how young people resist them by positioning themselves against them. As such, the analysis revealed that participants strongly oriented towards nominal views of language, the one nation, one language ideology and elements of banal nationalism such as the reliance on the iconicity of national flags to visually represent languages. The prevalence of such views may not be surprising, as despite frequent code-switching or translanguaging by teachers and students in class (Davis 1994, Redinger 2010, Muller 2016), languages are officially taught and tested in a separate manner, supporting conceptualisations of named languages as naturally discrete entities. Similar essentialist ideologies and their visual presence in creative artefacts were found by Prasad (2014) and Ibrahim (2019). Prasad suggests that the presence of multiple national flags in language portraits can be seen as subversions of monolingual and essentialist ideologies such as the one nation, one language ideology as the silhouettes represent diverse cultures and languages with “no contradiction in claiming multiple nations as part of one’s cultural and linguistic identity” (2014, p.68; Prasad 2015, p.73). In a similar light, Ibrahim (2019, p.47) argues that rather than interpreting multiple representations that reflect monolingual and essentialist ideologies as deconstructing these ideologies, this can be conceptualised from a multiple monolingual perspective, which the present study supports.

Essentialist discourses also emerged in discursive positionings of other people in relation to their linguistic and/or national background. As such, participants frequently referred to *Fransousen* [French nationals/speakers] in relation to resident foreigners and cross-border commuters, labelling this heterogeneous group of speakers on the basis of their common use of French as a lingua franca. Similarly, Lurdes’ construction of a binary distinction between *Lëtzebuergesch* [Luxembourgish] and *Franséisch* [French] students (extract 6.14), or Sandra’s reference to *Portugisen* [Portuguese nationals/speakers] (extract 8.4), essentialise and reduce potentially complex linguacultural backgrounds to monolingual or mononational labels for the sake of the argument being put forward. This ideological process is known as erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000). In both of these examples, participants referred to other students by one language/nationality/citizenship that characterised them in order to make a point about students’ difficulties with language learning. As such, Lurdes argued that students with a Luxembourgish background only have to learn French at school because the learning of German is believed to be implicit based on its linguistic similarity to Luxembourgish, whereas students with a francophone background have to learn Luxembourgish and German. Similarly, Sandra argued that lusophone students struggle with German at school *because* they speak Portuguese.

In their narratives, participants oriented towards the inward- and outward-looking models of national identity, which underpin dominant social discourses in Luxembourg. These models value Luxembourgish only (inward-looking) or the trilingual ideal (outward-looking) (see Spizzo 1995; Horner 2007), and may function as two sides of the same coin. However, Horner and Weber (2010) have highlighted that the inward-looking model is gaining increasing traction in Luxembourg with more

emphasis being put on the importance of Luxembourgish only as the national language and language of integration. The co-existence of these ideologies has been studied in relation to several domains in Luxembourg as the importance of the trilingual ideal is usually foregrounded in debates on education, whereas in debates on citizenship, monolingual, inward-looking discourses that focus on Luxembourgish prevail (see 3.1.2). A similar pattern emerged in the present study: many participants oriented towards monolingual Luxembourgish ideologies in justifying the exclusionary function of monolingual policies and policing in educational spaces for the sake of integration and to protect Luxembourgish as the most important language in Luxembourg. This can create situations of misrecognition, based on which students come to perceive the use of other languages in educational spaces as not appropriate. However, participants also drew on the trilingual language ideology to stress that their mastery of German and French is essential capital that serves not only instrumental purposes, but also carries symbolic value as the Luxembourgish trilingual ideal is understood to be an important marker of national identity (Horner 2011). These narratives also justified the status quo of the educational language regime, in some instances despite an acknowledged disparity between the role of German in education and its wider societal role, or individual negative lived experiences at school.

The ideological influences in participants' narratives appear all the more prominent when focusing on the one participant who articulated a negative attitude towards Luxembourgish and in particular its orthography (6.1.2), and questioned the emphasis being put on language learning in Luxembourgish schools (7.1.2). Albert Einstein arrived as a newcomer half-way through primary school and did not grow up with the dominant discourses and language ideological debates that circulate in Luxembourg and underpin the education system. As an initial outsider, Albert Einstein did not readily accept the language regime and its ideological foundations but was rather critical towards them. Thus, the analysis has highlighted how dominant discourses and ideologies can influence young people and may co-exist in their narratives.

9.2 Implications of findings

After having discussed the findings of this study in response to the three sub-research questions, this section addresses the implications of the empirical findings for Luxembourg as well as other contexts. Indeed, the implications apply to a wide range of sites and may be particularly relevant for policy makers, educators and teachers.

The findings of this study have foregrounded the importance of the emotional dimension of language, especially in relation to language learning alongside its cognitive and instrumental dimensions. This has implications in three respects. Firstly, it is essential for policy makers, as well as teachers and educators on the ground, to take into account the affective dimension of language and language learning

as well as the “importance for children to feel a sense of linguistic security in their language learning” (Prasad 2015, p.142). These are key aspects in students’ lived experience of language, and can influence how they understand their linguistic repertoire and sense of self (Busch 2017), as well as their investment in the (language) learning process. In this light, Norton (2013, p.17) highlights that positive emotional experiences with language and language learning contribute to investment in the learning process and, by extension, negative views or deficit discourses that position students, their linguistic resources or academic proficiency in a negative light can lead to an internalisation of such views (Shapiro 2014), with wider negative ramifications for their subsequent academic trajectories. As such, this study aligns with calls that the affective dimension of language should be given greater attention in language learning, teaching, and respective research (Prasad 2015; Kramersch 2009; Busch 2017).

Secondly, in foregrounding the affective dimension and lived experience of language, this study found that participants demonstrated an overall openness towards languages and language learning. This has also been found by Kirsch (2018a) in Luxembourgish Early Years educational settings, and should be fostered and capitalised on in education systems. For instance, the many positive attitudes articulated towards Portuguese in this study, with some participants even expressing a language desire for it, constitute a positive countertrend to the more frequent position that Portuguese is given “at the bottom of the language hierarchy in Luxembourg” (Tavares 2020, p.227). Thus, positively engaging with both societal and linguistic diversity can provide important counterweight to discourses and ideologies that represent societal multilingualism as a problem (Horner 2011), invisibilise minority languages and place them at the bottom of language hierarchies.

Hélot and Young (2002, p.109) have described the success of a language awareness programme in Alsace that gave “some dignity to [students’] home languages and some value to their bilingualism”, and equally fostered “curiosity and motivation to learn about the wealth of languages and cultures present in the world”. They suggest that language awareness programmes could offer an important complement to language learning at school (see also Hélot *et al.* 2018). Indeed, fostering students’ language awareness, cultivating their openness towards linguistic diversity and celebrating the latter should go hand in hand with valuing the entirety of students’ linguistic repertoires. In a similar light, Dewilde *et al.* (2018, p.485) have critically engaged with problematic aspects of international weeks in schools that may contribute to “reinforcing linguistic and cultural borders”, but have also explored their potential for the celebration of linguacultural diversity in attempts to alter “traditional hierarchies and power relations”. The importance of adopting explicitly positive views of bilingual learners and their entire linguistic repertoires has been stressed by May (2014, p.24), who argues that this is an important basis for “long-term education success”. In addition, creating greater awareness of students’ linguistic repertoires can contribute to the creation of more inclusive classroom participation frameworks in which flexible multilingual language practices are strategically incorporated (De Korne 2012; Kirsch 2017).

Thirdly, in relation to the language desires that many participants expressed, and especially in relation to Portuguese, it should be noted that the mainstream provision for language teaching is limited to (Luxembourgish), German, French and English in the mainstream education system in Luxembourg. There is no general offer for language teaching of widely spoken minority languages in primary or lower streams of secondary school, and only certain European languages (Portuguese, Spanish and Italian) are offered in a specialised “languages stream” in the upper levels of the *lycée classique*, which is not accessible to all students. Thus, institutionalised language hierarchies in the educational language regime are limiting the ability of young people to invest in the learning of desired languages, and simultaneously reproduce language hierarchies. A more flexible offer for such language teaching would allow students to invest in the learning of languages they desire, that align with their imagined identities and that offer the instrumental capital they may require for future trajectories.

The discussion now turns to engage with implications in relation to monolingual language policies and policing which are prevalent in many educational contexts. In this study, the occurrence of these was limited to reported policing that targeted students’ use of languages other than Luxembourgish to create Luxembourgish monolingual environments. Research in other areas has also investigated the policing of non-standard varieties of the majority language (see e.g. Cushing 2019). The discursive approach to language policy taken in this study adds to our understanding of the lived experience of language of students who have been subject to such policies that infringe on and restrict their language practices, often under ostensible “inclusive” pedagogical or social pretexts that claim to support social cohesion and integration (Weber and Horner 2010; Flores 2016). Underpinned by a dogma of homogeneity (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), these policies often serve assimilationist purposes and reproduce nationalist ideologies in their attempts to create uniform language usage among students. Lived experiences with such policing may become embodied in the linguistic repertoire in connection to an internalisation of such language hierarchies and, as a result, students themselves may come to view their own linguistic resources and language practices as illegitimate or inappropriate. In line with previous arguments about valuing students’ entire linguistic repertoires, students should be allowed to use these in educational spaces.

The findings of this research also have implications for educational language regimes as well as medium of instruction policies and teaching pedagogies not only in Luxembourg, but all contexts in which students are educated in a language that is not a main home language or in which they have no proficiency prior to starting school. In relation to German teaching in Luxembourgish primary schools, the current “second mother tongue” approach is no longer suitable as it is, in fact, a foreign language for many students in whose lives outside of school it is virtually absent. Tollefson and Tsui (2003, p.17) highlight the negative effects of such situations by stressing that

the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction for children who are still struggling with basic expression in that language hampers not only their academic achievement and cognitive growth, but also their self-perception, self-esteem, emotional security, and their ability to participate meaningfully in the educational process.

The majority of students in Luxembourg start primary school with no notion of German, yet are expected to develop literacy skills through this language and use it as the medium of instruction. In this light, this study has provided a detailed insight into the lived experience of language of students who struggle with German at school and deal with (sometimes severe) educational difficulties spanning across the entire curriculum. For many students, German is not the most appropriate language for content teaching or testing, and despite the small number of participants in this study, these findings are significant as they provide insights into an issue that statistics have shown affects a much larger number of students (see 1.2, 3.2.4).

This invites a discussion about more appropriate and more flexible pedagogies and policies that encourage students to engage their entire linguistic repertoire for learning with strategic pedagogical guidance. The data analysis in this study demonstrated how some students reported to independently draw on already existing linguistic resources (Luxembourgish or a Romance language) to support their learning of a school language (German or French). In relation to the close linguistic similarity of Luxembourgish and German, however, a few participants reported on difficulties in using these languages according to their socially constructed linguistic boundaries. Both of these scenarios, positive and negative, highlight the need for appropriate pedagogic approaches to language teaching. On one hand, this suggests that the introduction of biliteracy (Hornberger 2003) or translanguaging pedagogies (García, Bartlett and Kleifgen 2008) that strategically incorporate students' home languages in the classroom could be successful in Luxembourg. These are but two approaches that have been brought forward among a wider field of scholarship that has been gaining traction over recent years, and which advocates for the need of language of instruction policies and teaching pedagogies to adapt to the needs and linguistic repertoires of student populations and teach through the "prism" of their multilingualism (Prasad 2015). Such research also importantly advocates for the recognition and incorporation of all students' linguistic resources with a specific focus on language minoritised students.

On the other hand, scholars in the Luxembourgish context have also been engaging with the affordances of more flexible policies and pedagogies, and Weber (2009a; 2014) has been an ardent advocate for the addition of a French-medium track at primary school and/or the introduction of biliteracy programmes that strategically target the establishment of literacy bridges between students' home languages and the medium of instruction. Indeed, the more systematic use of French as a language of instruction would be particularly important given the discrepancy that currently exists between the teaching of French through a foreign language pedagogy when, in fact, it plays an important role in the lives of many students. Recently opened state-funded schools operating on the European school programme, with

some offering French-medium instruction, have seen a high enrolment demand which indicates the need for more flexibility in the choice regarding the medium of instruction.

Having reviewed problems with, and suggestions for, language of instruction policies including some language teaching pedagogies, the discussion now addresses specifically the disparity that exists between the educational language regime and the wider language situation in Luxembourg with a focus on German and English. Several scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the use of German in everyday life in Luxembourg is “quite restricted”, whereas English has become an increasingly important language on the job market (Weber 2009a, p.91; Tavares 2020). Yet, German plays a key role in the education system, especially at primary school level, and it is a major obstacle in the educational trajectories of many students who do not use it outside of school. In this fashion, German functions as a “gate keeping tool” that contributes to the reproduction of social stratification (Tavares 2020, p.228). Meanwhile, English remains “a luxury item that is not available to all students” as access to English in lower tracks of secondary school is quite rudimentary (Horner and Bellamy 2018, p.177; Weber 2014, pp.151–159). Thus, the teaching of English is structured and distributed unequally, and desire for (more) English language teaching has not only been documented among primary school students in this study, but also among young adults in Luxembourg (Horner and Bellamy 2018). Thus, the maintenance of the language education policy status quo in relation to the roles of German and English in education can be described as two mechanisms of decapitalisation (Martín Rojo 2015).

Such disparities between language regime and wider language situation, and also the negative effects of this, have been documented in other contexts. Phyak and Bui (2014, p.112) illustrate how Vietnamese students were critical towards learning English at school; highlighting the disparity between the teaching pedagogies and practical applicability in relation to the mountainous areas in which students lived. Instead, these young people highlighted the importance and utility of learning Vietnamese, which their daily lives require, and were critical of the fact that their native languages had no place in the curriculum. In a different light, the example of Catalonia illustrates a context where newly arrived immigrant students are educated in Catalan which is constructed to be a “fully functional public language while large sectors of the local population still treat it as a minority language not adequate to be spoken to strangers” (Pujolar 2010, p.230). In addition, the majority of these students live in areas where Spanish is mostly used in everyday life (Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera 2013; Corona, Nussbaum and Unamuno 2013), and immigrated students with a dominant Spanish-language background find that these linguistic resources have “little value for a successful academic trajectory in the Catalan education system, often contrary to their expectations” (Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014, p.52). Thus, students have to navigate the disparities and resulting tensions between the language regimes at school, in society, and their communities. These are but two examples from other geo-political contexts that, together with the findings of the present study, highlight that young people’s

voices should be taken into account in policy making, and that disparities between language regimes at school and outside of school create tensions that students need to navigate. Instead, language regimes should provide students with flexible and high-quality teaching in the languages that provide them with the necessary capital that they require for their future trajectories.

9.3 Theoretical and methodological contributions

Several theoretical and methodological implications emanate from this study that are relevant for scholarship in sociolinguistics, educational linguistics and second language acquisition, and in particular in relation to language (education) policy and biographical approaches to multilingualism. They may equally be of interest to research focused on multilingualism and education in cognate fields such as sociology or anthropology. This section first discusses theoretical contributions, before outlining methodological implications of this study.

With the most recent wave of language policy research, there has been an increased interest in studying language policy from a critical, discursive approach (Barakos and Unger 2016a). The present study contributes to this body of research and highlights the importance of such approaches in capturing how individuals engage with policies. Adopting a discursive approach to language policy conceptualises “language policy as a social and discursive process [that] brings macro-structures of policy into dialogue with the agents involved in implementing policy in practice” (Barakos 2016, p.43). This created space in the data generation and analysis to explore and frame the support, negotiation and resistance that some participants expressed towards language education policies and the language regime.

Of particular importance is also the theoretical innovation of combining discursive approaches to language policy with the lived experience of language (Busch 2017). This not only opens up a space for studying language policy as experience (Shohamy 2009), but also provides insights into how language (education) policies and the ideologies that underpin them influence students’ linguistic repertoires by being closely intertwined with the lived experience of language. This study has not only explored the influence that language education policies and ideologies can exert on young people, but also how the latter critically engage with the former. Indeed, this study demonstrated how young people may orient towards, reproduce, but also critically engage with language ideologies that are dominant in their educational environment, often through the form of language education policies.

This study also contributes to scholarship adopting biographical approaches to multilingualism that foreground the lived experience and affective dimension of language and language learning (e.g. Prasad 2015; Purkharthofer 2018), by providing insights into how primary school students understand, represent

and construct their linguistic repertoires. This study has shown that although participants orient to both the instrumental and symbolic dimensions of language when visually representing and discussing their linguistic repertoire, sharing lived experience of language, or commenting on perspectives on language education policy; language is first and foremost experienced emotionally (Kramsch 2009). In relation to the linguistic repertoire more specifically, the analysis of language portrait data has illustrated how the repertoire points backward and forward (Busch 2017), as participants shared past experiences with language as well as desires and imagined identities that were marked by a sense of futurity (Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen 2014).

The analysis of the lived experience of language in this study was supported by an expanded conceptual framework that combined the former with the notions of language desire (Kramsch 2009), imagined identity (Pavlenko and Norton 2007; Norton 2013) and investment (Darvin and Norton 2015) that are more traditionally associated with SLA research. In fact, adopting the theoretical model of investment (including ideology, identity and capital) as a theoretical lens through which to study desire and imagined identities allowed for an analysis that connected the individual speaker to their wider socio-political context. Adding an interactional language attitudinal approach (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2017) as part of the wider conceptual framework also enabled a multi-level analysis of language attitudes, which are a part of the lived experience of language (Busch 2017). Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain’s (2017) original three-level analysis was adapted to the multimodal data set generated in this study by adding a visual level to account for the multimodality involved in participants’ expression of language attitudes.

The methodological implications of this study emanate mostly from its use of creative, multimodal methods and may also contribute to arts-informed research. In a first instance, this study contributes to a fast growing body of research that uses the language portrait (see e.g. Botsis and Bradbury 2018; Prasad 2015; Obojska and Purkarthofer 2018; Dressler 2014; Kusters and De Meulder 2019; Fashanu, Wood and Payne 2020). This study used the language portrait in an educational setting to explore the lived experience of language, and expanded its scope by also focusing on the lived experience of language education policy. The focus on visual silence (Jaworski 1997) and absent languages in the language portrait also constitutes an innovation that provides rich insights by foregrounding the importance of various elements in the affective dimension and lived experience of language towards which speakers may orient their understandings of their linguistic repertoires.

The use of the language portrait with this cohort of young people showcases the affordances of this method as an empowering and self-validating tool that allows participants to represent their linguistic repertoire in line with their imagined identity and desires, while resisting and challenging negatively perceived policies or other restrictions in the process (Busch 2018, p.6). Thus, the language portraits

created a space for participants to reflect on, visually represent, and discursively construct their linguistic repertoire in alignment with their past lived experience of language, as well as language desire and imagined identity for the future. However, a more critical contribution to language portrait research is that this method does not, by default, encourage the deconstruction of languages and can, in fact, reinforce nominal views of language and other essentialist ideologies such as the one nation, one language ideology (see also Panagiotopoulou and Rosen 2016). As a result of frequent uses of the language portrait in this way, this study contributes to language ideological research by analysing how young people reproduced language ideologies through the language portrait, as well as at other points during the generation of data.

The creative, multimodal methods employed in this study included, beyond the language portrait, note/scrapbooks and the use of Likert scales and emojis as prompts for discussion. The generated data and findings highlight their affordances on several levels. In a first instance, a multimodal mosaic of research methods (Clark and Moss 2011) allows participants to play to their strengths by expressing themselves in ways they feel most comfortable in and opens up a wide range of avenues for expression, which aligns with a participant-centred approach (Punch 2002). In addition, young people are generally an under-researched demographic (Staksrud 2015), and one that research is usually done on or about, but not often with. Thus, adopting a multimodal, arts-informed research design can provide flexible spaces for participants to discuss their perspectives.

The incorporation of emojis was immensely popular with the majority of participants and provided helpful prompts and reference points during discussion (see also Salo and Dufva 2018), not only because emojis featured extensively in their daily lives (e.g. as part of text messaging, but also physical accessories on backpacks etc.), but also precisely because of their emotive facial expressions. Similarly, the use of the Likert scale (including emojis) in the final interview provided a prompt where the actual positioning of school subjects and languages on the scale was not essential, rather, it was their relational spacing together with participants' discursive explanations that added meaning. Finally, the incorporation of notebooks in this study was inspired by scrapbook methodologies (see e.g. Bragg and Buckingham 2008), and was purposefully left to be guided by participants themselves in alignment with participant-centred approaches. Although only a third of participants fully engaged with the notebooks, they provided a blank canvas for these students to express themselves and, if they wished, to do so by drawing inspiration from various notebook ideas (Appendix 6).

9.4 Limitations, further directions and concluding remarks

This study includes several limitations, many of which open up avenues for future research. As such, the focus of the study was on students' overall linguistic repertoires and lived experience of language

with Luxembourgish, German and French as linguistic resources and school languages. Thus, students' other home languages were not systematically incorporated in order to maintain the focus on the language regime and language education policies with the generation of possible policy recommendations in mind. However, future research could focus more closely on students' lived experience of language in relation to the use of home languages in educational spaces or the absence thereof. This could be particularly relevant in connection with the suggestions for language awareness and valuing of linguistic diversity efforts in 9.2. In addition, this study was not able to address the full intersectionality between students' lived experience of language and other factors such as socioeconomic status, but also race and ethnicity, which remain underresearched in the field of Luxembourg Studies (cf. Tavares 2018).

Moreover, further research on language education policies in Luxembourg could adopt an engaged approach to language policy (Davis 2014; Phyak and Bui 2014) to raise the critical awareness of students, teachers and policy makers in relation to the ideological underpinnings of the policies that impact on students' lives. This doctoral thesis has taken a step in this direction by combining the lived experience of language with discursive approaches to language policy and drawing on an innovative mosaic methodology to highlight the lived experience of language and language education policies by primary school students in Luxembourg. It is hoped that by providing an insight into the various experiences of the young people who navigate the education system in Luxembourg for better or worse, this study draws attention to the importance of listening to young people and incorporating the perspectives of individuals impacted by policies in the policy making process. For the Luxembourgish context specifically, it is hoped that the findings of this study contribute to continuing or relaunching discussions regarding the education system and its language regime, and how they can best meet the linguistic and educational needs of the diverse student population to ensure social justice and educational equity.

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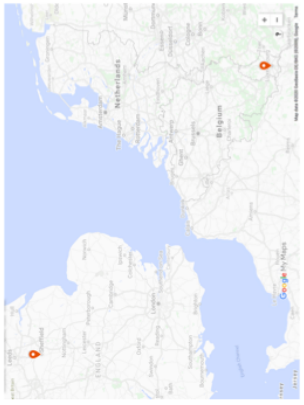




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Appendix 1: Information booklet for participants (multilingual)

<p>Informationsbuch für Schüler</p> <p>Informationsbuch für Schüler</p>	<p>Brochure d'information pour élèves</p> <p>Folheto informativo para alunos</p>						
<p>Hallo! Mein Name ist Sarah. Ich arbeite an der Universität in Sheffield in England, wo ich Forschungen mache. Mein Forschungsprojekt „Erzählungen von mehrsprachigen Grundschulern in Luxemburg“.</p>	<p>Bonjour! Je m'appelle Sarah. Je travaille à l'Université de Sheffield en Angleterre où je fais de la recherche. Mon projet de recherche s'appelle « narrations d'élèves plurilingues d'écoles primaires au Luxembourg ».</p>						
<p>Moien! Ech sinn d'Sarah. Ech schaffen op der Universität vu Sheffield an England, wou ech an der Forschung schaffen. Mäi Forschungsprojekt „Erzielungen vu méisproocheger Primärschoulskanner zu Lëtzebuerg“.</p>	<p>Olá! O meu nome é Sarah. Eu trabalho na Universidade de Sheffield, em Inglaterra, onde faço pesquisas. O meu projeto de pesquisa chama-se "Narrativas de crianças multilingues de escolas primárias no Luxemburgo".</p>	<p>1</p>					
<p>Was ist Forschung?</p> <p>Wenn eine Person Forschungen macht, versucht sie neue Sachen herauszufinden. In meiner Forschung will ich mit Kindern reden die in Luxemburg in eine Grundschule gehen. Ich will mit ihnen über ihre Erfahrungen in der Schule reden, und auch über die Sprachen herausfinden, die sie reden. Wenn meine Forschungen fertig sind, werde ich darüber ein Buch schreiben, das man "These" nennt.</p>		<p>Qu'est-ce que c'est la recherche?</p> <p>Quand une personne fait de la recherche, elle veut faire de nouvelles découvertes. Dans ma recherche, je veux parler à des enfants qui vont à l'école primaire au Luxembourg. Je veux leurs parler de leurs expériences à l'école, et aussi des langues qu'ils parlent. Quand j'aurai fini ma recherche, je vais écrire un livre à ce sujet qu'on appelle « thèse ».</p>		<p>Wat ass Recherche?</p> <p>Wann eng Persoun Recherche mecht, da probéiert si fir néi Saachen rauszefannen. A menger Recherche well ech mat Kanner schwätzen, déi zu Lëtzebuerg an d'Primärschoul ginn. Ech wëll mat himmen iwvert hier Erfahrungen an der Schoul schwätzen, an och rausfannen, wéi eng Sproochen dass si schwätzen. Wann ech mat menger Recherche färdeg sinn schreiwen ech ee Buch doriwier, wat een "These" nennt.</p>	<p>O que é que é pesquisa?</p> <p>Quando uma pessoa faz pesquisa, isso significa que ela tenta descobrir coisas novas. Na minha pesquisa, quero falar com crianças que vão para a escola primária no Luxemburgo. Eu quero descobrir sobre as suas experiências de ir à escola, e eu também quero descobrir sobre as línguas que falam. Quando eu terminar a minha pesquisa, vou escrever sobre isso em um livro chamado "tese".</p>		<p>2</p>

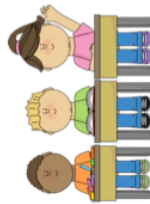
Warum frage ich dich um Hilfe?

Ich frage dich, ob du bei meiner Forschung mitmachen willst, weil du in Luxemburg in eine Grundschule und eine ‚Maison Relais‘ gehst, weil du zwischen 9 und 12 Jahre alt bist, und weil du noch andere Sprachen als Luxemburgisch zuhause sprichst. Du musst nicht mitmachen, wenn du nicht willst, ich werde nicht böse sein, wenn du nein sagst.



Pourquoi est-ce que je demande ton aide?

Je te demande si tu veux participer à ma recherche parce que tu fréquentes une école primaire et une « maison relais » au Luxembourg, tu as entre 9 et 12 ans et tu parles d'autres langues à la maison à part du Luxembourgeois. Tu ne dois pas participer si tu ne veux pas, je ne serais pas fâchée si tu dis non.



Firwat froen ech fir deng Hëllef?

Ech froen dech op s du wëlls bei menger Recherche matmaachen, well s du zu Lëtzebuerg an eng Primärschoul an eng ‚Maison Relais‘ gees, well s du tëscht 9 an 12 Joer aal bass, a well s du doheem méi Sprooche schwätzt wéi Lëtzebuergesch. Du muss net matmaachen, wann s du nët wëlls, ech wäert net béis sinn, wann s du nee sees.

Porque eu peço a sua ajuda?

Eu pergunto se tu queres participar na minha pesquisa porque frequentas uma escola primária e uma ‘maison relais’ no Luxemburgo, tens entre 9 e 12 anos e porque falas mais línguas para além do luxemburguês em casa. Não tens que participar se não quiseres, eu não vou ficar chateada se disseres não.

Was passiert, wenn du bei meiner Forschung mitmachst?

Für meine Forschung will ich Zeit mit deiner Klasse verbringen um mir die Dinge anzuschauen, welche ihr in der Schule macht und lernt. Ich will auch gerne mit Schülern persönlich sprechen.

Wenn du und deine Eltern oder Vormünder einverstanden seid, dass du bei der Forschung mitmachen kannst, werde ich dich darum bitten, bei ein paar ‚Interviews‘ mitzumachen welche in der ‚Maison Relais‘ stattfinden werden. Diese Interviews können zwischen mir und dir sein, oder mit einer kleinen Gruppe mit anderen Schülern.

Wir werden über die Schule und Sprachen reden, und ich werde dir ein paar Fragen stellen. Es wird keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten geben, ich will nur über deine Erfahrungen hören! Ich werde dich auch darum bitten Bilder zu malen, Fotos zu machen, oder ähnliche Dinge, über welche wir in den Interviews reden können.

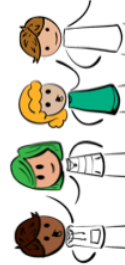
Qu'est-ce qui va se passer si tu participes à ma recherche?

Pour cette recherche, je veux passer du temps avec ta classe pour voir ce que vous faites et apprenez à l'école. Je veux aussi parler à des élèves directement.

Si toi et tes parents ou tuteurs êtes d'accord avec ta participation à la recherche, je vais te demander de participer à quelques « entretiens » qui auront lieu à la « maison relais ».

Ces entretiens peuvent être entre toi et moi, ou en un petit groupe avec d'autres élèves.

On va parler de l'école et des langues, et je vais te poser quelques questions. Il n'y aura pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses, je veux uniquement apprendre plus sur tes expériences. Je vais aussi te demander de faire des dessins, prendre des photos, ou autres choses similaires, dont nous pourrons parler lors des entretiens.



Wat geschitt, wann s du wëlls bei menger Recherche matmaachen?

Fir dës Recherche wëll ech Zäit mat denger Klass verbrennen, fir ze kucken wat dir an der Schoul maacht a léiert. Ech wëll och gär perséinlech mat Schüler schwätzen.

Wann s du an deng Elteren oder Virmänner averstan sidd, dass du bei der Recherche matméchs, da froen ech dech fir bei e puer "Interviewen" matzemaachen, déi an der 'Maison Relais' gemaach ginn. Dës Interviews kennen tëscht mir an dir sinn, oder mat enger klénger Grupp mat anere Schüler.

Mir wäerten iwwert d'Schoul a Sprooch schwätzen, an ech wäert dir e puer Froe stellen. Et wäerte keng richtig oder falsch Entwerte ginn, ech wëll just iwwert deng Erfahrungen héieren! Ech wäert dech och froen fir Biller ze molen, Fotoen ze maachen, oder ähnlech Saachen, iwwert déi mir an den Interviews schwätze kënnen.

O que acontece se participares na minha pesquisa?

Para a minha pesquisa, eu quero passar tempo com tua turma para ver as coisas que vocês fazem e aprendem na escola. Eu também quero falar com os alunos diretamente sobre a escola e as línguas que eles falam.

Se tu e os teus pais ou responsáveis concordarem em que tu participes na pesquisa, eu pedirei que participes em várias "entrevistas" que acontecerão na 'maison relais'. Estas entrevistas podem ser entre ti e mim, ou em um grupo pequeno com outros alunos.

Falaremos sobre a escola e as línguas, e farei algumas perguntas. Não há respostas certas ou erradas, eu só quero ouvir sobre as tuas experiências, e vou também pedir-te para fazer desenhos, ou coisas semelhantes, que podem ser discutidos nas entrevistas.



Falls du zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt nicht länger bei der Forschung mitmachen willst, musst du mir nur sagen dass du aufhören willst und dann musst du nicht mehr mitmachen.

Ich werde keinem erzählen, dass du bei meiner Forschung mitmachst, das heißt, dass deine Teilnahme anonym ist. Deshalb werde ich deinen richtigen Namen durch einen falschen Namen ersetzen.



Si à un certain moment tu ne veux plus participer à la recherche, il suffit de me dire que tu veux arrêter et tu n'auras plus besoin de participer.

Je ne vais raconter à personne que tu participes à ma recherche, ceci veut dire que ta participation est anonyme. C'est pourquoi je vais utiliser un nom différent au lieu de ton nom réel.

Wann s du zu iergendengem Zeitpunkt net méi bei der Recherche wëlls matmaachen, muss dir mir just soen dass du ophale wëlls an da muss du net méi matmaachen.

Ech wäert kengem erzielen, dass du bei menger Recherche matméchs, dat heescht dass deng Participatioun anonym ass. Dofir wäert ech een anere Numm amplatz vun dengem richtige Numm benotzen.

Se em algum momento tu não quiseres participar mais na pesquisa, tudo que tu tens a fazer é dizeres-me que gostarias de parar e não terás que participar mais.

Não vou dizer a ninguém que estás a participar na minha pesquisa, isso significa que a tua participação é anónima. Por isso, vou usar um nome falso em vez de teu nome real.

Ich werde unsere **Gespräche mit einem kleinen Audio-rekorder aufnehmen**, weil das mir hilft, mich an die Dinge zu erinnern, über welche wir reden, und diese auf meinem Computer zu tippen. Das nennt man „**transkribieren**“.

Die **Aufnahmen und die Transkriptionen** werden auf meinem Computer an der Universität gespeichert und werden mit einem Passwort geschützt, **damit ich die einzige Person mit Zugriff auf sie bin**.



Je vais **enregistrer nos conversations avec un petit enregistreur** car cela m'aide à me rappeler des choses dont nous parlons et à les taper sur mon ordinateur. C'est ce qu'on appelle la «**transcription**».

Les **enregistrements et les transcriptions** seront enregistrés sur mon ordinateur à l'Université et seront protégés par un mot de passe afin que **je sois la seule personne à les voir**.

Es kann sein, dass ich einige Teile der Transkriptionen **meinen Supervisors** zeigen. So nennt man die Leute sind, die mir bei meiner Forschung helfen.

Ich werde ein oder zwei Jahre brauchen, um meine These zu schreiben, und wenn ich fertig bin, können andere Leute sie lesen. Es kann auch sein, dass ich Artikel über meine Forschung schreibe, oder darüber bei öffentlichen Veranstaltungen spreche, wie auf Konferenzen, zum Beispiel.



Il se peut que je vais montrer certaines parties des transcriptions à **mes responsables**, car ce sont eux qui m'aident avec mes recherches.

Il me faudra un an ou deux pour écrire ma thèse, et quand j'aurai fini, d'autres personnes pourront la lire. Il se peut que je vais écrire des articles sur ma recherche, ou en parler à des événements publics tels que des conférences.

Ech wäert eis **Gespräicher mat engem kléngelem Audio-rekorder ophuelen**, well dat mir hëllef mech un déi Saachen ze erënneren iwwert déi mir schwätzen, an och fir se op mengem Computer ze tippen. Dat nennt een „**transkribéieren**“.

D'Opnahmen an d'Transkriptionen ginn op mengem Computer op der Universitéit gespäichert a mat engem Passwuert geschützt, fir **dass ech déi eenzeg Persoun mat Zougrieff op si sinn**.

Vou **gravar as nossas conversas com um pequeno gravador**, porque isso ajuda-me a lembrar as coisas de que falamos e a escrevê-las. Isso é chamado de „**transcrever**“.

As **gravações e as transcrições** serão guardadas no meu computador da Universidade e serão protegidas com uma senha para que **eu seja a única pessoa a vê-las**.

Et ka sinn, dass ech puer Deeler **menge Responsabele** weisen, well si sinn déi Leit, déi mir bei der Recherche hëllefен.

Ech wäert een oder zwee Joer brauchen, fir meng These ze schreiben, a wann ech fäerdeg sinn, kënnen aner Leit si liesen. Et kann och sinn dass ech Artikel iwwert meng Recherche schreiwen, oder op öffentliche Veranstaltungen, wéi zum Beispill Konferenzen, dor'iwwer schwätzen.

Eu posso mostrar algumas partes das transcrições para os **meus supervisores**, porque são as pessoas que me ajudam com a minha pesquisa.

Vai levar um ano ou dois para escrever a minha tese, e quando eu tiver terminado, outras pessoas podem lê-la. Eu também poderei escrever artigos sobre a minha pesquisa, ou falar sobre isso em eventos públicos, como conferências.

Bevor du dich entscheidest, ob du an meiner Forschung teilnehmen willst oder nicht, ist es **sehr wichtig, dass du es mit anderen Leuten besprichst**, zum Beispiel mit deinen Eltern oder Erziehungsberechtigten, deinen Lehrern oder deinen Freunden.



Sowohl du, als auch deine Eltern oder Erziehungsberechtigten müssen ja sagen, wenn du an dieser Forschung teilnehmen willst.

Avant de décider si tu souhaites participer à ma recherche ou non, il est **très important que tu en discutes avec d'autres personnes**, par exemple tes parents ou tuteurs, tes enseignants ou tes amis.



Toi, ainsi que tes parents ou tuteurs devez dire oui à la participation à cette recherche.

lert s du dech entscheidest, op s du bei menger Recherche matmaache wëlls oder net, ass et **ganz wichtig, dass du mat anere Leit doriwwer schwätz**, wéi zum Beispill mat dengem Elteren oder Erziehungsberechtigten, dengem Léierpersonal, oder denger Frënn.



Du, esou wéi och deng Elteren oder Erziehungsberechtegt musse jo soen, wann s du bei dëser Recherche matmaache wëlls.

Antes de decidir se queres ou não participar na minha pesquisa, é **muito importante que discutas isso com outras pessoas**, por exemplo, os teus pais ou responsáveis, os teus professores ou os teus amigos.



Tanto tu quanto os teus pais ou responsáveis precisam de dizer sim se te quiseres tornar num participante.

Wenn du nicht zufrieden bist mit der Art wie die Forschung gemacht wird, und eine Beschwerde hast, kannst du mit meiner Supervisorin, Kristine Horner sprechen. Ihre E-Mail-Adresse ist k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk, und ihre Telefonnummer ist **+44 114 222 4909**.

Du kannst sie direkt kontaktieren oder wenn du es vorziehst, **kannst du deine Eltern oder Lehrer bitten, sie für dich zu kontaktieren.**



Si tu n'es pas satisfait de la façon dont la recherche est faite et que tu as une plainte, tu peux parler à ma responsable, Kristine Horner. Son adresse email est k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk et son numéro de téléphone est de **+44 114 222 4909**.

Tu peux la contacter directement ou, si tu préfères, **tu peux demander à tes parents ou à ton professeur de la contacter pour toi.**

Wann s du net zeifridde bass, mat der Manéier, wéi dës Recherche gemach gëtt, a wann s du eng Reklamatioun hues, kanns du mat menger Responsabel, der Kristine Horner, schwätzen. Hier E-Mail Adress ass k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk, an hier Telefonnummer ass **+44 114 222 4909**.

Du kanns Si direkt kontaktéieren oder, wanns du léiwer hues, kanns du och deng Elteren oder däi Léierpersonal froen, op si fir dech kontaktéieren.

Se tu não estás feliz com a forma como a pesquisa está a ser feita e tens uma queixa, podes falar com a minha supervisora, Kristine Horner. O seu endereço de e-mail é k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk e o seu número de telefone é **+ 44 114 222 4909**.

Podes contactá-la diretamente ou, se preferires, **podes pedir aos teus pais ou ao teu professor para contactá-la por ti.**

Du kannst mir alle Fragen stellen,
die du über diese Forschung hast
und ich kann dir ganz gerne Dinge
erklären, über die du mehr wissen
willst.

**Danke, dass du dieses
Heft gelesen hast 😊**



Sarah Muller
Smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Tu peux me poser toute question
que tu as sur la recherche et je
serai contente de t'expliquer les
choses dont tu souhaites en savoir
plus.

**Merci d'avoir lu
cet livret 😊**



Sarah Muller
Smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Du kanns mir all Froe stellen, déi s
du iwvert dës Recherche hues, an
ech kann dir och ganz gär Saachen
erklären, iwvert déi s du méi
wësse wëlls.

**Merci dass du dëst
Bichelche gelies hues 😊**



Sarah Muller
Smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Tu podes me colocar quaisquer
perguntas que tenhas sobre a
pesquisa que eu ficarei feliz em
explicar as coisas que tu queres
saber.

**Obrigada por leres
este folheto 😊**



Sarah Muller
Smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Appendix 2: Information booklet for parents (multilingual)

Informationsbuch für Eltern

Ihr Kind ist eingeladen, bei einer **Doktorarbeit mit dem Titel 'Erzählungen von mehrsprachigen Grundschülern in Luxemburg'** mitzumachen. Das Ziel ist es, die Erfahrungen der Schüler in einem Schulsystem, welches Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache benutzt, zu erforschen, und auch die Tatsache, dass sie verschiedene Sprachen in ihrem Alltag benutzen.

Ehe Sie sich entscheiden ob Sie wollen, dass Ihr Kind bei diesem Forschungsprojekt mitmacht, lesen Sie bitte die Informationen in diesem Dokument damit Sie verstehen, worum es genau in der Forschung geht, und wie die Informationen von Ihrem Kind benutzt werden.

Brochure d'information pour parents

Votre enfant a été invité à participer à un projet de doctorat intitulé « **Narratives d'élèves multilingues d'école primaire au Luxembourg** ». L'objectif est d'explorer les expériences des élèves qui sont confrontés à un système éducatif qui utilise l'allemand comme langue d'enseignement, ainsi que l'utilisation de plusieurs langues dans leur vie quotidienne.

Avant de décider si vous souhaitez qu'il/elle participe ou pas, je vous prie de lire toutes les informations ci-dessous pour mieux comprendre les implications de cette recherche et la manière dont les données de votre enfant seront utilisées.

Informationsbuch fir Elteren

Äert Kand gëtt invitéiert fir bei enger **Doktorsarbeit mam Titel 'Erzielunge vu méisproochege Primärschoukanner zu Lëtzebuerg'** matzemaachen. D'Zil ass, fir de Schüler hier Erfahrung mat engem Schulsystem, deem Däitsch als Unterrichtssprooch benotzt, ze erfuerschen, an och de Fait dass si verschidde Sproochen an hirem Alldag benotzen.

Iert Dir entscheet, op Dir wëllt, dass Äert Kand bei der Recherche matmécht, liest w.e.g all d'Informatiounen op dësem Dokument fir dass Dir verstitt, ëm wat et an der Recherche geet a wéi d'Informatiounen vun Ärem Kand benotzt ginn.

Folheto informativo para pais

A sua criança foi convidada a participar num **projeto de doutoramento intitulado "Narrativas de crianças multilingues de escolas primárias no Luxemburgo"**. O objetivo é explorar as experiências dos alunos de um sistema de ensino que usa o alemão como a língua de instrução, e o fato de que eles usam várias línguas no seu dia a dia.

Antes de decidir se quer ou não que ele/ela participe, leia todas as informações abaixo para que possa entender perfeitamente o que a pesquisa envolverá e como os dados do(a) seu/sua filho(a) serão usados.

Ihr Kind ist zur Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt eingeladen weil es in eine Grundschule und ein Foyer Scolaire geht, zwischen 9 und 12 Jahre alt ist, und eine zu Hause gesprochene Hauptsprache hat, welche nicht Luxemburgisch ist.

Was passiert, wenn Ihr Kind bei dem Forschungsprojekt mitmacht?

Ich werde ein paar Wochen zwischen November 2017 und Juni 2018 in der Schule und dem „Foyer Scolaire“ Ihres Kindes verbringen, um ein paar informelle Interviews mit Teilnehmern durchzuführen, welche mit einem **Audiotrekorder aufgenommen** werden. Teilnehmer werden auch darum gebeten, verschiedene Materialien herzustellen, wie zum Beispiel Bilder oder Fotos, über welche wir reden. Die Teilnahme ist ganz **freiwillig**: Ihr Kind kann zu jedem Zeitpunkt aufhören.

Die Teilnahme ist auch **anonym**; alle identifizierende Informationen werden während der Datenanalyse geändert, und Ihr Kind wird nicht erkennbar sein in Publikationen über diese Forschung. Die Teilnahme wird auch keine Konsequenzen auf die schulischen Leistungen Ihres Kindes haben. Alle Daten werden auf meinem Passwort-geschützten Computer gespeichert, und ich werde die einzige Person mit Zugang dazu sein. Daten werden nicht zerstört, da sie zu anderen Forschungsprojekten leiten können.

Votre enfant est invité à participer à cette recherche parce qu'il/elle fréquente une école primaire et un foyer scolaire, a entre 9 et 12 ans et a une langue dominante parlée à la maison autre que le luxembourgeois.

Qu'est-ce que la participation au projet de recherche implique ?

Je passerai plusieurs semaines dans l'école et le foyer scolaire de votre enfant entre novembre 2017 et juin 2018 pour mener **plusieurs entretiens informelles audio-enregistrés avec les participants**. Je leurs demandera également de produire des matériaux tels que des dessins ou des photos, dont nous discuterons. La participation à cette recherche est entièrement **volontaire** : votre enfant peut se retirer à tout moment.

La participation est également **anonyme**; toutes les caractéristiques d'identification seront modifiées pendant l'analyse des données, et votre enfant ne sera pas reconnaissable dans les publications résultant de cette recherche. La participation n'aura aucune répercussion sur le rendement de votre enfant à l'école. Toutes les données seront enregistrées sur mon ordinateur protégé par un mot de passe et je serai la seule personne ayant accès à elles. Les données ne seront pas détruites car elles peuvent éclairer des futurs projets de recherche.

Äert Kand gétt agelueden, fir bei dëser Recherche matzemaachen, well et an eng Primärschoul an an e Foyer Scolaire geet, tëscht 9 an 12 Joer huet, an doheem eng Haaptsprouch schwätzt déi net Lëtzebuergeresch ass.

Wat geschitt, wann Äert Kand bei der Recherche matmécht?

Ech wäert e puer Wochen tëscht November 2017 a Juni 2018 an Ärem Kand senger Schoul a dem Foyer Scolaire verbréngen, fir e puer **informell Interviewe mat Participanten** ze maachen, déi och **opgeholl ginn mat engem Audiorekorder**. Participanten ginn och gefrot fir Materialer ze produzéieren, zum Beispill **Billier oder Photoen**, iwwert déi mir schwätzen. D'Matmaache bei dëser Recherche ass **fräiwëlleg**: Äert Kand kann zu all Punkt ophalen.

D'Matmaachen ass och **anonym**; all Informatiounen déi Äert Kand kéinten identifizéiere gi geännert während der Datenanalyse an Äert Kand wäert net erkennbar sinn an de Publikatiounen déi iwwert dës Recherche gemaach ginn. D'Matmaache wäert och keng Konsequenzen op d'schoulesch Leeschtung vun Ärem Kand hunn. All Date ginn op mengem Passwuert-geschützte Computer gespäichert, an ech wäert déi eenzeg Persoun mat Zougang dozou sinn. D'Date gi net zerséiert well se zu spéidere Rechercheprojet'en leede kënnen.

A sua criança é convidada a participar nesta investigação porque frequenta uma escola primária e um 'foyer scolaire', tem entre 9 e 12 anos e tem uma língua falada em casa dominante que não é o luxemburguês.

O que implica a participação no projeto de pesquisa?

Vou passar várias semanas na escola e no 'foyer scolaire' da sua criança entre novembro 2017 e junho 2018 para conduzir várias **entrevistas informais e gravadas com os participantes**. Eles também serão convidados a produzir materiais como **desenhos ou tirar fotografias**, que vamos discutir. A participação nesta pesquisa é inteiramente **voluntária**: a sua criança pode se retirar do projecto em qualquer momento.

A participação também é **anónima**; todas as características de identificação serão alteradas durante a análise de dados, e a sua criança não será reconhecida em quaisquer publicações resultantes desta pesquisa. A participação não terá qualquer repercussão no desempenho da sua criança na escola. Todos os dados serão guardados no meu computador universitário protegido por senha e eu serei a única pessoa com acesso. Os dados não serão destruídos, pois podem informar futuros projetos de pesquisa.

Was werden Sie und Ihr Kind machen müssen?

Damit Ihr Kind bei diesem Forschungsprojekt mitmachen kann, benötige ich **seine Zustimmung und die Zustimmung von mindestens einem Elternteil oder Erziehungsberechtigten**. Ich bitte Sie, dieses Forschungsprojekt mit Ihrem Kind, welches diese Informationen in altersgerechtem Format erhalten hat, zu besprechen. Ich wäre dankbar, wenn Sie das Zustimmungsfomular für Eltern unterschreiben und **vor dem 17. November 2017** an mich zurückgeben könnten, zusammen mit dem unterschriebenen Formular Ihres Kindes.

Für weitere Informationen:

Sie können mir gerne eine Email schicken, wenn Sie Fragen über das Forschungsprojekt haben, oder falls Sie gerne einen Termin in der Schule oder dem „Foyer scolaire“ vereinbaren wollen, um das Projekt persönlich zu besprechen. Ich spreche Luxemburgisch, Deutsch, Französisch und Englisch.

Dieses Forschungsprojekt wurde durch die Ethische Prüfungsprozedur der Universität Sheffield genehmigt. Wenn Sie Fragen, Bedenken oder Beschwerden über dieses Projekt haben, können Sie meine Supervisorin, Dr Kristine Horner, via k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk oder +4 4 114 222 4909 kontaktieren.

Qu'est-ce que vous et votre enfant devrez faire ?

Pour que votre enfant puisse participer à cette recherche, je demande **son consentement ainsi que le consentement d'au moins un parent ou tuteur**. Je vous encourage à discuter du projet avec votre enfant, qui a reçu cette information dans un format adapté à son âge. Je vous serais reconnaissante de bien vouloir signer et renvoyer le formulaire de consentement ci-joint, accompagné du formulaire de consentement pour élèves, aussi signé, **avant le 17 novembre 2017**.

Pour plus d'informations :

N'hésitez pas à m'envoyer un courriel si vous avez des questions sur le projet ou si vous souhaitez organiser une réunion à l'école ou au foyer scolaire pour discuter du projet en personne. Je parle le luxembourgeois, l'allemand, le français et l'anglais.

Ce projet a été approuvé par la procédure d'examen de l'éthique de l'Université de Sheffield. Si vous avez des questions, des préoccupations ou des plaintes concernant ce projet, vous pouvez contacter ma responsable, Dr Kristine Horner, à k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk ou au +44 114 222 4909.

Wat wäärt Dir an Äert Kand maache müssen?

Fir dass Äert Kand bei dëser Recherche ka matmaachen, brauch ech **seng Zoustëmmung an d'Zoustëmmung vun op mannst engem Eiterendeel oder Erziehungsberechtigten**. Ech bieden lech dëse Projet mat Ärem Kand, dat dës Informatiounen an engem altersgerechte Format kritt huet, ze beschwätzen. Ech wier dankbar, wann Dir den Zoustëmmungsformulair fir Eilere kéint ënnerschiirwen an u mech zrëckginn, zesumme mat dem ënnerschiirwene Zoustëmmungsformulair vun Ärem Kand **virum 17 November 2017**.

Fir weider Informatiounen:

Dir kënnt mir ganz gär eng Email schécken, wann dir Froen iwwert de Projet hutt, oder wann dir een Treffen an der Schoul oder am Foyer Scolaire wëllt ausmaachen, fir de Projet a Persoun ze beschwätzen. Ech schwätze Lëtzebuergesch, Däitsch, Franséisch an Englesch.

Dëse Projet gouf approvüert duerch der Universitéit vu Sheffield hier Ethesch Revue Prozedur. Wann Dir Froen, Bedenken oder Reklamatiounen iwwert dëse Projet hutt, kënnt dir meng Supervisor, Dr Kristine Horner, kontaktieren op k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk oder +44 114 222 4909.

O que você e a sua criança têm que fazer?

Para que a sua criança participe nesta pesquisa, é necessário o **consentimento dela, bem como o consentimento de pelo menos um dos pais/responsáveis**. Encorajo-vos a discutir o projeto com a sua criança, que recebeu essa informação de modo apropriado à sua idade. Gostaria de agradecer se puder assinar e devolver o formulário de consentimento em anexo, junto com o formulário de consentimento da sua criança, no **17 novembro 2017**.

Para mais informações:

Por favor, sinta-se à vontade para me enviar um e-mail se tiver alguma dúvida sobre o projeto, ou se quiser marcar uma reunião na escola ou no 'foyer escolar' para discutir o projeto pessoalmente. Falo luxemburguês, alemão, francês e inglês.

Este projeto foi aprovado através do procedimento de revisão de ética da Universidade de Sheffield. Se tiver dúvidas, preocupações ou queixas sobre este projeto, pode contactar a minha supervisora, a Dra. Kristine Horner, em k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk ou +44 114 222 4909.

Vielen Dank, dass Sie sich Zeit genommen haben, um dieses Dokument zu lesen.

Merci d'avoir pris le temps de lire cet document !

Villmoos Merci, dass Dir lech Zäit geholl hutt, fir dëst Dokument ze liesen.

Obrigada pelo tempo disponibilizado para ler este documento!



Sarah Muller
PhD Student
Germanic Studies
School of Languages
and Cultures
University of Sheffield

Jessop West Building
1 Upper Hanover Street
S3 7FA Sheffield, UK
smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Appendix 3: Participant consent form (English)





The
University
Of
Sheffield.



Sarah Muller
PhD Student
Germanic Studies
School of Languages and Cultures
University of Sheffield



Jessop West Building
1 Upper Hanover Street
S3 7RA Sheffield, UK
smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237



Consent Form for Students

Hi _____! I hope that you have enjoyed reading the information booklet about this research project, and that you have discussed it with your parents or guardians. If you want to take part in this research, please read the sentences below together with your parents or guardians, and choose the thumbs up if you understand and agree with them.

1. I want to take part in this research project.
 

2. I have read and understood the Information Booklet for Students, and understand why this research is being done.
 

3. I was able to ask any questions which were answered in a clear way that I understood.
 

4. I understand that my participation in this research project is voluntary, and that I can withdraw at any time by telling Sarah Muller that I no longer want to participate.
 

1/2



The University
Of Sheffield.

Sarah Muller
PhD Student
Germanic Studies
School of Languages and Cultures
University of Sheffield

Jessop West Building
1 Upper Hanover Street
S3 7RA Sheffield, UK
smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

5. I understand that my conversations with Sarah Muller will be audio-recorded.



6. I understand that I will be asked to produce materials (drawings, for example) for the research project.



7. I understand that Sarah Muller will not tell anyone that I am participating in this research or what I tell her.



8. I understand what I have to do in case I have a complaint, or am not happy with how the research is being done.



9. I give Sarah Muller the permission to work with, and use, our conversations and the materials I produce.



Your name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: Parent consent form (English)



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Sarah Muller
PhD Student
Germanic Studies
School of Languages and Cultures
University of Sheffield

Jessop West Building
1 Upper Hanover Street
S3 7RA Sheffield, UK
smmuller1@sheffield.ac.uk
+352 691 901 237

Consent Form for Parents/Guardians

Please read this document carefully and tick the boxes if you agree with the statements. When you have signed this document, enclose it in the original envelope together with a copy of the consent form for students, signed by your child. She/he should then hand it over to the researcher, Sarah Muller, in school before _____.

I have read and understood the Information Sheet for Parents/Guardians.

I understand the nature and purpose of this research, and had the opportunity to ask any questions which were answered to my satisfaction.

I am confident that my child (name: _____) understands the nature and purpose of this research and had the opportunity to ask any questions which were answered to his/her satisfaction.

I agree to the participation of my child in this research project.

I understand that the participation of my child is voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

I understand that the conversations between my child and the researcher will be audio-recorded, and that my child will be asked to produce material (drawings, for example) for the purpose of this research project.

I understand that the participation of my child will be anonymous, and that he/she will not be identifiable in any reports or publications that result from this research.

I give Sarah Muller the permission to work with the anonymised data for the purpose of transcription, analysis, presentations at conferences, teaching and publications.

Name of Parent/Guardian	Date	Signature
-------------------------	------	-----------

Name of Researcher	Date	Signature
--------------------	------	-----------

This signed and dated consent form will be placed in Sarah Muller's main records, which will be kept in a secure location. This project has been approved by the University of Sheffield ethics review procedure. Information regarding the complaints procedure can be found on the Information Sheet for Parents/Guardians.

Appendix 5: Interview questions (research phase 1)

- Where and how did you learn Luxembourgish? (*Wou a wéini hues du Lëtzebuergesch geléiert?*)
- How do you speak with your friends (in school and in the Foyer)? (*Wéi schwätz du mat denge Frënn (an der Schoul an am Foyer)?*)
- Do you like going to school? Why (not)? (*Geess du gär an d'Schoul? Firwat (net)?*)
- What are your favourite and least favourite subjects, and why? (*Wat sinn deng Lieblingsfächer an der Schoul, a firwat?*)
- How do you get on with German in school? (*Wéi gëss du eenz mam Däitschen an der Schoul?*)
- How would you describe yourself as a student? (*Wéi géings du dech als Schüler beschreiwen?*)
- Is there anything in school that you find unfair? (*Gëtt et eppes an der Schoul, wat s du onfair fënns?*)

Appendix 6: Notebook ideas (German and French)

In dieses Heft kannst du malen, schreiben, kleben, ... was du willst. Aber alle Einträge sollen etwas mit dem Thema **SPRACHEN**, und natürlich mit dir, zu tun haben ☺

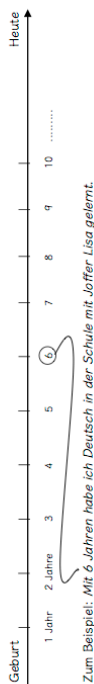
Auf diesen Blättern sind verschiedene Ideen, die du an der gestrichelten Linie ausschneiden, und zu deinen Bildern oder Texten ins Heft kleben kannst. Du musst nicht mit allen Ideen arbeiten: such dir die Ideen aus, die dir gefallen, und entscheide, wie du sie umsetzen willst (malen, schreiben, ...). Du kannst so viele/wenige Einträge machen wie du willst, und du kannst wählen, welche Sprache(n) du benutzt.

Im April würde ich mir deine Einträge gerne ansehen, und dir ein paar Fragen dazu stellen. Bitte bring deshalb dein Heft am **16. April** (Montag) in die Schule.

WIEE A: Schreib diese Sätze in dein Heft und **ergänz** sie! Du kannst auch erklären, wie gut du die verschiedenen Sprachen beherrschst.

- *Diese Sprachen kann ich sprechen:*
- *Diese Sprachen kann ich lesen:*
- *Diese Sprachen kann ich verstehen:*
- *Diese Sprachen kann ich schreiben:*

WIEE B: Mal eine Zeitlinie und trag ein, **wann** (ungefähr), **wo**, und **mit wem** du deine Sprachen gelernt hast!



WIEE C: Mach eine Liste mit den Sprachen in deinem Leben, **beschreib jede Sprache mit einem Wort oder einem Bild**, und erkläre!

Zum Beispiel: *Russisch = cool, weil ...*

WIEE D: Denk über diese Themen nach: **“Ich und meine Sprachen”** oder **“So rede ich”**, und mal ein Bild oder schreib etwas dazu!

WIEE E: Mal Bilder oder mach Fotos von den Gegenständen oder Personen in deinem Leben, die du mit deinen Sprachen verbindest, und erkläre, was diese für dich bedeuten. **Wichtig:** Immer um Erlaubnis fragen, bevor du eine andere Person fotografierst!

WIEE F: Schreib diese Sätze in dein Heft und **ergänz** sie mit Text und/oder Bildern! Du kannst so viel schreiben und erklären wie du willst.

1. *Mit meinen Lehrern und Lehrerinnen in der Schule spreche ich ...*
2. *Mit meinen Klassenkameraden in der Schule spreche ich ...*
3. *Mit meinen Freunden & Freundinnen in der Schule spreche ich ...*
4. *Während den Schulstunden spreche ich ...*
5. *In den Schulpausen spreche ich ...*
6. *Mit meiner Familie spreche ich ...*
7. *Mit meinen Haustieren spreche ich ...*
8. *In der Stad spreche ich ...*
9. *In meiner Freizeit spreche ich ...*

WIEE G: Mach für **jedes Schulfach** ein **Kreuz an der Linie**, um zu zeigen, wie gerne du die Fächer hast. Erklär **warum** du die verschiedenen Fächer magst, oder nicht magst, unter der Leiste.



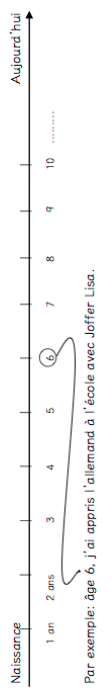
WIEE H: Stell dir vor, du erklärst einem Kind aus einem anderen Land das Schulsystem in Luxemburg. Mal ein Bild, und/oder schreib einen Text, in dem du erklärst, **wie die Primärschule in Luxemburg funktioniert**: welche Dinge man lernt, welche Sprachen man lernt und gebraucht, welche “lycées” es gibt und wer dorthin gehen kann, was du an der Schule gut und schlecht findest, was verbessert werden kann, ...

Dans ce cahier, tu peux dessiner, écrire, coller, ... ce que tu veux. Mais toutes les entrées devraient avoir quelque chose à voir avec le thème des LANGUES et bien sûr avec toi 😊
 Sur ces feuilles, il y a des différentes idées que tu peux couper au long des lignes pointillées et les coller avec tes dessins ou textes dans le cahier. Tu ne dois pas faire toutes les idées : choisis les idées que tu aimes, et comment tu veux les réaliser (dessiner, écrire, ...). Tu peux faire autant d'entrées que tu veux et tu peux choisir quelle(s) langue(s) tu utilises.
 En avril, j'aimerais bien voir tes entrées et te poser quelques questions sur elles. Pour cela, s.t.p. apporte ton cahier à l'école le 16 avril (lundi).

📌 A : Copie ces phrases dans ton cahier et complète-les ! Si tu veux, tu peux aussi indiquer tes niveaux de compétence pour les langues.

- Je peux parler ces langues :
- Je peux lire ces langues :
- Je peux comprendre ces langues :
- Je peux écrire ces langues :

📌 B : Dessine une ligne de temps et indique quand (environ) tu as appris tes langues, où, et avec qui !



📌 C : Fais une liste avec les langues dans ta vie, décris-les avec un mot ou un dessin, et explique !
 Par exemple : russe = cool, parce que ...

📌 D : Réfléchis sur ces thèmes : « mes langues et moi » ou « c'est ainsi que je parle », et fais un dessin ou écris un texte sur eux !

📌 E : Stell dir vor, du erklärst einem Kind aus einem anderen Land deinen „Foyer“. Mal ein Bild, und/oder schreib einen Text, und erkläre, was du im „Foyer“ machst, welche Sprachen du dort benutzt, und was du ändern würdest.

📌 F : Mal oder schreib über Dinge, die in der Schule passiert sind, und die mit dem Thema Sprachen zu tun haben! Dies soll eine Art „Tagebuch“ sein, wo du Sachen malen oder aufschreiben kannst, so oft du willst.

Zum Beispiel: wenn eine Aufgabe sehr einfach oder schwer war, wenn ein Diktat oder eine Prüfung viele schwierige Wörter hatte, wenn eine Prüfung gut oder schlecht verlaufen ist, wenn du eine Aufgabe oder eine Erklärung nicht verstanden hast, ... Du kannst auch gerne Emojis wie diese dazu malen:



📌 G : Denk über diese Themen nach: “So reden die Menschen in Luxemburg” oder “Die Sprachen in Luxemburg”, und mal ein Bild oder schreib etwas dazu!

📌 H : Mal ein Bild oder schreib über deine Ferien im Ausland. Welche Menschen hast du dort kennengelernt, und wie hast du mit ihnen kommuniziert?

📌 I : Wenn du Familie oder Freunde hast, die nicht in Luxemburg leben, dann mal ein Bild oder schreib über sie. Wie oft siehst du sie, und wie sprichst du mit ihnen?

Wenn du selbst noch andere Ideen hast, dann schreib sie in dein Heft und mach sie 😊

📌 E : Fais des dessins ou des photos des objets ou personnes dans ta vie que tu associes à tes langues, et explique leur signification pour toi. Important : Il faut toujours demander la permission des personnes, avant de les photographier !

📌 F : Copie ces phrases dans ton cahier et complète-les avec un texte ou des dessins ! Tu peux écrire et expliquer autant que tu veux.

1. Avec les maîtres et maîtresses à l'école je parle ...
2. Avec mes camarades de classe à l'école je parle ...
3. Avec mes amis & amies à l'école je parle ...
4. Pendant les leçons à l'école je parle ...
5. Pendant les récréations à l'école je parle ...
6. Avec ma famille je parle ...
7. Avec mes animaux je parle ...
8. En ville je parle ...
9. Dans mon temps libre je parle ...

📌 G : Pour chaque matière à l'école, fait une croix sur la ligne en dessous, pour montrer combien tu aimes les différentes matières. En dessous de la ligne, explique pourquoi tu aimes ou n'aimes pas les matières.



📌 H : Imagine que tu dois expliquer le système scolaire du Luxembourg à un enfant qui vit dans un autre pays. Fais un dessin, ou écris un texte où tu expliques comment l'école primaire fonctionne au Luxembourg : les langues qu'on apprend et utilise, les différents lycées qu'il y a et qui peut y aller, les choses que tu aimes et n'aimes pas à l'école, les choses qu'on pourrait améliorer, ...

📌 I : Imagine que tu dois expliquer ton « foyer » à un enfant qui vit dans un autre pays. Fais un dessin ou écris un texte où tu expliques ce que tu fais au foyer, quelles langues tu y utilises, et ce que tu aimerais changer.

📌 J : Dessine ou écris sur des choses qui se sont passées à l'école, et qui sont en relation avec le thème des langues ! Ceci sera une sorte de « Journal » où tu peux écrire ou dessiner aussi souvent que tu veux.

Par exemple : quand un exercice était très facile ou difficile, quand une dictée ou un test avait beaucoup de mots difficiles, quand un devoir s'est bien ou pas bien passé, quand tu n'as pas compris un exercice ou une explication, ... Tu peux aussi inclure des emojis comme ceux-ci :



📌 K : Réfléchis sur ces thèmes : « *les gens au Luxembourg parlent ainsi* » ou « *les langues au Luxembourg* », et fais un dessin ou écris un texte sur ces thèmes !

📌 L : Fais un dessin ou écris sur des vacances à l'étranger. Quels gens y as-tu rencontrés, et comment as-tu parlé avec eux ?

📌 M : Si tu as de la famille ou des amis qui ne vivent pas au Luxembourg, fais un dessin ou écris sur eux. Est-ce que tu les vois souvent, et comment parles-tu avec eux ?

Si tu as encore d'autres idées, notes-les dans le cahier et fais-les 😊

Appendix 7: Language portrait guidelines and prompts (phase 2)

Language portrait guidelines (in English)

“This person is you. If you don’t like the silhouette, you can draw your own silhouette on the back of the piece of paper. This exercise is about drawing your languages into the silhouette. Before you start drawing, it would be good if you could reflect on the different languages in your life: these can be languages that you speak well, or that you don’t speak so well, or where you just know a few words. You can ask yourself, for example: where do I speak them, when, and with whom? And what do these languages mean to me? Then, you can pick one or several colours for each language, and draw them into the silhouette where you think they fit. You can draw outside of the lines, and you can also add things. There is no right or wrong way to do this task. When you’re done, I will ask you to explain your portrait, and we can chat about what colours you’ve picked, and where you’ve drawn your languages.”

Prompts:

- Why did you choose these colours? (*Firwat hues du dës Faarwe geholl?*)
- Why did you draw your languages here? (*Firwat hues du deng Sproochen heihi gemoolt?*)
- What language did you draw first? (*Wéi eng Sprooch hues du als éischt gemoolt?*)
- Are there also languages that you didn’t draw? (*Gëtt et och Sproochen déi s du net gemoolt hues?*)
- What do these languages mean to you, and what role do they play in your life? (*Wat bedeiten dir dës Sproochen, a wéi eng Roll spillen se an dengem Liewen?*)
- Do you know what language(s) you think in? (*Weess du, op wéi enger Sprooch oder wéi enge Sproochen dass du denks?*)
- Are there languages that you would like to learn in the future or know well, and if yes, which ones? (*Gëtt et Sproochen déi s du spéider nach wëlls léieren, oder gutt wëlls kënnen, a wéi eng?*)

Appendix 8: Additional language portraits



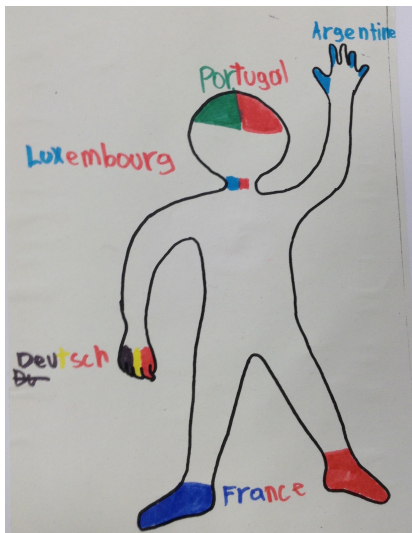
Matteo, LP 21



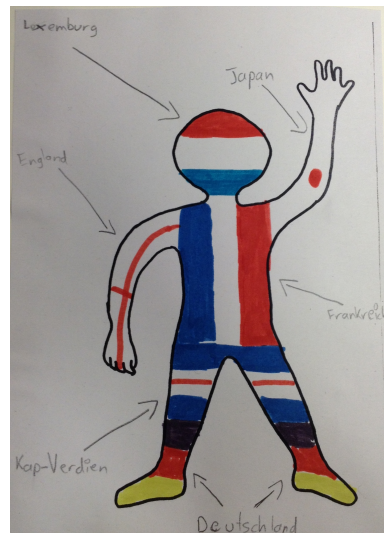
Eden, LP 22



Albert Einstein, LP 23



Kevin, LP 24



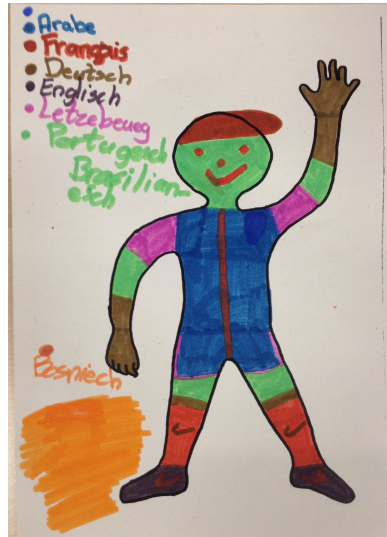
Kylo Ren, LP 25



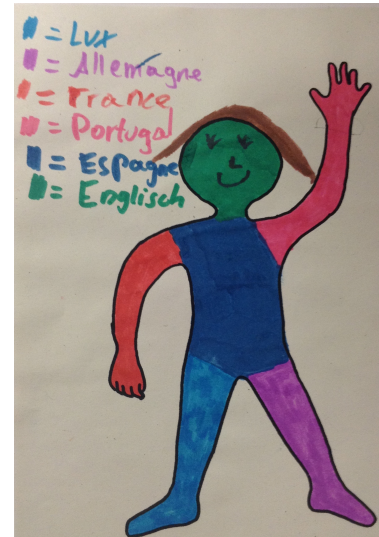
Lily, LP 26



Natalie, LP 27



Neymar, LP 28



Vanessa, LP 29

Appendix 9: Ethnographic chat prompts (research phase 3)

1. If German was an animal, which animal would it be and why?
2. If French was an animal, which animal would it be and why?
3. If Luxembourgish was an animal, which animal would it be and why?
4. If German was a type of food, what food would it be and why?
5. If French was a type of food, what food would it be and why?
6. If Luxembourgish was a type of food, what food would it be and why?
7. In your opinion, how important are languages at school and in life?
8. In your opinion, what do you have to do to be a good student?
9. What do you know about secondary schools in Luxembourg? Where can different students go?
10. Why do you think that German and French are taught at school? Are there pros and cons?
11. In your opinion, should other languages also be taught at school? Which ones and why?

Appendix 10: Final interview guide (research phase 4)

Introduction

- Can we look through your notebook, and can you explain to me the different things that you have drawn or written? (*Kënn mir däin Heft zesammen duerchkucken, a kanns du mir déi verschidde Saachen erklären, déi s du gemoolt/geschriwwen hues*)?
 - Why did you use these languages? Why not X? (*Firwat hues du déi verschidde Sprooche benotzt? Firwat net X?*)
- Can you briefly explain to me one more time what languages you speak at home? (*Kanns du mir nach eng Kéier kuerz erklären, wéi eng Sproochen dass du doheem schwätzt*)?
 - (And with friends? Sport/music/in other places? Youtube, mobile phone etc? (*A mat Kolleegen? Sport/Musek/op anere Plazen? YouTube, Handy etc?*))
 - Do you have a main language? (*Hues du eng Haptsprooch?*)
 - Are there other students at school who speak X? How is that? Do you speak that language with them? What do you think that the other students or teachers say about that? What is it like in the after-school club? (*Ginn et aner Schüler an der Schoul, déi X schwätzen? Wéi ass dat? Schwätzt du dat mat hinnen? Wéi mengs du, dass déi aner Schüler oder d'Léierpersonal dat fannen? Wéi ass et am Foyer?*)
 - How would you find it if you could use X at school? (*Wéi géings du et fannen wann s du X an der Schoul kéins benotzen?*)
- Do you sometimes also mix languages? How do you find that? (*Mëschs du och heiansdo Sproochen? Wéi fënns du dat?*)
- Do you want to learn other languages when you are older? Why (*Wëlls du nach aner Sprooche léieren, wann s du méi al bass? Firwat?*)
- Do you know what the word 'multilingual' means? (*Weess du, wat d'Wuert 'méisproocheg' heescht?*)
- Would you describe yourself as multilingual? (*Géings du dech als 'méisproocheg' beschreiwen?*)

Languages in school

- How did you find it when you first learnt Luxembourgish/German/French? (*Wéi hues du et fonnt wéi s du als éischt Lëtzebuergesch/Däitsch/Franséisch geléiert hues?*)
- Why do you think that German/French are taught at school? (*Firwat mengs du dass Däitsch/Franséisch an der Schoul geléiert gëtt?*)
- Why is school in German, not Luxembourgish? (*Firwat ass d'Schoul op Däitsch, a net op Lëtzebuergesch?*)
- Do you find it important, that German and French are taught at school? (*Fënns du et wichtig, dass Däitsch/Franséisch an der Schoul geléiert gëtt?*)
- How important is it to know German/French well? School vs. everyday life? (*Wéi wichtig ass et, fir gutt Däitsch/Franséisch ze kënnen? Schoul vs. Alldag*)
- What happens, if you don't know them well? (*What geschitt, wann een déi net gutt kann?*)
- Is there a language at school that is more important than the others? (*Gëtt et an der Schoul eng Sprooch déi méi wichtig ass wéi déi aner?*)
- Is there a language in Luxembourg that is more important than the others? (*Gëtt et zu Lëtzebuerg eng Sprooch, déi méi wichtig ass wéi déi aner?*)
- Should other languages also be taught at school, or what would you change in relation to the languages the way they are taught now? (*Sollten nach aner Sproochen an der Schoul geléiert ginn, oder wat géings du änneren un de Sproochen, sou wéi se elo geléiert ginn?*)

Academic

- Can you show me on the scale how much you like the different school subjects? Why? (*Kanns du mer op der Skala weisen, wéi gär dass du déi verschidde Fächer an der Schoul hues? Firwat?*) **(Reference to likert scale on supporting document)**
- What subjects are you good in, and which ones not so good? Why do you think that is? Have you received additional help for these? (*A wéi enge Fächer bass du gutt an net esou gutt? Firwat mengs du, dass dat sou ass? Krus du och schonn extra Hëllef?*)
- How do you do your homework at home? What do you do, when you are struggling? Do you use electronic devices (mobile phone, computer?) (*Wéi méchs du deng Hausaufgaben doheem? Wat méss du, wann s du net eens gëss? Benotz du elektronesch Geräter (Handy, Computer)?*)
- Do you know someone who has repeated a year? How was that? Why did they repeat the year? Did the languages play a role? (*Kenns du een, dee schonn eng Kéier duerchgefall ass? Wéi war dat? Firwat sinn si duerchgefall? Hunn d'Sproochen eng Roll gespilt?*)
- How did you find year five so far? (*Wéi hues du d'fënneft Schouljoer bis elo fonnt?*)
- How do you think year six will be? (*Wéi mengs du, dass d'sechst Schouljoer gëtt?*)
- Are there moments at school where you are like this: happy, angry, sad, confused, confident/proud, nervous? (*Ginn et Momenter an der Schoul, wou s du sou bass: frou – rosen – traureg – net eens ginn – ganz sécher/stolz – nervös?*) **(Reference to emojis on supporting document)**

Projections for the future

- Where do you want to go to secondary school? Where do your parents want you to go? What secondary school do your teachers say you will go to? (*Wou wëlls du an de lycée goen? Wou wëllen deng Elteren, dass du an de Lycée gees? Wou soen d'Här Lehreren, dass du an de Lycée gees?*)
- Do you think that the languages are important for secondary school? (*Mengs du, dass d'Sprooche fir de Lycée wichteg sinn?*)
- What job would you like to have later on? What do you have to do, to become that? (*Wat wëlls du spéider als Beruff maachen? Wat muss ee maachen, fir dat ze ginn?*)
- Do you think that the languages will be important later on for jobs? (*Mengs du dass d'Sproochen dono fir de Beruff wichteg sinn?*)

Appendix 11: Supporting interview document (research phase 4)

Numm (*name*):

Gebuertsdatum (*date of birth*):

Gebuertsplaz (*place of birth*):

Gebuertsplaz vun den Elteren (*parents' place of birth*):



Appendix 12: Likert scales



Eden



Kevin



Fabio



Jessica



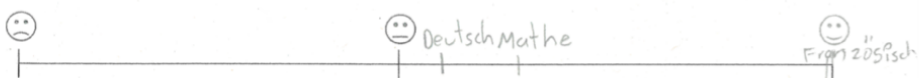
Blanche



Lucy



Lurdes



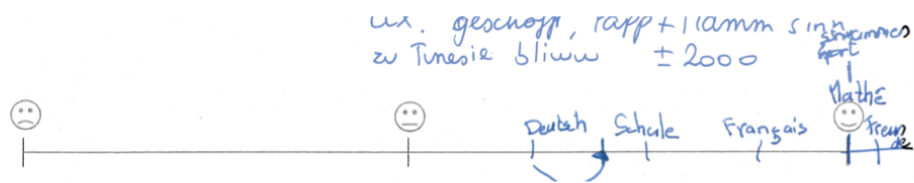
Kylo Ren



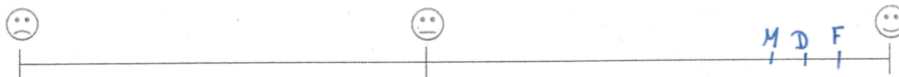
Regina



Naruto



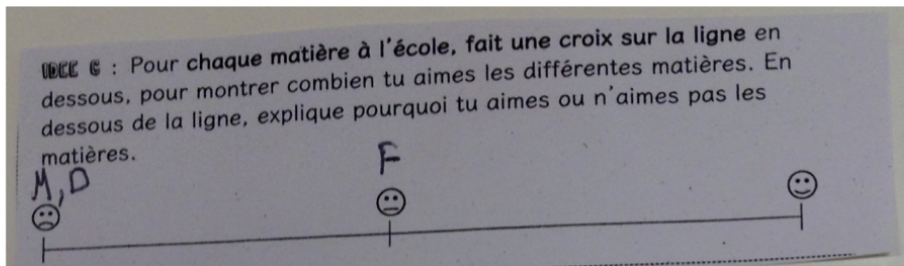
Neymar



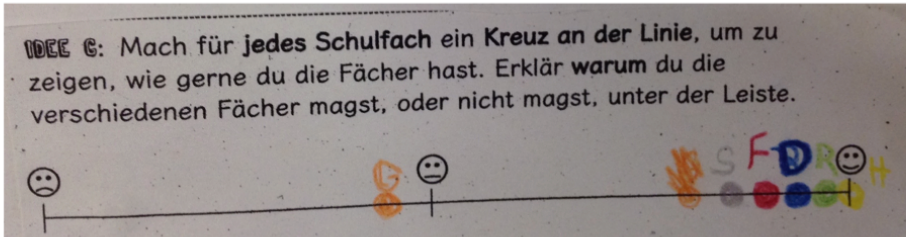
Matteo



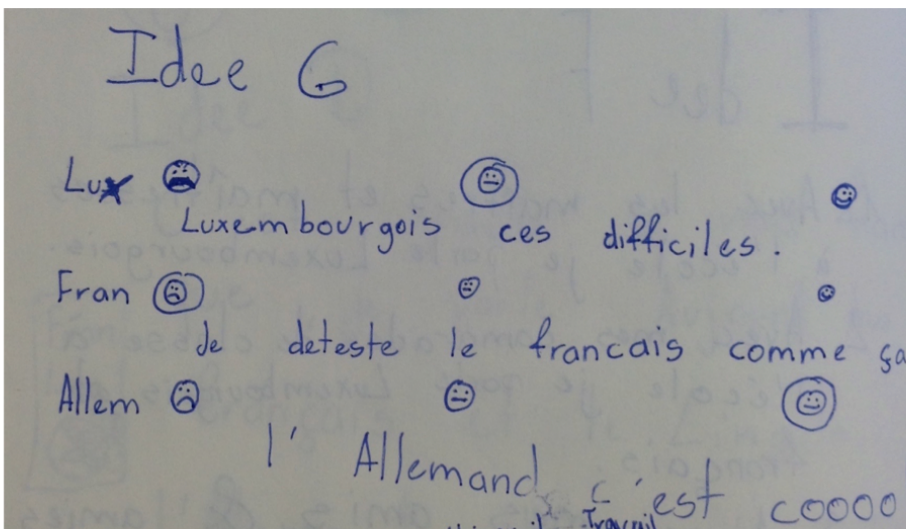
Riyad



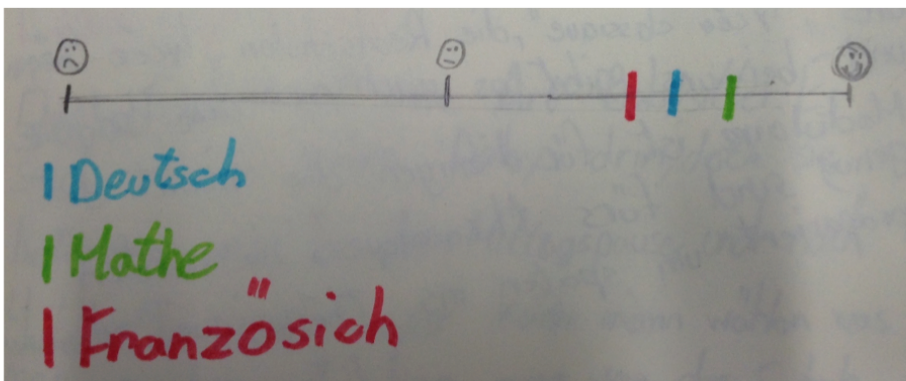
Sofia



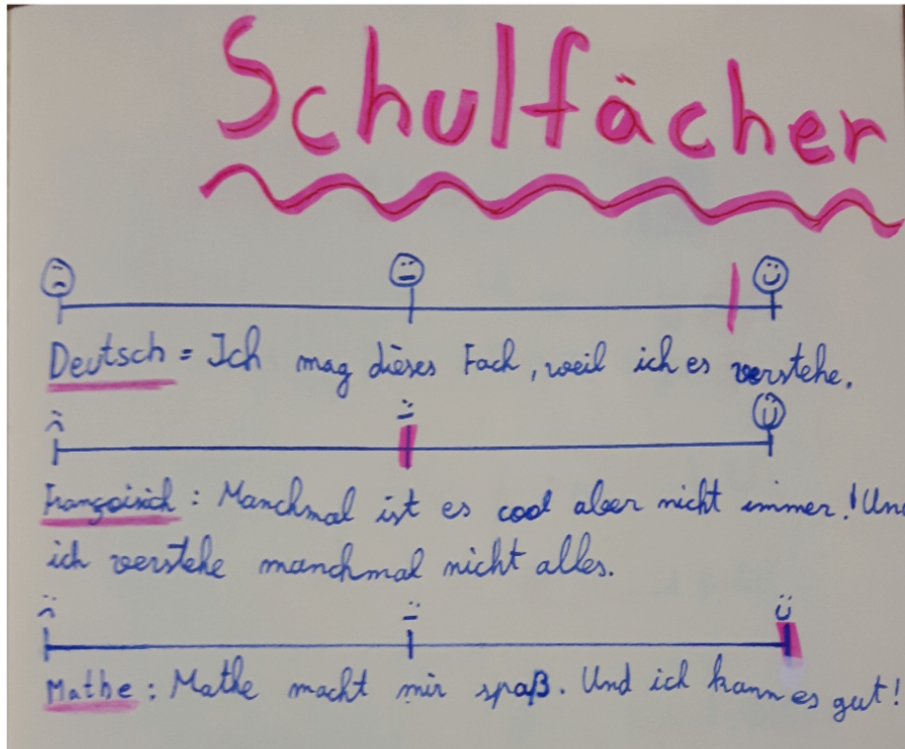
Sibylline



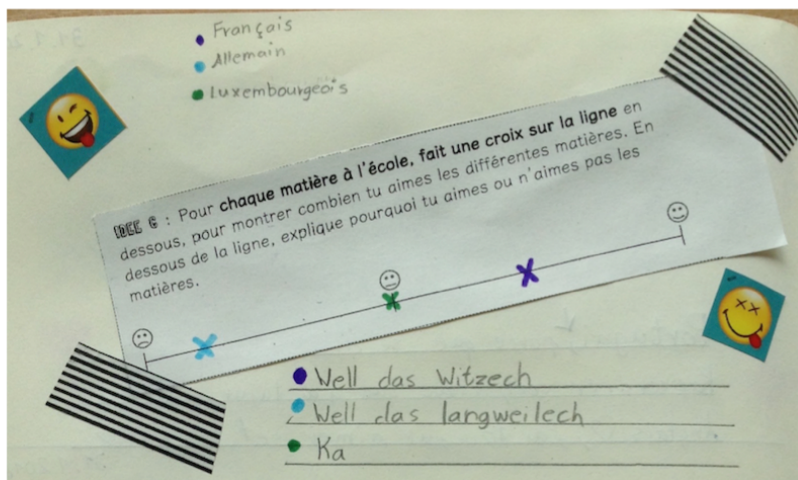
Schneetiger



Andrea



Elma



Chloé

MEINE

Schulmeinung

Sprach

| = Englisch

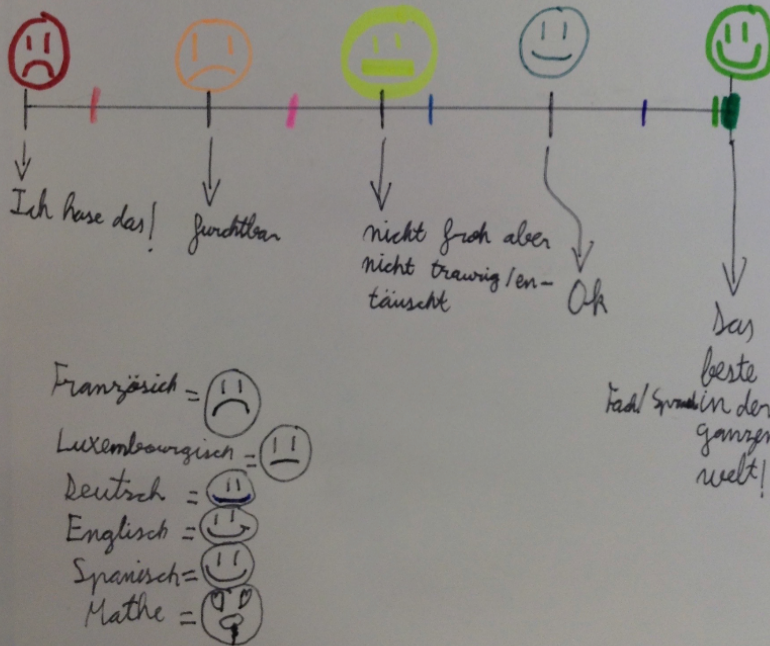
| = Luxemburgisch

| = Spanisch

| = Deutsch

| = Mathematik

| = Französisch



Albert Einstein

Appendix 13: Data overview

Data source	Number of interviews	Number of participants	Quantity
Fieldnotes	/	/	31.868 words
Research phase 1			
Interview 1	19	34	~13.5 hrs
Research phase 2			
Interview 2	19	33	~ 11.5 hrs
Language portraits	/	33	33 total, 29 retained for analysis
Research phase 3			
Ethnographic chats	7	28	~ 2.5 hrs
Research phase 4			
Interview 4	23	23	~ 18 hrs
Notebook entries	/	13	93 total entries: Albert Einstein (3), Andrea (7), Blanche (5), Chloe (6), Elma (4), Jessica (3), Lucy (6), Sandra (6), Schneetiger (13), Smiley (13), Sofia (20), Sibylline (2), Vanessa (5)
Likert scales	/	22	22