Construction of Linguistic Repertoire and Identity of a Japanese Child in Multilingual Luxembourg through Lived Experience

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Abstract

The study investigates how a multilingual Japanese child resident overseas exercises, interprets and represents heteroglossic practices, repertoires and identity. Based on a poststructuralist approach which posits that identity is shaped by historically determined power relations and the subject, the study investigates how a Japanese child living in a multilingual environment brings together personal history, experience, values and practices to form linguistic repertoires and identity. In addition to interviews, use is made of a language portrait as a research tool in order to visualise linguistic repertoire. The result is a detailed analysis of a 10 year old Japanese girl living in multilingual Luxembourg revealing the child's multilingual repertoire, complex emotions and positioning formed through lived experiences in a multilingual environment. Of particular note is the use of translanguaging to represent the child's heteroglossic repertoire. Analysis also reveals that, for the child, language is experienced primarily as capital for socialisation. However, the existence of a fixed elite multilingualism made it difficult for the child to develop proficiency and to increase social participation.

Keywords: Multilingualism, Language portrait,
　　　　　　Linguistic repertoire, Linguistic identity,
　　　　　　Migrant children

Introduction

In an age of globalisation the world is undergoing change at an unprecedented pace, a transformation affecting not only the movement of capital and goods but also of peoples and culture. It is an ongoing transformation accelerated by advanced communication technology, one giving rise to the emergence of new types of activity, community and culture. It is a change that has seen the advance of multilingualism and

multiculturalism in countries worldwide.

Luxembourg is known as one of the most multilingual and multicultural countries in Europe. With a population of 613,894, Luxembourg has the highest ratio of foreign residents in the EU with 47.5 % of the population so registered as of 2019 (STATIC, 2020). The country is triglossic, with Luxembourgish, German and French recognised as the official languages of the country. Luxembourgish, primarily a spoken language, is the national language and is widely used by the native-born Luxembourgers. French is widespread due to the large presence of *frontariers* and foreign residents. In school emphasis is given to mastery of written German, the language of literacy in education. Multilingualism is then highly valued in Luxembourg, not only as a reflection of the country's geographical location and historical experiences, but as something vital to the country's economic, cultural and political welfare in the modern world.

Although valued highly, multilingualism is not so easily catered for within the educational system. Two difficulties in particular are the provision of equal opportunity in education and individual identity construction. Luxembourgish is regarded as the symbol of national identity. Thus Luxembourgish is used exclusively at preschool. In primary school German is introduced from Year 1 and French from Year 2. Throughout, German is continuously used as the medium of instruction as well as Luxembourgish. In other words, there is a rigid fixed trilingual education system in which immigrant children's language resources are given little consideration. This is a situation with potential negative consequences for the academic success of many children within migrant communities lacking prior exposure to any or all of these languages, most notably German. The result for many is a failure to 'integrate" into a fixed multilingual education system, which "has become a gate keeping mechanism, restricting access to educational and employment opportunities for large segments of the population and preserving the privileges of the dominant group" (Weber & Horner, 2012, p.117). An example here is the often commented on lower academic performance of children from the Portuguese immigrant community (Hu, 2014).

As with other migrant communities, fixed multilingualism in Luxembourg does not make it easy for Japanese migrant children. In Luxembourg there were 641 Japanese resident as of 2018 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2019). The vast majority are business expatriates and their families transferred to Luxembourg on a short-term posting by

Japanese companies. The children of such families frequently attend a small number of private international schools located in Luxembourg where the language of instruction is English. The expectation is that these children will return to Japan when their parents are posted back home. In addition to the above there is a small number of independent self-initiated migrant Japanese who are locally employed long-term residents. The majority of children in this second group attend local schools, and for whom the learning of three languages is a totally new and challenging experience. Not only do they need to develop sufficient proficiency in each language to achieve academic success, there is the additional complication that parents may wish their children to maintain their heritage language (Japanese). Thus, moving from a monolingual education system in Japan to the multilingual education system found Luxembourg is not simply a change of country and school. Rather, it is a move to an educational environment that at first appears alien, one presenting newly arrived children with challenging cultural and linguistic demands that are a substantial hurdle to their academic development and success.

Sociolinguistic research reveals that language plays a significant role in shaping children's identities (Lotherington, 2004). Aronin and O Laoire (2004) argue that studies in multilingualism should be based on identity as this is inextricably intertwined with a range of factors including emotions, attitudes, preferences, anxiety, cognition, personality, style and social ties. Accordingly, there is a need to understand how Japanese children living in multilingual situations experience, exercise and represent their multilingualism. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate mutilingualism and identity among Japanese children resident in a multilingual nation, Luxembourg, with a particular focus on linguistic repertoire rather than language competence. Linguistic repertoire is a way of conceptualising linguistic knowledge and the construction of identity, a means to reveal the dynamic nature of language practice, something that is subject to variation and change in an ever expanding globalised world. It is expected that adoption of the concept of repertoires will reveal how children construct identities in multilingual environments.

Theoretical Framework

Identity, discourse and multilingualism

In recent years the essentialist idea of identity as being fixed and

determined by either biology or environment has been questioned by social theorists. Instead a poststructuralist view of identity has become more influential, moving beyond a fixed view of identity to something "more nuanced, multileveled and ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us" (Block, p.15). The poststructuralist nature of identity is particularly stressed in multilingual contexts. When an individual moves across from a different sociocultural environment to another, the "stable self is upset and the individual becomes half of what he/she was and half of what he/she has been exposed to" (Block, 2009, p.25). Thus identities are conceptualised as hybrid and ambivalent.

In the poststructuralist approach language has a significant influence on identity construction in multilingual environments (Stranub 2004 cited in Hu, 2014). Language being perceived as discourse, Weedon, who used the term subjectivity in place of identity, states that "subjectivity ... is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (1997, p.32). Blommaert (2005) extends the view of discourse to "all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns of developments of use" (2005, p.3). His emphasis on semiotics is in accordance with multimodality, meaning "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p.20). Thus, combining these views, Block suggests that "(d)iscursive activity means any semiotic behaviour on the part of an individual which counts as the expression of a subject position (or subjectivity)" (2007, p.19).

In order to reveal how identity is constituted through language in migrant studies, identity can be understood as narrative performance. Based on Butler (1999), Block (2009) suggests that individuals' subjective positions are presented as performances through bodily and linguistic enactment of discourses in narratives as people tell stories. Since narrative provides a subjective sense of self-continuity as it symbolically integrates lived experience in the story that the person tells about her/his life, identity can be understood through narrative performance (Ezzi 1998, cited in Hu 2014).

To capture the emergent nature of multiple subjective positions in communication, Davies and Harré (1993) suggest the concept of positioning. "Positioning is the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in

jointly produced storylines" (1999, p. 37). Individuals situate themselves through their discursive practices and are situated by others as well. Thus narratives are widely used to reveal tellers' representations of experiences and how they make sense of themselves in these experiences, that is, representation of the participants' subjective position and reflection of their identities. Lastly positioning involves not only language but also other semiotic activities as well.

The issue of identity and language learning becomes more and more important in multilingual contexts. Kramsch (2000) places emphasis of the subjective aspects of language learning experience for multilingual individuals. Language learning is a dialogic process of negotiation and interpretation of signs on the basis of which self as well as the Other are constantly reconstructed. In other words, language learning can be considered as a shift of identity positioning. Learning is a process of becoming a member of a community of specific practice.

Linguistic repertoire

Linguistic repertoire as a tool for analysing how people use linguistic resources to construct multiple identities in a diverse environment has its origins in the work of Gumperz (1960) and the notion of a verbal repertoire. In analysing linguistic practices and social grouping, Gumperz posited that a linguistic community may be heterogenic and argued that verbal repertoire is shaped as people frequently interact with members of the community (1964). "The speech community is any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction over a significant span of time and set off from other such aggravates by differences in the frequency of interaction"(Gumperz, 1964, p.137). Regardless of the linguistic differences among them, the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system as members share a set of social norms. Even if people do not speak the same code, the speech varieties employed within a speech community must share a set of social norms concerning appropriate language use, implying language ideologies (Gumperz, 1964). Therefore Gumperz (1964) advocated speech community as a unit rather than language. The verbal repertoires used in a community are " the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" (Gumperz, 1964, p.137). Thus verbal repertoire is associated with a particular speech community and contains accepted ways of speaking within a community. In short, language choice is not

always predictable based on the social relationships with which individuals are usually associated. Rather, speech styles can be chosen and used by speakers as a tool for crossing normative categorisations (Gumperz, 1964).

Linguistic repertoires and super-diversity

The concept of linguistic repertoires, however, needs to be reassessed in view of the emergence of 'super-diversity', a term coined by Vertovec (2007) to describe a significantly more diversified population arising as a result of globally expanding mobility (Busch, 2012). It has given rise to new complex social formations, communication and networking practices. Considering such changes, the notion of linguistic repertoire also needs to be re-examined.

Language use in a world of super-diversity has received the attention of a number of researchers. Translanguaging refers to language practice in which different multiple communicative resources are employed to create meaning. Trasnlanguaging is less concerned with distinct codes and affiliation. Consequently, it is used to describe heteroglossic language practice arising as a result of speakers bringing their different histories, experiences, values, identities and capacities to the communicative process (Rampton, 2011). Rampton (1995) also suggests the concept of "language crossing" in which "code alternation occurs in communication with people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language" (p.485).

Blommaert suggests the concept of "polyglot repertoire" (2008), a new idea to describe fluidity and creativity in linguistic practices. According to Blommaert, language may be conceived as a mobile bank of concrete resources, the actual linguistic communicative and semiotic resources that people are able to call upon and use rather than the abstract and ideological representation of linguistic codes (Blommaert, 2010). In proposing the new idea of repertoire, Blommaert (2010) states that people do not belong to a fixed community any more. Rather, they are highly mobile and unpredictable. Consequently, it is difficult to make presumptions about people's cultural or linguistic backgrounds (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). This also suggests that the linguistic repertoires people use are not fixed varieties, either. Thus Blommaert suggested a "polyglot repertoire" that "is not tied to any form of national space, and neither to a national, stable regime of language." From this point of view multilingualism cannot be defined as a collection of languages. Rather, it is

more appropriate to view people as having a variety of repertoires that consist of specialised but partially and unevenly developed resources that have evolved during an individual's life, "the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker (2008, p.16)".

Busch (2011) also posits that language has no clear-cut, bordered units. Busch (2010, 2012. 2019), studying linguistic repertoire from a poststructuralist perspective, argues that one's linguistic choices are "not only determined by the situational character of interaction and by grammatical and social rules and conventions", but also by "language practices subjected to the time-space dimensions of history and biography" (2012, p.9). Linguistic repertoire is tightly connected to individual history and biography and enters into one's repertoire at different stages of life.

Busch adopted a multimodal approach to examine repertoires adopting the notion of language portraits to represent heteroglossic repertoires. She stressed that a repertoire evolves through experience and interaction. This experiencing takes place on a cognitive and emotional level "and is inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus" and "includes trances of hegemonic discourses" (2012, p.9). Therefore participants' multimodal expression of their linguistic repertoires has the potential to reveal various views concerning language, discourse and code. Such studies of linguistic repertories making use of language portraits have been increasing conducted with child participants (Martin, 2012; Bristowe, Oostendrop & Anthonissen, 2016; Busch, 2010; Dressler, 2014; Krumm, 2002; Lundel, 2010; Melo-Pheifer, 2015; Obojska, 2019). However, there is a dearth of studies of Japanese children in multilingual contexts. This study seeks to remedy this omission by examining the case of a Japanese child to identify her linguistic repertoire and identity.

Participants, Method and Data

The study is part of a larger-scale research project that sought to investigate family multilingualism among 12 Japanese families resident in Luxembourg with school-age children, focusing on their efforts to raise their children while navigating a linguistically diverse social context. For data collection, ethnography and semi-structured interviews were conducted with questions focused upon the participants' language background, languages studied at school, language use at home, language

management at home and perceptions of multilingualism. Data collection making use of language portraits was also conducted with 6 children from 3 focus families. The method was developed by the "Spracherleven" group at the University of Vienna (Busch, 2010). Children were requested to colour a blank silhouette of a body (Appendix 1) with colour pencils. The researcher asked the children to reflect languages that are relevant to their life and to present these on the body silhouette. The children were also requested to explain their pictures to the researcher after colouring. According to Busch (2010), one of the advantages of this method is that it is participant-centred. Whereas the interviewer leads in a conventional interview, agency is provided to participants in the language portrait method.

Of the 6 children one girl, Midori, was chosen for this paper. Midori's family was a self-initiated transnational family who moved to Luxembourg of their own will. Midori's father was locally employed in Luxembourg, and her mother was a housewife, staying at home. The family had been living in Luxembourg for 6 years at the time of data collection. The couple had four children: Midori (10 years old), Mai (7 years old), Tsubasa (4 years old) and Sho (2 years old). The older two children were attending a local primary school, the third child a local preschool and the 4th child was still at home looked after by the mother. Prior to their arrival in Luxembourg the family had no knowledge of the three languages in Luxembourg except for the father who had a functional proficiency in French. The names allocated to the participants are pseudonyms chosen by the researcher.

Data was collected jointly from both Midori and Mai at the participants' house in the presence of the mother. The joint data collection lasted approximately 60 minutes. The home environment enabled the girls to be relaxed, and they were eager to talk about multilingualism in their lives. In addition, the mother assisted the girls during the process of data collection by encouraging and prompting their contribution.

In the data analysis Midori's drawing was analysed in terms of l) what languages were listed, 2) how languages were graphically represented (e.g. colours, inscriptions) and 3) spatial organisation on the bodily silhouette (e.g. head, legs, chest). The interview also elicited oral description of the drawing as Midori explained her picture to the researcher. Midodri's data was transcribed and analysed using theme-based discourse analysis (Pavelenko 2007) and small story analysis (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) with a particular focus on positioning. Midori was chosen for analysis

as she provided rich detailed information about her multilingualism. It is understood that the account Midori provided reveals her subjectivity, not necessarily fact, and was co-constructed by the researcher, Midori, her sister and mother.

The data obtained (language portrait and narrative account) presents an insightful representation of the participant's linguistic repertoire and identity. The linguistic repertoire is closely associated with the participants' biography and trajectories of life in terms of how a particular linguistic repertoire was acquired and subsequently experienced. Thus, narrative accounts of linguistic repertoire in the biographic framework of small stories are expected to reveal linguistic identity construction. In addition, a multimodal approach adds extra dimension to narratives and in so doing contributes to the revealing of identity (Frost, 2009).

Analysis

Graphic representation and spatial representation

The language portrait Midori produced reveals her multilingual repertoire. In representing the set of her repertoire, she listed Luxembourgish, French, German, and English in the portrait (See Appendix 2). She omitted Japanese despite the fact that it is the language of home. According to her mother in interview with the researcher, although Midori sometimes mixes some Luxembourgish vocabulary to compensate for a lack of Japanese vocabulary in talk, Japanese is her strongest language.

In representing languages, Midori used stripes of colours on the body. She also put inscriptions in the margin. At the top she wrote the title of the portrait, "sprache" (language) in German. In the right margin, she put descriptions for four languages and colours representing them in mixed languages. She also put the name of the figure at the top and drew an accessory (sunglasses).

When it comes to spatial organisation of the portrait, Midori represented different language repertories with body parts and colours. In colouring the portrait, Midori tried to carefully quantify her level of expertise. As she was colouring, Midori explained, "You know what? If you can speak well, you can colour a lot." This reveals Midori's reasoning as she attempted to differentiate between her different levels of expertise and quantification.

Of the four languages she mentioned, she considers Luxembourgish to be her strongest language. Reflecting this, Luxembourgish is placed in the lower body and the right hand in blue, occupying a large proportion of the silhouette. French, another language she is confident with, is placed on the upper part of the body and the lower half of the head in yellow. In contrast to Luxembourgish and French, she is not confident with English and German. Thus both languages are represented by smaller body parts. English was allocated to the feet and shins in pink. German was placed on the upper half of the head and the left hand in red. The researcher asked Midori the reason why she coloured different parts of the body with different colours. However, she did not give any specific answers, simply saying that it was suitable for each colour.

Translanguaging practice as repertoire at home and school

Midori used her translanguaging repertoire as she put inscriptions in the margin of the portrait. For example, the labels for Luxembourgish and French are presented in German ("blau sind luxembourgisch," "gelb ist Franzosich"), the label for German in a mixture of French and German ("le rouge est deutsch"). She wrote the label for English in English although she had never learned how to spell the word 'English' correctly, writing "pink its Englich". However, despite the fact that all of our conversations were conducted in Japanese during the data collection and Japanese is her home language, she did not make use of Japanese when labelling the portrait, which may indicate that Japanese is not in her repertoire for literacy.

The talk in Excerpt 1 that occurred when Midori was writing the labels implies that translanguaging is an accepted practice for Midori at home. When Midori and her sister were adding labels to the silhouette, Midori asked in what language she should write. She was not sure about what was accepted practice when she was engaged in the language portrait task with the researcher. This perhaps indicates her sensitivity to the use of appropriate repertoires in different situations. The researcher replied that she could write in the language she is good at. Then the mother said, "Mixing is OK," and "Use an easy one for you." The researcher followed the mother, saying "Mixing is OK" in her attempt to bring out practice that was normal and comfortable for Midori. Receiving this encouragement from the adults, she wrote labels in mixed languages. Midori called her writing "jumbled language" (ごちゃごちゃ語). It is not certain why she mixed the languages in the way she did. Four out of six

inscriptions she put on the portrait are in German. Thus her strongest written repertoire appears to be German, the language of the literacy programme at school. She also produced the phrase "le rounge est deutsch, " in which the sentence is constructed in French but the last word "deutsch" is written in German. This might reflect her uneven expertise in languages. Alternatively, she might have interpreted the researcher's and her mother's replies to her question to mean that she was free to mix languages. Thus, the translanguaging evident in Midori's work appears to have been jointly constructed by all the participants, influenced by both her mother and the researcher.

With regard to Midori's family, the mother appears tolerant towards her children's translanguaging practice at home, reflecting her ideology towards multilingualism. The family adopts a relaxed family language policy, well aware of Midori's and her sisters' various linguistic resources. This contrasts with the researcher's findings in a number of other Japanese families where a strict language policy was adhered to in which the mixing of languages was not allowed. The researcher confirmed with the mother that the mixing of Luxembourgish vocabulary during family conversation in Japanese was tolerated. In addition, the parents did not send their children to a twice weekly Japanese complementary school, a school attended by the children of many Japanese expatriate families in order to maintain and develop Japanese literacy and numeracy skills. Midori's mother stated that this was because of the pressure and the study load of learning French, German and Luxembourgish at the local school. For Midori's parents, when it comes to language use, learning and education, it appears that priority is given to their children's mental welfare. It also undoubtedly reflects their particular family circumstances, their personal decision to come to Luxembourg and to make it their home rather than return to Japan.

Another striking aspect of Midori's translanguaging is her positive attitude towards using English. This is revealed in her attempt to spell out an English word despite never having received any formal instruction in the language. She uses English during private ice skating lessons 5 times a week as the instructor is British. Midori considers her English ability to be low along with German, with English assigned to the feet in the portrait. This reflects the findings of Dressler (2014), who found that the children in her study of children's portraits represented "knowing" with the head or brain whereas hands, arms and feet, parts of the body far away from the

head and used for gesturing represented "not knowing." Despite her weak competence in English, Midori is willing to use English. English is certainly not the family language. Neither is it the language of school. Yet, she is learning it informally in an ice skating community outside home and school, and it is entering into her repertoire. Her willingness to use English indicates her desire for future development of the language, and is also indicative of belonging to the English user community. The choice of English is a manifestation of her subjective positioning in the English speaking ice-skating community, revealing the interconnected relationship between language and identity.

Excerpt 1: (Japanese)
1　M：何語で？
2　R：ああ．赤
3　M：日本語？
4　R：一番得意なのでいい．あ，そうか何が一番得意？書く時
5　M：うーん（(unint.)）
6　E：ごちゃごちゃでもだいじょうぶ
7　R：ごちゃごちゃでもだいじょうぶ
8　E：書きやすいので（(unint.)）
9　R：いいよいいよ混ぜてもいいよ
10　M：（(ごちゃって)）そしてさあ．これごちゃごちゃごっていう名前
　　　……
11　M：あってるかどうか全然わかんないけど
12　R：ありがとう
13　Ma：それと，
14　M：英語で一回書いてみた．書いたこと全然ないけど
15　R：あ，書いてみた．どこ？
16　M：うん
　　　…..
17　M：英語間違えてるでしょ
18　Ma：ぬりぬりぬり
19　M：英語一番下英語よ，間違えてると思うけど（2）合ってる？
20　E：おしいおしい
21　M：おしいか．おしい．だって書いたことないもん．何しよう．何するの

Excerpt 1: (English translation)
1　M: in what language?

2   R: ah. red
3   M: in Japanese?
4   R: you can write in the strongest language. I see, which one are you best at?
5   M: hmm ((unint.))
6   E: jumbled is OK
7   R: jumbled is OK
8   E: use the one easy for you ((unint.))
9   R: it's fine, it's fine to jumble
10 M: ((jumbled)) and this is called a jumbled language
    ......
11 M: I'm not sure whether it's correct or not
12 R: thank you
13 Ma: and,
14 M: I've tried in English. I've never done before at all though.
15 R: oh you've written it. where?
16 M: yes
    .....
17 M: English is not correct is it.
18 Ma : colouring colouring
19 M: the bottom one is English. I think it's wrong (2) is it correct?
21 E: close close
21 M: close. close. but I've never written. what shall I do. what shall I do

In contrast to the acceptance of multi-language use within Midori's home environment, learning at school appears to be based on fixed multilingualism rather than flexible multilingualism. In fixed multilingual education a fixed set of languages is used as the medium of instruction whereas flexible models allow for different combinations of languages according to the needs of a multilingual population (Weber and Horner, 2017). In reply to the researcher's request to describe how she had learned the multiple languages in Excerpt 2, Midori stated that when she first went to the précoce (nursery) "I couldn't talk with anybody at the beginning. I couldn't talk with anybody. Teacher spoke a language that I didn't understand, muttering incomprehensible things. Initially I just stood there, but gradually I got to understand." At the primary school when German instruction started, Midori said, "German was also explained in Luxembourgish. I didn't understand." Midori's explanation suggests that

the local nursery and primary schools she attended in Luxembourg exhibit the characteristics of a fixed multilingual educational environment rather than one of flexible multilingualism.

Fixed multilingual education is disadvantageous for immigrant children like Midori who, unlike local children learning their own language or being taught through their own native language, have to learn multiple languages and do so without the support of their own native language. It is a tremendous challenge for migrant children to learn multiple languages that are all new to them. In fact Midori said that there is "too much to study ". She is particularly concerned with German, saying that "German is the most difficult language". Furthermore, she states, "There are no rules in German. So I just have to use my intuition." This comment suggests that she herself does not perceive her learning to be going well.

Not only unequal in terms of educational opportunity, fixed multilingualism can also have a profound affect on migrant children's wellbeing. When starting preschool Midori initially was unable to talk to anyone. She stood in the classroom alone, feeling powerless and isolated. In fact her mother mentioned that Midori cried for the first three months at the précoce. Consequently, not surprisingly, multilingualism is not perceived as something highly valued by Midori. Whereas her mother, in conversation with the researcher, applauded the advantages of multilingualism for the girl's future, Midori appeared to think it nothing special or indeed perceive it in a negative way. For her it is just "normal". In seeking to interpret Midori's experience and resulting perceptions, it is evident that when an educational environment is particularly difficult, possibly alien and emotionally traumatic, when a child has insufficient linguistic resources such that she feels isolated and alone, is unable to socialise in the classroom, the child is unlikely to perceive multilingualism in a positive light. The difficult nature of Midori's experience should raise questions about the means by which migrant children are weaned into a school community of learning. A further interpretation that can be drawn from Midori's drawing and interview is that multilingualism is normal and common in her classroom and among classmates, not something special and desirable as her mother feels. For the child it is part of her ordinary everyday normal world, something to be expected, which Japanese families staying in the country for a short-term with their eyes set on a return to Japan do not value or perceive to be normal.

Excerpt 2: (Japanese)

1 R：すごい．ありがとう．じゃあさ，これさ，こんなにいっぱいどうやって覚えたの

2 M：普通に最初は誰ともしゃべれなくて，ま全然誰ともしゃべれなくて，先生がむにゃむにゃーてなんかわかんない言葉しゃべってるから何もできなくて，普通に最初は突っ立てたんだけど，なんか（.）ちょっとずつ"komm"とかなんとか言われてなんかなんかこっち来てみたいなとかちょっとずつ

3 R：へ：あ先生に？

4 M：うん　う：ん．そして1年生に行って，行ったら，ドイツ語とか始まってドイツ語とか始めるから，ドイツ語何とかもそう言うのもルクセンブルク語で説明してくれるからわかんない．だってもうプレコス ¦保育園¦ の時とかからちょっとず：つわかってきてるから，

5 R：あ．プレコスからルクセンブルク語やってるから，

6 M：だけどドイツ語もおんなじように最初は全然わかんなかった。でもルクセンブルク語だいたい似てるから

7 R：ああなるほど

8 M：だいたいは

9 R：だからわかるんだ

10 M：だいたいわかる．そして，一番私のクラスで得意はフランス語だと思うんだよね，はっきりっていうわけじゃないけど，そいで，フランス語いっぱい勉強してるから，家でもフランス語の先生と一緒にやってる，ドイツ語も，そして，まあこれはルクセンブルク語はもうみんなとみんなといっぱい何年も喋ってきてるから，英語はさ，もうさ，スケートの先生が英語だから

11 R：へーわかるんだ．先生には英語で話すの？

12 M：うん

13 R：すごいね

14 M：ほとんどしゃべれないけどね，

15 R：じゃあさ，いっぱい話せて，良かったとかいうことある？

16 M：ほとんど普通に

17 R：普通，普通なこと？それは

18 M：うん

19 R：大変だった時とかある

20 M：ああ勉強が多すぎる

21 R：勉強が多すぎる，何が多すぎる？宿題？

22 M：もう今はほとんど無しで帰ってきてる

23 R：ふ：ん

24　M：全部学校で終わらせてる
25　[.......]
26　R：何語が大変？
27　S：何語が大変って聞いてる
28　R：何語の宿題が大変？
29　M：う：んドイツ語
30　R：ドイツ語では一番ルールがないんだ．だから勘とかそういうのでしていくしかない
31　R：ふ：：ん
32　M：だから結構難しいの
33　R：へ：知らなかった

Excerpt 2 (English translation)

1　R: great, thank you. by the way, how did you learn so many languages?
2　M: I couldn't talk with anybody at the beginning I couldn't talk with anybody, teacher spoke the language that I didn't understand, muttering incomprehensible things, Initially I just stood there, but gradually I got to understand, like when they said to me "komm", I thought it may mean "come here". a little by little.
3　R: hmm: by teacher?
4　M: ye:s. and when I started Year 1, German started, and I started German, German is also explained in Luxembourgish, I didn't understand. I've been learning Luxembourgish since précoce {Nursery school}. I understand Luxembourgish I gradually: got to understand Luxembourgish
5　R: ah. you've been learning Luxembourigsh since précoce.
6　M: but I didn't understand German at all at the beginning in the same way. but Luxembourgish is mostly similar
7　R: I see
8　M: mostly
9　R: so you understand mostly
10　M: I understand mostly. but I am best at French in my class. I'm not definitely confident though, and I study French a lot at home, I study French with a tutor at home as well, German as well, and I've been speaking Luxembourgish a lot with everyone. English, because the ice skating instructor is English.
11　R: heh. you understand English. Do you speak English with the instructor?

12 M: yes
13 R: great
14 M: I cannot speak much, though
15 R: is there anything you feel good about being able to speak so many
    languages?
16 M: it's normal
17 R: normal. normal thing, is it?
18 M: yes
19 R: did you have hard time?
20 M: ah. too much to study
21 R: too much to study, what is too much? homework?
22 M: I come home without homework now
23 R: hmm
24 M: I finish homework at school.
25 [........]
28 R: which language is the most difficult?
27 S: she's asking which language is the most difficult.
28 R: which language homework is the hardest?
29 M: hm:, German
30 R: there are no rules in German. so I just have to use my intuition.
31 R: hm::
32 M: that's why it's quite difficult
33 R:hhm::I didn't know.

Projection of identity into "sonnnenbrill mann"

What is prominent in Midori's portrait is the drawing of sunglasses. She added sunglasses to the silhouette and gave a German name "sonnenbrille mann" (Sunglass man) to the figure. The picture of "sonnnebrill mann" mediates Midori to construct her linguistic identity in a multilingual language learning environment.

In representing her German competence, Midori coloured the head and left hand in red. She aligned her perceived weak language expertise of German to the smaller body parts, the head and the left hand. This is based on her criteria that "(i)f you can speak well, you can colour large space." As already noted above, Dressler (2014), found the children in her study of children's portraits represented "knowing" with head or brain whereas hands, arms, and feet far away from the head and the use of gesturing represented "not knowing." The colouring in red by Midori of hand to

denote her lack of confidence or weak ability in German accords with the general tendencies of the children in Dressler's study.

Midori's talk about the use of sunglasses explains her perception of German expertise (Excerpt 3). Wearing the sunglasses, sonnenbrille mann looks like a superhero. In conversation with the researcher about the picture, Midori said, "German is the weakest language." Then the researcher asked why the head represents German. In response, she said, "It doesn't mean that my head is filled with German," denying that the picture is herself. She repeated twice "It is the sunglass chap whose head is filled with German." Even when the researcher tried to switch to a different topic, Midori went back to the topic and repeated the phrase. This suggests that despite denial she actually projected herself into the picture of the sunglass chap who is anxious and preoccupied with German. The sunglass chap is herself, apparently in contradiction with what she said to the researcher in conversation. The sonnnenbrill man appears to symbolise herself, manifesting her intention to hide herself, someone who is struggling with German, disguising herself as the strong and confident sunglass wearing chap in the portrait. The depicted picture and her explanation implicitly reveal her identity as a girl struggling to learn German.

Excerpt 3 (Japanese)
1　R：こっちはちっちゃいけど
2　M：ちょっとしかできないから，ドイツ語一番苦手
3　R：なるほどなるほど，で，ここもドイツ語？頭？
4　M：うん
5　R：ふ：：ん，な．なんで頭？
6　M：頭ドイツ語でいっぱいじゃないからね
7　R：あ：，なるほど．へ：：で下の方が−
8　M：頭ドイツ語でいっぱいじゃないからね
9　R：うん？何が？
10　M：だけどこのサングラス野郎が頭いっぱいになってるだけ
11　R：あ：：このひとがね？この人の頭の中がいっぱいなんだ
12　Ma：野郎っていったらだめだよ
13　M：これ私じゃないから，サングラス全然つけないから

Excerpt 3 (English translation)
1　R: This one is small

2   M: I can speak only little. German is the weakest language.
3   R: I see, and is this part German ? I mean the head.
4   M: Yes
5   R: hm::. why the head?
6   M: it doesn't mean that my head is filled with German
7   R: ah:, I see. hm:: and the lower part is−
8   M: it doesn't mean that my head is filled with German
9   R: uh ha? what?
10   M: but this sunglass chap's head is filled with German.
11   R: oh:: I see this man? his head is full
12   Ma: you shouldn't say chap.
13   M: this is not me. I don't wear sunglasses at all.

Positioning in the classroom: "Unnoticed" presence

The use of language portrait further elicited Midori's talk about social identity and positioning at school. After eliciting explanations about the portrait, the researcher asked about social life at school (Excerpt 4). To the question asking what her favourite play was, Midori answered chatting with her friends in German, which is her weakest language. As the previous excerpt and her mother's episode reveal, she had been struggling with learning German. Yet, she attached a significant value to German. Here two possible explanations arise. One, that Midori truly enjoys chatting in German despite her lack of proficiency. Second, and the more likely, that chatting in German represents her wish to socialise in a community where German is the requisite tool to join in, to be a full member of the community. All children wish to join in, play, be part of the group. German is the tool Midori needs. It is understood that her strongest language is Luxembourgish and it is the language most spoken by the native born Luxembourgish. However, she expressed a desire to socialise with friends in German. Here the question arises as to whether the children play and socialise in Luxembourgish and, if so, whether Midori's Luxembourgish is sufficient for her to be included. If they use German in the playground, it is questionable whether Midori's use of the language is sufficient to be included. It is also possible that she perceived German hegemony in public discourse in Luxembourg. Academic performance in German at primary school often determines whether children can go to an academic lycee or a vocational lycee. Thus German is an important, indeed essential subject at primary school in Luxembouirg. Despite her desire,

however, she states that it is infrequent that her friends invite her to play together with them. However, whatever the reason, her linguistic difficulties undoubtedly play a major if not the major part in her apparent marginalisation at school and difficulty integrating within the classroom community.

There are various factors that interact in a complex way and lead to marginalisation. As Midori claims, her personality might not encourage immediate socialisation. She perceives herself as someone who " (is) a bit shy, so (she is) a type of person no one notices." Furthermore, her weak agency may not help her increase participation in the classroom community. Her weak agency is indicative in her use of a passive voice in Japanese "I am sometimes asked to play (お誘いされる)".

It is striking that Midori has a strong desire to socialise in the classroom in German. It is natural for children to be desperate to make friends and play with them as developing friendships is concerned with survival for children. However, insufficient competence in the languages may limit and constrain affordance for communication and socialisation. She appears to be torn between her desire to communicate and marginalisation.

Excerpt 4 (Japanese)
1 R：ね．好きな遊びって何？
2 Ma：いっぱいある
3 M：ドイツ語とかそういうのをお話で誰かと喋る
4 R：ああ友達とおしゃべり．あなたは？
5 Ma：友達と喋る
6 R：友達とおしゃべり？
7 Ma：と：,
8 M：時々さ，お誘いされるんだ．一緒に遊ぼうって
9 R：へ：へ：あ，ドイツ語の－
10 M：あたしちょっと暗いからさ，誰にも見られないタイプです
11 R：へ：お母さんにスケートがすごいって聞いたけど
12 M：スケートできる
13 R：選手コースみたいな
14 M：これで遊ぶ ¦厚紙で工作した飲み物の自動販売機を見せる¦
15 R：うん？何で遊ぶの？
16 M：自分で作った
17 R：へ：見せて．あ．見たい見たい見たい．

18 Ma：お姉ちゃんが作ったんだよ
19 R：へ：学校で？
20 M：うん学校で．めっちゃ時間余るから私
21 R：何これ？
22 M：自分で作った

Excerpt 4 (English translation)
1 R: what's your favourite play?
2 Ma: I have a lot
3 M: chatting with someone in German or that sort
4 R: I see chatting with friends. what about you?
5 Ma: chatting with friends
6 R: chatting with friends?
7 Ma: and:,
8 M: sometimes, I am asked to play together
9 R: hm:,hm: oh. German—
10 M: I am a bit shy, so I am a type of person no one notices.
11 R: I heard you are very good at skating
12 M: I can skate
13 R: like athletes' course?
14 M: I play with this ¦she shows a colourful beverage vending machine made with cardboard¦
15 R: yeah? what do you play with?
16 M: I made this myself
17 R: wow. can you show it to me. I want to see it.
18 Ma: my sister made it.
19 R: wow: at school?
20 M: yes, at school. because I have heaps of time
21 R: what's this?
22 M: I made it myself

Discussion and Conclusion

The study coupling a language portrait with an interview revealed that the participant at the heart of the study, Midori, possessed a multilingual repertoire of Japanese, Luxembourgish, French, German and English as a result of her life trajectory. These were resources that had entered into her repertoire at different life stages and in different places,

resources she employed in a versatile manner for different purposes in the multilingual environment in which she now lived, Luxembourg. Japanese was the spoken home language, but not a language of literacy. Luxembourgish was the language she first learned in Luxembourg at the precoce. She initially struggled with it but it was the language she was now most confident with, having been using it the longest as a basic means of oral communication at school. German was her language of literacy, the language she used in the language portrait task. French, learned as a subject rather than as a medium of instruction, was also a language with which she was confident. English was a language used in the outside-the-school community, a language she showed a willingness to use, a language associated with iceskating, a favourite pass-time activity. Of her languages, she was least confident with German. She felt under pressure to learn German. She might have been aware that it is considered to be the key subject for future academic success in Luxembourg. However, she attached a great importance to German not in terms of academic success but for the purpose of socialisation. She appears to perceive German as a tool, a language that will empower her in the school community. Another noticeable feature of her language use is translanguaging. In depicting her repertoire in the language portrait, she used a mixture of German, French and English. As might be expected, Luxembourgish, a purely spoken language, was omitted. By using the three languages she expressed what she intended. For a child living in a multilingual environment, translanguaging is an important tool of communication, the repertoire as a totality enabling her to express her intentions.

The study also revealed that Midori's linguistic repertoire was closely entwined with her perception of identity and positioning which had been (and continue to be) transformed by her life trajectory. When she first came to Luxembourg, she had no understanding of Luxembourgish and nobody to talk to. Her position was that of an individual overwhelmed by experiences in an unknown world, a powerless individual isolated in a new environment. However, as she adapted to her new environment and, in particular, as her command of Luxembourgish developed, so Midori's confidence and level of comfort grew. When she started primary school, German was introduced as the language of literacy education. The language new to her. In addition, it was taught in Luxembourgish, a language in which she was still developing her abilities, a language in which she lagged behind her contemporaries. Consequently, it is not

surprising that she struggled with German, became stressed and overly concerned in the language. She perceived herself as an unobtrusive individual in the classroom, exerting little agency or effort in order to increase her level of social participation. Despite, or perhaps because of her marginalised role in the classroom, she projects the hegemony of the German language as the gateway to successful socialisation. For Midori, as for all children, language is perceived strongly as capital for socialisation and survival at school. Oddly, Midori did not depict anything about Japanese. There was no identification of ethnicity or linguistic expertise in Japanese depicted in her portrait. Normally, it can be expected that children refer to their own native or first language, in this case Japanese, to show an ethnic link, identity and language practice. However, there was no mention of such by Midori, as if she wanted to conceal explicit representation of her ethnic belonging and Japanese language practice. Maybe she felt discriminated against at school because she is obviously Asian and therefore wanted to hide it in the portrait (sunglasses). Maybe she felt the researcher was interested in her Luxembourg languages and not her Japanese.

Midori's construction of linguistic repertoire and identity also reveals the influence of political decision and public discourse in Luxembourg. The country, small and at the heart of a multilingual and multinational Europe, a country that itself has a mixed native population of French, German and Luxembourgish speakers, a country with open borders to European Union member states, has sought through placing a heavy emphasis on Luxembourgish, most notably in preschool, primary school, and in public sector employment, to reinforce within the native population their sense of national identity and to build such a sense of identity and belonging among immigrants newly arrived. In 1984 Luxembourgish was identified as a national language to tie the country together. Thereafter fixed multilingualism was adopted in school education, and more emphasis placed on the teaching of Luxembourgish to the exclusion of the use of other languages (e.g. French) in the early stages of education, notably in preschool. This decision at first may sound odd in a county with an official triglossic language policy. However, in light of the desired aim of the political elite to build a sense of national unity and identity, this is perhaps more easily comprehended. Indeed, there is evidence for the success of the policy. According to Hu (2014), the younger generation of Luxembourgers in particular does not consider itself multilingual, choosing instead to

emphasise its mother tongue (Luxembourgish) identity, although they have multilingual skills.

The policy of fixed elite multilingualism in literacy development adopted within the school system might indeed be successful in building a sense of national identity and loyalty. However, for newly arrived migrant children, the demands of preschool and school life can be onerous. This may be even more so for migrant children lacking a European language background. The need for a more flexible multilingualism within education, one recognising the value of translanguaging and seeking to take account of the varied linguistic backgrounds of the pupil population, is attracting attention and receiving some recognition (Kirsch, 2018). Recognising the difficulties of assimilation, adaptation and academic performance arising from the current fixed elite multilingualism, it might rightly be expected that any change to a more flexible system will promote academic performance and language development. Considering the close relationship between language and identity, it is the author's belief that such a change in practice within the education system cannot but be beneficial to the socialisation process, inevitably result in an increase in the levels of acceptance, participation and wellbeing of young migrant children.

Lastly, a comment on the methodology adopted in this study. The use of a language portrait proved to be an easily employed and effective way to gain insight into children's repertoires and personal perceptions of identity. In conventional interviews it is difficult for children to articulate their beliefs and identities. However, the talk elicited from the use of a language portrait gives access to a richer picture of a child's lived experience in a multilingual environment. Midori's description of her repertoire in the portrait with its mixture of colours and languages is striking and symbolic, revealing her perceptions of her language use in its totality and with its associated repertoires. As Gumperz (1964) asserted, repertoires have the potential to enable children to transcend barriers between communities. For Midori, this did indeed appear to be the case. However, the depicted portrait also indicates some of the difficulties confronting any child, perhaps all, in a multilingual society in which language and identity are strongly influenced by political decisions and educational arrangements.

Transcription Conventions
M: Midori
Ma: Mai

E: Eriko (mother)
R: Researcher
. Brief pause
(2) Longer pause
, Continuation of tone
‒ An abrupt cut off
? Rising intonation
: Elongated sound
((unint.)) Unintelligible
((jumbled)) Words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified
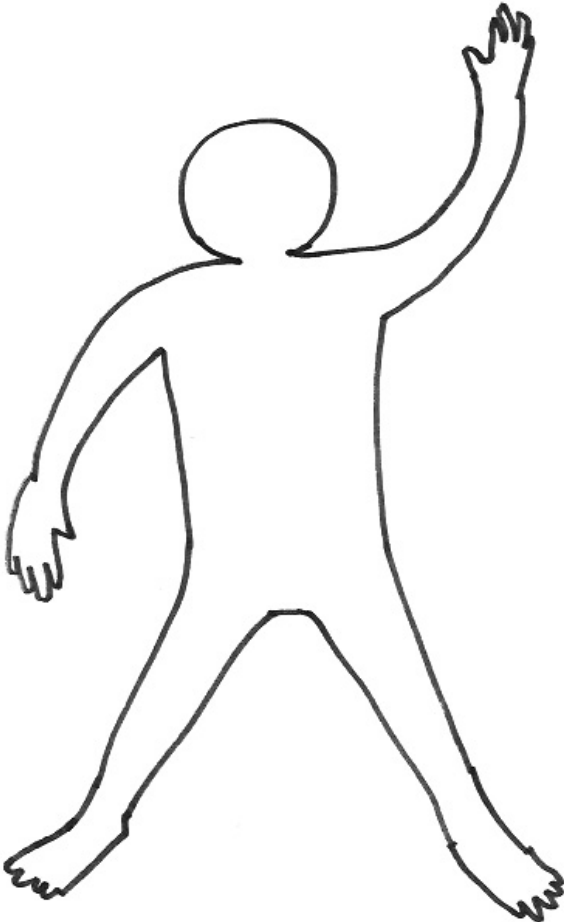[....] Deleted passage
┊┊ The author's comment

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Appendix 1

(Adapted from Busch, 2010)

Appendix 2

sprache

Sonnenbrill kann

he rouge est deutsch

gelb ist Französich

blau sind Luxembougich

Pink its Englich